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LEFTWING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN JAPAN

An Annotated Bibliography

LEFTWING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN JAPAN

An Annotated Bibliography

CECIL H. UYEHARA

*Published for
The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
Tufts University*



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LEFTWING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN JAPAN

is part of the

**STUDIES ON JAPAN'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
PARTIES**

prepared by

Allan B. Cole
George O. Totten
Cecil H. Uyehara

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FOREWORD

When Mr. Uyehara first asked me to write a foreword to this bibliography I demurred, for I am fully aware that I have no special knowledge of or competence in the field which he has here examined in painstaking detail. I believe, however, that it may not be entirely inappropriate for me to make a few comments from the standpoint of the work's bibliographical significance.

Mr. Uyehara began work on this bibliography in the hours outside of his regular working day while he was engaged in the compilation of the *Checklist of Archives in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs...Microfilmed for the Library of Congress...* (Washington, 1954). He not only examined the Library's cataloged holdings on Japanese left-wing social movements, but also sorted out and organized relevant material from the Library's huge unprocessed Japanese arrearage, which accumulated during the early post-war years. I was in charge of the Library's Japanese Section at the time, and I must state that we were happy to have this material—much of it not available elsewhere in the Western World and some of it not available in public collections in Japan—brought under preliminary control. Owing to this effort and to Mr. Uyehara's description of these items in his bibliography, much of this material is now for the first time accessible for scholarly examination.

During the past year librarians in charge of various Far Eastern collections in the United States have given much consideration to the feasibility of compiling for publication a union catalog of Chinese and Japanese books in this country. Though a final decision of this problem has not yet been reached, it now seems quite clear that a union catalog, arranged by subjects, of items already added to the various collections in this country will never be compiled. The chief reason for this is the fact that in the past the cataloging practices of these various institutions have been widely divergent; uniform rules have been adopted only within the past year. The only unified subject approach to the holdings of these institutions, therefore, will be through specialized bibliographies of the type Mr. Uyehara has compiled here. The reader will notice that through the use of National Union Catalog symbols (e.g. DLC for Library of Congress) he gives the location of these items in 20 collections. It is to be hoped that other descriptive bibliographies, which in the future are compiled on other subjects, will follow this pattern.

The present bibliography is the result of some seven years of effort—most of it part-time—which the compiler has devoted to it both in the United States and in Japan. It is one of the products of a coordinated research project which is also producing a series of analytic studies. It is in no sense a

FOREWORD

bibliography compiled in a vacuum or copied from catalog cards. It is rather a record, in bibliographical form, of experiences with material used in research; and it will therefore long remain an indispensable guide to further study of the important problems with which this material deals.

Washington
August, 1958

Edwin G. Beal, Jr.

INTRODUCTION

The termination of the Pacific War brought about the rise of two hitherto suppressed political movements in Japan, the social democratic and the communist, and the availability in the United States of large quantities of materials on these movements. In less than two years after 1945, the communists almost succeeded in staging a general strike; chaos was averted only by General Douglas MacArthur's written directive. Whereas the social democrats had led a futile fight against ultra-nationalism and facism in the prewar years, the postwar Social Democratic Party rose to head a coalition government also within two years after the war had ended. Despite brutal prewar attempts physically to exterminate the communists, harass the legal left, and win over the less ideologically committed social democrats to cooperation with the imperial government, the rapid revitalization of these movements in the postwar era indicated their tenacity and the depth of their roots in Japanese society. Socialism was first introduced into Japan prior to World War I as an intellectual movement. It did not gain any wide following among the working masses. The leftist intellectual movement was welded to the practical labor movement which emerged as a product of the new industrial society in Japan created by World War I. These movements are no longer foreign elements grafted onto Japanese society but vital living parts which cannot realistically be ignored. Japan's post-World War II industrialization has only emphasized their role in her political and economic development. While the communists, wavering between violence and periodic tactical adoption of parliamentary methods, failed to win the confidence of the Japanese people, the socialists are now the opposition party, holding more than one third of the seats in the Diet and ready to take over the government if given a chance. They have made substantial gains either in votes or seats in the Diet in every election since 1952. In "Studies on Japan's Social Democratic Parties" of which this bibliography is part, George O. Totten will analyze the prewar social democratic parties to 1945, and Allan B. Cole, George O. Totten and I will jointly study the socialists from 1945 to the present.*

When I became acquainted with the extensive collection of materials on Japanese leftwing social movements in the Library of Congress in 1951-53, only one bibliographic compilation had been made of the Japanese communist movement.** No Japanese bibliography on leftwing social movements in

* The Japanese Communist Party has been analyzed by A. Rodger Swearingen and Paul F. Langer in *Red Flag in Japan*, Harvard University Press, 1952, 276 p. Evelyn S. Colbert has written a general study on the socialist, communist and labor union movements in Japan from 1945 to 1950, entitled *The Leftwing in Japanese Politics*, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1952, 353 p.

** Langer, Paul F. and A. Rodger Swearingen, *Japanese Communism, An Annotated Bibliography of Works in the Japanese Language with a Chronology, 1921-52*. New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1953. 95 p.

INTRODUCTION

Japan had been compiled for twenty years.* The initial objective of the present bibliography was to select materials in Japanese in major repositories in the United States covering all aspects of leftwing social movements in Japan from the conservative social democrats to the communists and anarchists, from the labor and farmers unions to the leftwing theater and poetry. This bibliography emphasized the period from World War I to the present, with a short chapter on pioneer works to cover the years 1868 to World War I. Since this compilation is only a pioneer attempt, the annotations are, in the main, descriptive and occasionally critical. Approximately 1800 items were selected from about 4,000 titles. Except for a few later items, the bibliography covers materials published up to the summer of 1956.

A grant from the American Philosophical Society in 1953 enabled me to survey a number of American university libraries. A list of university libraries which were surveyed are given in "Key to Symbols." The original framework of the bibliography was slightly modified when the compilation became part of the Ford Foundation-sponsored project at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy to study the Social Democratic Parties of Japan. This project allowed me to travel to Japan in 1955-56 and consult with Japanese scholars and researchers on the selection of items to be included in certain chapters of the bibliography. Since I do not and cannot claim to be an expert on all aspects of the leftwing social movements, their insight and assistance were invaluable. Japanese scholars mentioned relatively few items which should be included in this bibliography and available only in Japan. This is an excellent commentary on the thoroughness with which American university and other libraries have acquired materials on Japanese leftwing social movements. Only one location—either the National Diet Library or Tokyo University Library—where these items may be found in Japan was noted in this bibliography. No attempt was made to ascertain the location of the 1800 items in this bibliography in various Japanese institutional libraries.

Since many Japanese governmental documents have become publicly available only in the past decade, few have been adequately evaluated either in the United States, Europe or in Japan. In an attempt to bring these documents to the attention of as many persons as possible, I have been more liberal about including in this bibliography government documents, especially those of the Ministries of Home Affairs and Justice, and the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Board, and relatively more stringent in selecting non-governmental publications which have been more adequately judged. Japanese scholars have expressed a high regard for the ability of the prewar government to gather facts but are dubious about the interpretations of these facts. Because of the bias of the prewar Japanese government, more than half of these documents are probably concerned with the small but fanatical

* Recently, two Japanese bibliographies have been published. See nos. II-29.1 and II-31.1 in this bibliography.

INTRODUCTION

communist movement. Postwar governmental studies—like the prewar ones until the war ended—are under security lock and key. The designation “Japanese Government files” was used in lieu of an author’s name when the exact source of a document was not known but was, from all outward appearances, part of some governmental agency file.

Translations of book titles have been omitted from the main entry (except when there are no annotations) on the assumption that such a translation seldom adequately describes the contents of a book and therefore adds little to the knowledge of the person who does not know Japanese and is probably by-passed by one who can read the language. This deletion makes the main entry less cumbersome.

Two types of materials have been excluded from this bibliography. Japanese translations of Russian and European Marxist writers and others of varying political hues are too voluminous and comprehensive to list here. To list topically—let alone chronologically the pertinent articles in newspapers and periodicals of various political leftwing coloration from World War I to the present would be an enormous task which was never part of the original framework of this bibliography. Instead, the availability of each issue has been noted whenever this was feasible. In order to do this, I personally sorted out and arranged numerous prewar newspapers and magazines in the Library of Congress for the first time.

The bibliography has been divided into ten chapters. Entries are generally listed alphabetically under topical sub-sections. Only a limited number of cross references have been used; these have been inserted in the main body of the text instead of the end of each sub-section or chapter. In almost all sub-sections, governmental documents have been listed separately. For the convenience of the reader, an author-title index and a list of publishers’ names with characters have been appended. Characters for author’s names are given only in the index.

The introductory remarks at the beginning of each chapter are meant as guides to the prospective user of the bibliography; the books and documents mentioned in these comments are intended only as suggestions and are far from definitive. Wherever appropriate, various schools of thought have been mentioned. The responsibility for such comments, annotations, and all bibliographic selections are the sole responsibility of the compiler.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the Japanese Section in the Library of Congress and the Hoover Institute and Library have excellent collections on Japanese leftwing social movements. Their collections are complementary with a minimum of duplication.

Boston

July 1, 1958

C.H.U.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am greatly indebted to the American Philosophical Society for having made possible the initial survey of American university libraries in the summer of 1953. This survey became the core of the bibliography. It was completed as part of the project at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy sponsored by the Ford Foundation which enabled me to visit Japan and consult with Japanese scholars and researchers.

Without the constant and generous cooperation of libraries and their staffs throughout the United States and Japan since 1952, this bibliography would have taken many more years to complete; indeed it may never have been possible. I should like to express special gratitude—without lessening my appreciation for others whom I have not mentioned—to Dr. Edwin G. Beal, Jr., formerly chief, Japanese Section, Mr. Andrew Y. Kuroda, Mrs. Lillian K. Takeshita and Mr. T. Hayakawa of the Japanese Section in the Library of Congress, and to Mr. and Mrs. Allan Paul, and Dr. Nobutaka Ike, Curator of the Japanese and Korean Collections at the Hoover Institute and Library. Mrs. Ruth Krader of the Far Eastern Branch of the University Washington Library, Mr. Harry Harada of Northwestern University of Library, Dr. G. Raymond Nunn of the University of Michigan Library, Mr. Howard P. Linton and Miss Miwa Kai of the East Asiatic Library of Columbia University, Dr. Warren Tsuneishi formerly of Yale University Library now at the Library of Congress, and Drs. A. Rodger Swearingen and Paul F. Langer of the University of Southern California, all spent many hours assisting me when I studied their collections.

Many Japanese writers, scholars and researchers gave me valuable advice and suggestions in selecting the items to be included in certain chapters of the bibliography when I visited Japan in 1955-56. I should like to especially thank Professor Kazuo Okōchi who freely gave his time to discuss frequently the bibliographic problems of the labor movement. He kindly arranged to have his associate, Mr. Taishirō Shirai, to work closely with me in covering the extensive collection in the Economics Department Library of the University of Tokyo. A special word of appreciation is also due Mr. Naga-hisa Nishida and members of the Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo of Tokyo University, Mr. Hirotake Koyama, and Mr. Seizaburō Yamada. Mrs. Teruko Hayakawa, formerly of the International House, Tokyo, efficiently supervised the typing of the manuscript, in its first and second drafts—a tedious task indeed.

My colleagues, Allan B. Cole and George O. Totten, kindly read over the manuscript and made many helpful suggestions.

Lastly, I should like to thank my wife, Allie Marie, for her patience in constantly supporting the gradual completion of the bibliography.

Boston

C.H.U.

July 1, 1958.

KEY TO SYMBOLS

The following location initials were used to designate the libraries where the items in this bibliography may be found :

CLSU	University of Southern California
CLU	University of California at Los Angeles
CSt-H	Hoover Institute, Stanford University
CtY	Yale University
CU	University of California at Berkeley
DLC	Library of Congress
IEN	Northwestern University
JJ	Ministry of Justice, Tokyo
JN	Ministry of Agriculture, Tokyo
MH	Harvard University
MiU	University of Michigan, Center for Japanese Studies
MnU	University of Minnesota
NDL	National Diet Library, Akasaka, Tokyo
NDLM	National Diet Library, Miyakezaka Branch, Tokyo
NLDU	National Diet Library, Ueno Branch, Tokyo
NNC	Columbia University, East Asiatic Library
PC	Private Collection
TUK	Tokyo, University, Keizai-gakubu
TUS	Tokyo University, Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo
WaU	University of Washington

Other symbols used are :

JCP	Japanese Communist Party
SDP	Social Democratic Party of Japan
KK	Kabushiki Kaisha
n. d.	no date of publication
n. p.	no name of publisher

CHAPTER I

PIONEER WORKS

A limited number of books, periodicals, and newspapers published during the Meiji period and the first years of the Taisho period have been selected as representative of the embryonic years in Japanese social movements. Foreign works played an important role in the propagation of liberal ideas, socialist and communist philosophy during these years when Japan was frantically trying to catch up to the more advanced West. Often the writings of western economists, social scientists, and philosophers were of more significance than those of native writers.

Instead of including the works of foreign writers in the main text, some of the books translated into Japanese during this period are listed below to indicate the type of foreign writings which tended to influence liberal Japanese social thought.

Edward Bellamy	<i>Looking Backward</i>
W.H. Dawson	<i>Bismark and State Socialism</i>
Henry Fawcett	<i>Pauperism, Its Causes and Remedies</i>
Charles E. Garst	<i>A New Inquiry based on the Single Tax in the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations</i>
Henry George	<i>The Irish Land Question</i>
Henry George	<i>Social Problem</i>
Wm. Graham	<i>Socialism, New and Old</i>
P. Kropotkin	<i>The Conquest of Bread</i>
P. Kropotkin	<i>Fields, Factories and Workshops</i>
Thomas Moore	<i>Utopia</i>
E.R.A. Seligman	<i>Economic Interpretation of History</i>
L. Tolstoy	<i>The Meaning of Life</i>
Th. D. Woolsey	<i>Communism and Socialism</i>

In general, the books and pamphlets of this period are now out-of-print and difficult to obtain. Only a few of the original editions are available in the U.S. There have been, however, a limited number of post World War II reprints in Japan notable among which is an excellent series known as *Shiryō Nihon shakai undō shisō-shi* (No. I-30), a documentary history of the social movements, their philosophies, policies and strategies. This series contains two of the three principal socialistic writings of the Meiji period: *Waga shakai-shugi* by Katayama Sen, and *Shakai-shugi kōyō* by Sakai Toshihiko and Morichika Umpei. The third is *Sakai-shugi shinzui* by Kōtoku Shūsui (I-15). These treatises represent the three principal schools of strategy and tactics during the embryonic period of social movements in Japan.

PIONEER WORKS

Only a few of the many magazines and newspapers published during this period have been selected for inclusion. At that time, there were several magazines, such as *Kokumin-no-tomo* which were regarded as leaders of liberal thought in Meiji Japan and which carried numerous articles on socialism but were not the vehicles of socialist advocacies and propaganda. They acted more as the media for introducing various kinds of western thought than as agents of the infant socialist movement. As the years passed, magazines and newspapers of more definite political tendencies began to appear, such as the *Heimin shimbun* in which was published for the first time in Japan in 1904 a translation of Marx's Communist Manifesto. This newspaper was against the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05 notwithstanding possible suppression by the government.

A. Bibliography

I-1. *Nihon shakai-shugi bunken* (日本社会主義文献), See no. II-3

I-2. *Shakai-shugi ni kansuru shimbun zasshi sonota shuppanbutsu mokuroku* (社会主義に関する新聞雑誌其の他出版物目録). n.p. n.d. 32 leaves. CSt-H

A list of newspapers, magazines and other publications concerning socialism, published around 1890-1910.

B. Books

I-3. ABE, ISOO. *Shakai mondai kaishaku-hō* (社会問題解釈法), Tokyo Semmon Gakkō Shuppan-bu, 1901. 454 p. NDLU

"The method for interpreting social problems" is divided into seven chapters on the general problem, the causes of poverty, charity, education, "self-help" enterprises—such as labor unions, industrial unions, cooperatives and credit unions—state enterprises for the relief of the poor and social security, and finally Abe's solution. The last chapter deals with the means of production and the distribution of goods and his differentiation between socialism, anarchism and nihilism.

I-4. FUKUDA, Torao. *Joshi no shokugyō* (女子の職業). Fukyū-sha. 1897. 214 p. NDLU

An investigation of working women during the Meiji period from the opposite point of view of *Nihon no kasō shakai* by Yokoyama. (See no. I-34) It is useful as it describes working conditions, recreation, clothing, organization, education, pay, and training. Various categories of working women are given a separate chapter. Some of the types described are the woman doctor, nurse, iron factory worker, textile worker, printer, and others.

I-5. HARADA, Sen. *Jiyū teikō zaisan heikin-ron* (自由提綱財産平均論). Haku-bundō. 1882. 108 p. DLC

BOOKS

"On the equalization of wealth" is regarded as one of the first books influencing the leftwing social movement.

- I-6. HEIMIN-SHA DŌJIN. *Shakai-shugi nyūmon* (社会主義入門). Heimin-sha. 1904. 75 p. 平民文庫 DLC

A small pamphlet on the elements of socialism, compiled and translated by pioneer socialists in Japan at the turn of the century. Most of this pamphlet was taken from a socialist newspaper on the west coast of the United States. According to one source 2301 copies were sold in Japan.

- I-7. KATAYAMA, Sen. *Sakushu naki shakai e no netsujō* (搾取なき社会への熱情). Kokusai Shuppan K.K. 1948. 305 p. CSt-H; CtY; DLC; MH; MiU; NNC

"With ardor toward a society devoid of exploitation" was written in Moscow in 1921-23 soon after Katayama arrived there from the United States. It deals with a variety of topics including socialism, labor, industry, social organization, propaganda, capitalism, individualism, and land reform and is a good source for understanding Katayama's philosophy.

- I-8. KATAYAMA, Sen. *Toshi shakai-shugi* (都市社会主義). Shakai-shugi Toshō-bu. 1903. 169 p. NDLU

A revision of a series of articles written for the *Tokyo Mainichi Shimbun* under the title "problems of city management." It is actually a general outline of Katayama's conception of a city plan for Tokyo based upon "socialism" as he had seen it in other cities in Europe and America. Katayama declared that "city socialism" would be the first place where socialism would be applied for the benefit of mankind. This is another instance of the introduction of western ideas into the socialist school of thinking in Japan.

- I-9. KATAYAMA, Sen. *Rōdōsha no ryōyū, Razāru-den* (労働者の良友ラザール伝). Kingusurei-kan. 1897. 76 p. NDLU

Biography of Ferdinand Lasalle here referred to as the "friend of the worker."

- I-10. KATAYAMA, Sen. *Waga shakai-shugi* (我が社会主義). Shakai-shugi Toshō-bu. 1903. 162 p. See no I-30 CU; DLC

- I-11. KAWAKAMI, Hajime. *Shakai-shugi hyōron* (社会主義評論). Yomiuri Shimbun-sha. 1906. 186, 24 p. NDLU

A series of 36 short essays on the causes and advocacies of modern socialism and the author's view of society and ideas on socialism. Kawakami was later one of the leading exponents of Marxism in Japan.

- I-12. KŌTOKU, Shūsui. *Heimin-shugi* (平民主義). Ryūbunkan. 1907. 272 p. CSt-H

Although entitled "Democracy", the book is a collection of commentaries published in newspapers and magazines in Japan and the United States from 1909. They constitute an outline of Kōtoku's anti-war philosophy, his interpretation of internal politics in Japan, the suppression of the social movements and the socialist party. Later Kōtoku was executed for his anarchist activities.

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- I-13. KOTOKU, Shūsui. *Kōtoku Shūsui tsūba kaigyaku cha bunshū* (幸徳秋水痛罵諧謔茶文集). Kaihō-sha. 1929. 263 p. DLC

Collection of Kōtoku writings from 1897 to 1901.

- I-14. KOTOKU, Shūsui. ...*senshū* (...選集). Edited by Hirano Yoshitarō. Sekai Hyōron-sha. 1948-50. 4 v. CSt-H; DLC (v. 1-3); MiU (v. 1); WaU

The writings of Kōtoku.

- I-15. KOTOKU, Shūsui. *Shakai-shugi shinzui* (社会主義神髓). Bunbudō. 1903. 147 p. Printed also in 1948 (96 p.) by Kitahara Shoten.

CSt-H; DLC; NNC

One of the early books on socialism written by a Japanese radical. In writing this treatise Kōtoku called upon many well-known European students of socialism, including Marx and Engels.

- I-16. KOTOKU, Shūsui. *Hyōron to zuihitsu* (評論と随筆). Jiyū Hyōron-sha. 1949. 241 p. Edited by Kōno Hiromichi. CSt-H; DLC

Collection of essays written by Kōtoku while he was editor-in-chief of the *Yorozu*.

- I-17. KOTOKU, Shūsui. *Teikoku-shugi* (帝国主義). Iwanami Shoten. 1952. 106 p. 岩波文庫 4804. CSt-H

Kōtoku's condemnation of "Imperialism" written between the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese Wars in 1901. He predicted dire consequences for the continuation of an imperialistic path and advocated the adoption of a socialistic system.

- I-18. KOTOKU, Shūsui. *Kirisuto massatsu-ron* (基督抹殺論). Heigō Shuppan-sha. 1928 (rev. ed.). 148 p. CSt-H

One of the last books written by Kōtoku before his execution. It concerns his analysis and rejection of Christianity.

- I-19. MATSUBARA, Iwagorō. *Sai-ankoku no Tokyo* (最暗黒の東京). Min'yū-sha. 1893. 155 p. NDLU

"Darkest Tokyo" is a series of newspaper articles depicting the slums, and most intolerable living conditions in Tokyo.

- I-20. *Meiji bunka zenshū* (明治文化全集). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1929. v. 21. Edited by Yoshino Sakuzō. DLC; MH

Volume 21 of the series on the achievements of the Meiji era is devoted to social movements. It contains ten items on the labor and the socialist movements in Japan. These ten items were chosen as representative histories, essays, treatises on the left wing social movements during the long reign of Emperor Meiji. The items are arranged chronologically from 1888 to 1908. The volume is prefaced by a separate commentary on each item; a bibliographic chronology is appended. The ten items are as follows:

1. *Takashima tankō mondai* (高島炭坑問題). as presented in the periodical, *Nihon-jin* in 1888 on the maltreatment of the coal miners in Takashima.

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2. *Shakai ronsaku* (社会論策) by Sakai Yūsaburō as reported in *Kokumin-no-tomo* in 1890-91 as four reports from Europe on social problems, the socialist party, and May Day activities.

3. *Nihon no shakai atsureki narabini kyūsai-hō* (日本の社会軌轢並に救済法) by Shimomura Fusajirō on the causes of friction in Japanese society and the solution, calling on the experiences of Europe. First published in 1893.

4. *Shakai-gai no shakai eta hinin* (社会外の社会穢多非人) by Yanase Keisuke on the social outcasts of Japan, the *Eta*. First published in 1901.

5. *Nihon no rōdō undō* (日本の労働運動) by Katayama Sen and Nishikawa Kōjirō on the Japanese labor movement. A classic in the history of the movement, published in 1901.

6. *Jinrui no taiken* (人類の大権) by Miyazaki Tamizō in 1906 on the great rights of the people especially in relation to the ownership of land. He advocated an equality of ownership but not the nationalization of land.

7. *Nihon shakai-shugi-shi* (日本社会主義史) by Ishikawa Gyokuzan and Kōtoku Shūsui in 1907 on the socialist movement in Japan, originally published in *Heimin shimbun*.

8. *Genji no shakai mondai oyobi shakai-shugisha* (現時の社会問題及び社会主義者) by Yamaji Aizan, a noted national socialist on the modern social problem and the socialist. It was first published in the author's magazine, *Dokuritu hyōron* in 1908.

9. *Shakai mondai zassan* (社会問題雑纂). Collection of newspaper articles on social problems published during the Meiji era.

10. *Heimin shimbun shō* (平民新聞抄). Collection of newspaper articles from the socialist newspaper, *Heimin shimbun* on two subjects: the change of direction (*hōkō tenkan*) as exemplified by Kōtoku Shūsui and on the second national convention of the Shakai-tō in 1907 at which the relative merits of parliamentarism and direct action were vigorously debated.

I-21. MIN'YU-SHA, ed. *Genji no shakai-shugi* (現時の社会主義). Min'yu-sha. 1893. 167 p. 平民叢書 6 NDLU

A pamphlet on the state of socialism and its history relying on two western sources, William Graham's *Socialism, New and Old*, and John Rae's *Contemporary Socialism*.

I-22. MURAI, Tomoyoshi. *Shakai-shugi* (社会主義). Rōdō Shimbun-sha. 1899. 164 p. 労働新聞社社会主義図書部 NDLU

A short exposition of socialism relating it to morality, education, art, women, labor unions, Christianity. The book is a collection of lectures made by the author after his return from the United States where he studied under Professor George D. Herron, D.D. of the University of Iowa and where he was impressed with the greatness of socialism which he observed through the operation of social services.

I-23. NAKAE, Chōmin. ...*shū* (...集). Hidaka Yūindō. 1909. 564 p. DLC

I-24. NAKAE, Chōmin. ...*senshū* (...選集). Iwanami Shoten. 1949. Compiled by Kaji Ryūichi. 岩波文庫

I-25. NAKAE, Chōmin. ...*shū* (...集). Kaizō-sha. 1929. 212 p. 改造文庫 1-37 CLU; DLC

Writings of one of the forerunners of the socialist movements in Japan. In the postwar period Kaji Ryūichi compiled a selected group of Nakae's writings published by Iwanami Shoten in 1949 (318 p.) as *Chōmin senshū*. Also published in pocket book size in 1929 (212 p.) by Kaizō-sha as *Nakae Chōmin-shū*.

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- I-26. NISHIKAWA, Kōjirō. *Tomi no assei* (富の圧制). Heimin-sha. 1903. 102 p. 平民文庫 DLC

"The oppression of wealth" is an indictment of the social injustices in society. It is the outline of four years of lectures at the turn of the 20th century by an early socialist.

- I-27. SAKAI, Toshihiko and MORICHIKA, Umpei. *Shakai-shugi kōyō* (社会主義綱要). Keiseidō. 1907. 210 p. See no I-30 CSt-H; DLC

- I-28. SAKAI, Toshihiko. *Shakai-shugi taii* (社会主義大意). Baibun-sha. 1928. 142 p. DLC

The three chapters in the book advocating socialism were written many years ago when the author was active in the labor movement. He was one of the principal organizers of the Japanese Communist Party and at the time of the First Communist Party incident was its chairman.

- I-29. SAKAI, Toshihiko. ...*zenshū* (全集). Chūō Kōron-sha. 1933. Total number of volumes unknown.

CSt-H (v. 1-6); CtY (v. 3); DLC (v. 3); NNC (v. 3)

The writings of Sakai.

- I-30. *Shiryō Nihon shakai undō shisō-shi* (資料日本社会運動思想史). Aoki Shoten. 1955— 27 v.

As years go by it is becoming more and more difficult to find important books, newspapers, and magazines published during the Meiji, Taisho and prewar Showa eras. In order to bring some of the more significant works of these periods to light a group of historians, under the sponsorship of the Aoki Shoten have planned the publication of 27 volumes in pocket book size reproducing out-of-print books, magazine articles and newspaper comments. Although both the publishers and the editors are generally identified as supporting the left wing, radical left and the communists, which may eventually influence their choice as they begin to select items written in more recent periods, this series is a very useful compilation. The contents of the published volumes and also of the unpublished volumes as far as the compiler is aware are listed below:

Early Meiji—5 volumes—not yet published

Jiyū minken shisō (自由民権思想). 3 volumes.

Nakae Chōmin-shū (中江兆民集). 1 volume.

Ueki Emori. Oi Kentarō (植木枝盛・大井憲太郎). 1 volume.

Late Meiji—9 volumes

Meiji shakai undō shisō (明治社会運動思想). 1955. 2 volumes. Commentary and editing by Kishimoto Eitarō. PC

Collection of magazine and newspaper articles on the embryonic labor movement in Japan from 1897 to 1909. The compiler of these volumes admits that they are incomplete in that he has not been able to study all the *Rōdō sekai* (Labor World), an important magazine for the period, and the newspaper, *Shakai shimbun* published by Katayama Sen.

Volume 1 is divided into three parts from 1897-1905 on 1) the beginning of the labor movement, 2) socialist propaganda after the government banned the *Shakai Minshutō* and 3) the *Heimin shimbun* and the anti-war movement. Articles were selected from *Kokumin-no-tomo*, *Shakai zasshi*, *Rikugō zasshi*, *Taiyō*, *Rōdō sekai*, *Chūō kōron*, *Shakai-shugi*, *Heimin shimbun*, and *Chokugen*.

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Volume 2 is divided into three parts from 1905 to 1909 on 4) social thought at the time of the formation of the Nihon Shakai-tō, 5) the rise of revolutionary syndicalism and its opposition to parliamentarism and 6) the formation of the various socialist factions. Articles were selected from *Hikari*, *Shin-kigen*, *Heimin Shimbun*, *Osaka Heimin Shimbun*, *Shakai Shimbun*, *Nihon Heimin Shimbun*. The principal writers in both volumes are Katayama Sen, Yamakawa Hitoshi, Sakai Toshihiko, Ishikawa San-shirō, Tazoe Tetsuji, and Kōtoku Shūsui.

Meiji shakai-shugi shiron. (明治社会主義史論). Commentary and editing by Kishimoto Eitarō. 1 volume. 1955. PC

Contains three classic works originally published at about the same time in 1907-8 on the embryonic labor movement in Japan. They are 1) history of Japanese socialism by Ishikawa Gyokuzan (Sanshirō) and Kōtoku Shūsui, 2) contemporary social problems and socialists by Yamaji Aizan and 3) a short history of socialism by Abe Isoo.

Meiji shakai undō shisō hoi (明治社会運動思想補遺). 1 volume. Commentary and editing by Kishimoto Eitarō. Not yet published.

Meiji rōdō mondai ronshū (明治労務問題論集). 1 volume. Commentary and editing by Kishimoto Eitarō. Not yet published.

Katayama Sen. Tazoe Tetsuji-shū (片山潜・田添鉄二集). 1955. 1 volume. Commentary and editing by Kishimoto Eitarō. PC

Three books, one by Katayama and two by Tazoe are included in this volume. *Waga shakai-shugi* (My socialism) by Katayama was written when he was most active in the labor movement in Japan. It was first published in 1893. The latter two, *Keizai shinka-ron* (The theory of economic evolution) and *Kinsei shakai-shugi-shi* (History of modern socialism) by Tazoe, the outstanding advocate of parliamentarism among the socialists of the period, are his only two works before he died in 1908 at the age of 34. *Morichika Umpei. Sakai Toshihiko-shū* (森近運平・堺利彦集). 1955. 1 volume. Commentary and editing by Kishimoto Eitarō. PC

One book jointly authored by Sakai and Morichika, nine essays by them individually, and one each by Yamakawa Hitoshi, and Osugi Sakae are included in this volume. The one book, *Shakai-shugi kōyō* (Outline of socialism) was published toward the end of the Meiji period in 1907 and is one of the three works of principal significance on the problem of strategy of the labor movement during that period. The three essays were published in *Hikari* and the *Osaka Heimin Shimbun* prior to the book. The essays by Sakai were selected from *Heimin Shimbun*, *Hikari*, *Shakai Shimbun*, *Osaka Heimin Shimbun* and the *Nihon Heimin Shimbun*.

Meiji nōmin mondai ronshū (明治農民問題論集). 1 volume. Commentary and editing by Kishimoto Eitarō. Not yet published.

Meiji fujin mondai ronshū (明治婦人問題論集). 1 volume. Commentary and editing by Kishimoto Eitarō. Not yet published.

I-31. SHIBA, Sadakichi. *Kokka-teki shakai-ron* (国家的社会論). Fusambō Shoten. 1892. 108 p. NDLU

One of the first short expositions on state socialism according to the German pattern. An interesting list of English, French, American, and German books used by the author in his study and writing of this book is included at the end of the preface. Many of these books were translated into Japanese and played significant roles in introducing and propagating socialism in Japan.

I-32. *Shokkō jijō* (転工事情). Seikatsu-sha. 1947. 4 v. Edited by Tsuchiya Takao. CST-H (v. 1-3)

Shokkō jijō is a classic among government reports on the deplorable conditions existing in the Japanese factory during the Meiji period. After its publication in five

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volumes in 1903 by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the government did not allow its reproduction. The agency responsible for its compilation was abolished in Dec. 1903 soon after the publication. It was about 1100 pages long. Working conditions as to type of work, working hours, holidays, employment relations, wages, savings, awards, punishment, supervision, hygiene, shelter, morale and discipline, health, education, the mistreatment of women workers, and statements made by workers, engineers, employers, and women workers are included in the survey.

According to Tsuchiya one is able to obtain a clear and undistorted picture of the working conditions of the Meiji period though *Shokkō jijō* and *Nihon no kasō shakai* by Yokoyama Gennosuke (See no I-34).

Volume four contains four additional government reports compiled about the same time as *Shokkō jijō*. They are:

- 1) *Kōjō chōsa yōryō* (工場調査要領). Investigation of conditions in factories in 1899.
- 2) *Kōjō chōsa yōryō* (工場調査要領). Though of the same name is the investigation of factory conditions in 1900.
- 3) *Kaku kōjō ni okeru shokkō kyūsai sonota jikei-teki shisetsu ni kansuru chōsa gaiyō*. (各工場に於ける職工救済その他慈善施設に関する調査概要). Investigation of education, hygiene, recreation, and savings in 236 factories in 1901.
- 4) *Chō-Fu-Ken kōjō oyobi shokkō torishimari ni kansuru kisoku* (庁・府県工場及び職工取締に関する取締規則). Regulations governing the activities of workers and factories. First published in 1902.

I-33. YANO, Ryūkei. *Shin-shakai* (新社会). Dai-Nihon Tosho K.K. 1902. 292 p. English title: The New Society. DLC

As the English title may imply, it is a utopian novel which purports to set forth the political, economic, social, and financial relations in this new society. Yano was a former government official and one time ambassador to China, and leader of the conservative party, Kaishin-tō. According to *Nihon shakai-shugi bunken* this book went through 17 printings.

I-34. YOKOYAMA, Gennosuke. *Nihon no kasō shakai* (日本の下層社会). Kyōbunkan. 1899. 345 p. CSt-H; DLC

Republished in 1949 by Chūō Rōdō Gakuen, with a 19 page commentary by Tsuchiya Takao. CLU; CSt-H; DLC; MiU; NNC

Analysis of the deplorable living conditions of Tokyo slums, the life of the artisan and handicraftsman, the factory worker, and the tenant farmer, their working conditions and conditions of employment based upon statistics and surveys conducted from May 1896 to Nov. 1898 soon after the Shino-Japanese War.

C. Periodicals and Newspapers

There are many periodicals listed in *Nihon Shakai-shugi bunken* (See no. II-33) as being socialistic or having carried articles on socialism. Only a few have been selected for mention here:

I-35. *Chokugen* (直言). Published by Chokkō-sha as a monthly in the beginning. Editor was Katō Tokijirō. Vol. 1, nos. 1-14 were published under these auspices from Jan. 5, 1904 to Jan. 5, 1905. Vol. 2, a weekly, was pub-

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lished by Heimin-sha and edited by Sakai Toshihiko, Kōtoku Shūsui, and Nishikawa Kōjirō from Feb. 5 to Sept. 10, 1905 for 32 issues. *Chokugen* was published as the "sole organ of Japanese socialists," and successor to *Heimin shimbun*. The translated title—by the editors—is indicative of its purpose; it was first known as "Speaking straight forwardly" but later changed to "Plain Speaker." CSt-H has vol. 2, nos. 2-32; CU has vol. 1, nos. 1-14 and some issues of vol. 2 on Contoura reproductions.

I-36. *Hechima no hana* (へちまの花). Published by Baibun-sha. Edited by Sakai Toshihiko. A literary magazine whose title translated means "Snake Gourd Flower" was issued monthly starting in Jan. 1914, changing its name to *Shin-shakai* in Sept. 1915, changing its name again to *Shin-shakai hyōron* in Feb. 1920 and then again in Sept. 1920 to *Shakai-shugi*. The last issue was published in Sept. 1921. Although the editorship did not change the publishing house was changed to Heimin Daigaku (People's University) and its English title as noted in the *Shinshakai hyōron* was "The socialist review." CU has the most complete microfilm collection; only the two banned issues of *Shin-shakai* are missing. CSt-H has almost a complete run for 1918-1919 for *Shin-shakai* and five issues in 1920 for *Shin-shakai hyōron*. DLC has only four issues in 1918 and 1920 for *Shin-shakai*.

I-37. *Heimin shimbun* (平民新聞). Published by Heimin-sha. Edited by Sakai Toshihiko (nos. 1-23), and Nishikawa Kōjirō (nos. 24-64). The periodical, whose title translated means "the commoners newspaper," lasted for a little over a year from its first issue on Nov. 15, 1903 to its 64th issue on Jan. 29, 1905. Under the editorship of Hattori Shisō and Konishi Shirō, Sōgen-sha reprinted in 1953-54 all 64 issues of the newspaper, except certain extraneous material in each issue such as advertising, in four volumes entitled *Shiryō kindai Nihon-shi shakai-shugi shiryō*. (CtY: vols. 1-2; DLC: vols. 1-2). Volume 1 is prefaced by an historical statement concerning the publication of the *Heimin shimbun*, its suppression, its advocacies of socialism, contributions made by the newspaper, an outline of its anti-war thesis, and brief biographical sketches of persons connected with the newspaper. It is useful in studying the socialist movement at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905. CSt-H has a fairly complete set of the original newspaper; only nos. 22, 30, 41, 48, 50, 51, and 53 are missing of the 64 issues. CU has a complete set on microfilm. *Heimin shimbun* was succeeded by *Chokugen*.

I-38. *Heimei shimbun* (平民新聞). Published by Heimin-sha. Edited by Ishikawa Sanshirō, Nishikawa Kōjirō, Takeuchi Kenshichi, Kōtoku Shūsui, Sakai Toshihiko. It was published on a daily basis for 75 issues from Jan. 15 to Apr. 14, 1907 when a Tokyo court ordered it to cease publication a month after the riot at the Ashio copper mines which this newspaper had supported. It succeeded the two socialist magazines *Hikari* and *Shin-kigen*. CU has a complete set on microfilm.

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I-39. *Heimin shimbun*. (平民新聞). Published by Heimin-sha. Edited by Ōsugi Sakae and Arahata Katsuzō (Kanson). After six successive prohibitions by the government from Oct. 1914 to Mar. 1915 the *Heimin shimbun* was abandoned and *Kindai shisō* was revived. CU has a microfilm copy of these issues except no. 5.

I-40. *Hikari* (光). Published by Hikari Zasshi-sha. Editors were Kōtoku Shūsui, Sakai Toshihiko, Yamaguchi Koken, Shirayanagi Shūko. It succeeded the weekly *Heimin shimbun* and was issued twice a month from Nov. 20, 1905 for 31 issues to Dec. 1906 and was then succeeded by the daily *Heimin shimbun*. CU has a complete set as a Contoura reproduction.

I-41. *Kindai shisō* (近代思想). Published by Kindai Shisō-sha. Edited by Ōsugi Sakae and Arahata Katsuzō. Issued monthly from Oct. 1912 to Jan. 1916. The publication of this monthly can be divided into two parts. The first period ran from the first issue in Oct. 1912 to Sept. 1914 when it was replaced by another *Heimin shimbun* because its publisher and editors were dissatisfied with its purely intellectual role. But the *Heimin shimbun* was continually suppressed by the government so *Kindai shisō* was revived in Oct. 1915 and published for four issues until Jan. 1916. *Kindai shisō*, meaning "Modern thought," was one of the magazines published to revive the socialist movement during the first World War and after the setback suffered by the socialist movement at the time of the Kōtoku Incident. CU has a complete microfilm copy of this magazine.

I-42. *Kokumin-no-tomo* (国民之友). First published in 1887. Though not a socialist magazine it printed many articles on socialism. *Nihon shakai-shugi bunken*, mentioned earlier, gives the numbers of the issues including articles on socialism. A few copies are available at CSt-H and CtY; a more complete collection may be found at the University of Tokyo.

I-43. *Kumamoto hyōron* (熊本評論). Published in Kumamoto city in Kumamoto Prefecture in Kyūshū and edited by Matsuo Uchida. It was issued twice a month for 31 issues from June 1907 until Sept. 1908. CU has a complete set on microfilm.

I-44. *Osaka heimin shimbun* (大阪平民新聞). Published and edited by Morichika Umpei twice a month from June 1, 1907 until May 20, 1908 for 22 issues. From no. 11 it changed its name to *Nihon heimin shimbun*. It represents the direct action philosophy of the socialist movement. CU has a complete set on Contoura reproductions.

I-45. *Rikugō zasshi* (六合雜誌). First published in 1881 and was one of the principal vehicles through which socialist thought was first propagated especially under the editorship of Abe Isoo after 1897. This magazine, except for one or two copies is not available in the United States. Many issues are found in the "Meiji bunko" library at the University of Tokyo.

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I-46. *Rōdō sekai* (労働世界). Published by Rōdō Sekai-sha. Edited by Katayama Sen. English title: Labor world. It was published for four years, Dec. 1, 1897—Dec. 21, 1901, and then changed its name several times to *Naigai shimpō* (内外新報), *Shakai-shugi* (社会主義) and *Tobei zasshi* (渡米雑誌), 1902–1905. They were sometimes published as a monthly, sometimes as a daily and sometimes as a fortnightly. It is an indispensable periodical for the study of the labor and socialist movements during the Meiji period, but the issues are scattered with no one place having a complete set. Yale University Library and the U.S. Department of Labor Library now have the most complete set in the United States, University of California also has collected a large number of copies on microfilm. In Japan, Keio University Library has a sizeable collection.

I-47. *Shakai shimbun* (社会新聞). Published by Shakai Shimbun-sha. Edited by Katayama Sen and Nishikawa Kōjirō. English title: Socialist News. Published weekly in the beginning, then twice a month, and then only once a month, this newspaper lasted for 56 issues from June 2, 1907 to June 15, 1909. It regarded itself as the “central organ of Japanese socialism” and was characterized by Katayama in his history of the labor movement in Japan as representing the parliamentarism group in the movement as against the direct action group of the *Osaka heimin shimbun*. Eventually Katayama and Nishikawa disagreed over policy and the latter subsequently established the *Tokyo shakai shimbun* in opposition to the *Shakai shimbun*. CU has a microfilm collection of the entire series except for nos. 46 and 47.

I-48. *Shakai-shugi* (社会主義). See *Hechima no hana* I-36.

I-49. *Shin-kigen* (新紀元). Published by Shin-kigen-sha. Edited by Kinoshita Naoe and Abe Isoo. It lasted for only 13 issues on a monthly basis from Nov. 10, 1905 to Nov. 10, 1906 and was succeeded by *Heimin shimbun* (daily), an amalgamation of two streams, the Christian and Materialist groups. *Shin-kigen* was greatly influenced by the Christian thought of its editors. CU has a complete microfilm set.

I-50. *Shin-shakai* (新社会). See *Hechima no hana* I-36.

I-51. *Shin-shakai hyōron* (新社会評論). See *Hechima no hana* I-36.

I-52. *Tokyo shakai shimbun* (東京社会新聞). Published by Tokyo Shakai Shimbun-sha. Edited by Nishikawa Kōjirō, Yoshikawa Morikuni, Akaba Hajime, Matsuzaki Genkichi. Issued three times a month from Mar. 15, to Sept. 15, 1908, with a total of only 15 issues. English title: Tokyo socialist. Central organ of Japanese Socialists. This newspaper was started in opposition to *Shakai shimbun* as a result of a disagreement between Katayama and Nishikawa. CU has a complete Contoura reproduction of the 15 issues.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL REFERENCES

This chapter contains items which are important in the study of almost all aspects of the leftwing social movements. Other than general reference items, there are several which include articles, essays and treatises of a highly specialized character. Due to the complexity of separating each article and placing it under the appropriate section and subsection heading, certain series (except II-5) containing a wide gamut of subject-matter have been collected under "General References." This concentration is especially applicable in "A. Documents."

"*Shōwa...nen-jū ni okeru shakai undō no jōkyō*" (II-6 and also II-1, II-2, II-19) is the principal documentary reference work. It is an excellent source as a detailed government report on numerous aspects of the prewar social movements. These reports were the result of an extremely strict surveillance of all social movements with political implications by the prewar Japanese Police. Such a complete assembly of factual data on the postwar movements is not available. Presumably there would be such reports on certain segments of the social movements, such as communism, but they would be of a confidential nature and not open to the scrutiny of the scholar. Most of the other documents, such as the two *Shisō geppō* (II-3, II-4), *Shuppan keisatsu-hō* (II-17), and *Shuppan keisatsu shiryō* (II-18), contain a variety of specialized essays. Although the range of subjects covered is too wide to quote here, several examples will sufficiently illustrate the point: studies of the election tactics, policies and organization of the *Shakai Taishūtō*, court cases against members of the JCP, biographical material on the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, tactics of the *Musansha shimbun*, and *Marukusu-shugi*, and the *tanka* movement.

Although many social scientists in Japan hold reservations as to the validity of the analyses contained in these government reports, they have high respect for the accuracy of the factual data gathered with great diligence by government agents.

The *Nihon rōdō nenkan* (II-25) is generally regarded as the most reliable yearbook on the labor and other social movements in Japan. The chapter on leftwing political parties, though comparatively short, is one of the few compilations where party documents, which are generally difficult to obtain after a short time has elapsed, are liberally quoted.

There are two principal bibliographies of the leftwing social movements, a non-partisan compilation of the Meiji period (II-33), and a partisan compilation up to the end of the 'twenties (II-29). There has been no full-scale survey of available material from 1932 to the present.

DOCUMENTS

A. Documents

II-1. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. HOAN-KA. *Shōwa 2-nen jū-ni okeru shakai-shugi undō no jōkyō* (昭和2年中に於ける社会主義運動の状況). 1927. 107 leaves. Marked secret. DLC

Annual report of the socialist movement in Japan in 1927. The first chapter is a general survey of the movement, various types of organizations, anarchist, communist, etc. and their geographical distribution. The word "socialism" is interpreted by the Police Bureau (Keiho-kyoku) to include communism and anarchism. The bulk of the report is divided into many sections: the political movement of the socialists and the youth movement, socialists and the educational, labor, farmer, wage earners, cultural, and Suihei movements, the socialist movement among students, including the Kyoto University Incident, the international activities of the socialists, including their activities in the United States, China and Russia. Other chapters are concerned with the relations between socialists and crime, and police control.

II-2. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shōwa 3-nen jū ni okeru shakai-shugi undō no jōkyō* (昭和3年中に於ける社会主義運動の状況). 1928. 273 leaves. Marked secret. DLC

Annual report of the socialist movement in Japan in 1928. This report is more detailed than the one for 1927 but the general outline is same with a few additions: a separate section is devoted to the anarchists, and the secret JCP and Japan Young Communist League, the anti-war and anti-military movement of the socialists in the broad sense, the movement to assist the victims who participated in the socialist movement later referred to as liberation movement, and the socialist women's movement.

II-3. *Shisō Geppō* (思想月報). Shihō-shō Keiji-kyoku. Monthly. First published July 1934. Marked confidential or secret.

A monthly report on various aspects of the social movements in Japan. The reports are regularly divided into four sections: research, reference materials, statistics, miscellany. The research section pertains to independent studies made of a variety of aspects of the communist, nationalist, labor and farmer, proletarian and religious movements and the China Incident. In the following annotations, the titles in this section usually begin with the word "Survey."

The second section on reference materials has several sub-sections which tend to be monopolized later by court decisions, and similar decisions on preliminary examinations of offenses against the Peace Preservation law involving communist activities, and other criminal offenses committed by members of the rightwing nationalists. Other sub-topics are reports from thought prosecutors, documentary material on policies, regulations, structure of organizations, statements by persons involved in the left and rightwing movements both in Japan and abroad, reports on the state of the social movements during a given period in a particular jurisdiction of a District Court, and Court of Appeals, summaries of the more important events in the social movements in Japan and adjacent areas, items relating to the China Incident, reports on communism, nazism, the internal politics of these countries, and the activities of certain individuals in foreign countries.

The third section is a collection of statistics on a monthly basis on those indicted and convicted of offenses against the Peace Preservation Law. This section gives

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more than a mere listing of the names of the offenders, and includes the occupation, education, affiliation, type of activity and date of conviction. On a similar monthly basis, statistics on the censorship of publications are also given. The latter report is not continued throughout the *Shisō geppō* series. Like the other sections, "miscellany" has items on the communist, nationalist, labor and farmer movements, and many topics concerning foreign movements. The items in this section are usually reproductions of statements, speeches, reports from thought procurators and other security officials, resolutions by associations and political parties. These items are generally shorter than those in other sections and there are more items on foreign countries.

The following annotations are not tables of contents. The topics which seemed to be of most interest in the study of the social movements were chosen. The bulk of topics concerned with foreign events, therefore, have been omitted. Judging from available indexes many of the issues not mentioned here also contain considerable data of interest and value, but have not been included since their whereabouts are unknown.

No. 1 (July 1934). 292 p.

DLC

The Yuibutsu Kenkyūkai (唯物研究会); the relationship between the Zenkoku Suiheisha and the JCP: the national convention of the Nihon Rōdō Dōmei in 1934; Prosecutor Moriyama's argument against Sano Manabu, Nabeyama Sadachika and three others; the Zenkyō (全協); offenders of the Peace Preservation Law; the situation in the prefectural offices relating to the unification of the farmer's movement; a list of left- and rightwing newspapers and periodicals: three charts depicting the relationship between the leftwing political parties, the JCP and the Shakai Taishū-tō, and rightwing organizations and periodicals.

No. 2 (Aug. 1934). 591 p.

DLC

Survey of the Nihon Musansha Iryō Dōmei (日本無産者医療同盟); the dissolution of the Nihon Puroretaria Engeki Dōmei (日本プロレタリア演劇同盟); Nozaka's speech on the danger of war and the mission of the JCP, 1934; the school policy of the JCP; the present organizational mission of the JCP in the farm villages; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law for Oct.-Nov. 1933: list of banned publications; decision of the preliminary examination of Kurahara Korehito, founder of the Proletarian Cultural Federation in 1931.

No. 4 (Oct. 1934). 432 p.

DLC

Recent state of the farmer's movement, part I; the activities of the right- and leftwings in the Tokyo street-car dispute as of Oct. 4, 1934; the social movements from Jan. to June 1934 in the Miyagi and Nagoya areas, the communist movement in the Nagoya, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, and Niigata areas; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, and a list of banned publications; list of communist publications with deceptive titles; the magazine *Riron to jissen* (理論と実践) published by a faction of the JCP; resolutions of the renters union.

No. 5 (Nov. 1934). 391 p.

DLC

Survey of the Nihon Rōnō Kyūenkai (日本労農救済会 Japan Red [literally Labor-Farmer] Aid Society) and women who have infringed upon the Peace Preservation Law from 1928 to September 1934; the activities of right and leftwing organizations in flood disasters: the recent farmers' movement, part II; the extreme leftwing movement and its characteristics in the Hiroshima area; the Comintern in capitalistic countries, a translation; survey of defendants in the second JCP incident whose sentences had been stayed; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law for Mar.-Apr. 1934, and a list of banned publications for July 1934, part I.

No. 6 (Dec. 1934). 336 p.

DLC

Brief account of the social movements in the Osaka, and Sapporo areas from Jan. to June 1934; advocacies of the Dai Nihon Kokka Shakai-tō; list of offenders of the

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Peace Preservation Law for May-June 1934; and a list of banned publications for July 1934, part II; activities of the left and rightwing concerning flood and rain disasters in the Kansai areas; rightwing publications; activities of the Nihon Rōnō Kyūen-kai Jumbi-kai concerning the crop failure in the Tōhoku area.

No. 7 (Jan. 1935). 324 p.

DLC

Survey of the resolutions concerning legal problems passed upon by labor and rightwing movements concerning the crop failure in the Tōhoku area; offenses against the Peace Preservation Law in the Mito area; the Yuibutsu Kenkyūkai; the farmers movement in the Chiba area; pamphlet issued by the Kansai committee of the JCP; 181st issue of *Akahata*, the JCP party organ; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law for July-Aug. 1934, and a list of banned publications for Aug. 1934; activities of the Nihon Shōhi Kumiai Remmei (日本消費組合聯盟) and the platform of the Osaka Shakuya-nin Dōmei (大阪借家人同盟).

No. 8 (Feb. 1935). 294 p.

DLC

Survey concerning the dissolution of the Nihon Rōnō Kyūenkai Jumbi-kai (日本労働救済会準備); observation of the British Communist Party and the JCP through election campaigns; report on the communist children's movement; report on the early proletarian cultural movement by Sano Kasami; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law for Sept.-Oct. 1934, and a list of banned publications for Aug. 1934.

No. 9 (Mar. 1935). 326 p.

DLC

Survey of the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law in 1934; survey of the rightwing (nationalist) offenders of the law; outline of changes in the Japanese farmers' movement; the Nihon Musan-tō Chūō Dakkan Daihyōsha Kaigi (日本無産党中央奪還代表者会議); the Yuibutsu Kenkyūkai; the opening statement of the magazine *Kama to hamma*; various legislative proposals by the Osaka branch of the Shakai Taishūtō; list of the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law for Nov. and Dec. 1934, and a list of banned publications for Sept. 1934.

No. 10 (Apr. 1935). 308 p.

DLC

Survey of the unification of the labor movement, legal disposition of front organizations of the JCP, and the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during 1934; social movements in the Nagoya and Miyagi areas from July to Dec. 1934; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law in Jan. 1935, and a list of banned publications during Oct. 1934.

No. 17 (Nov. 1935). 338 p.

DLC

Survey of the activities of various farm organizations and the Shakai Taishūtō concerning farm measures to cope with the agricultural depression, and also the Shin-Nihon Kokumin Dōmei (新日本国民同盟); various court cases concerning persons involved in communist activities; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law for Apr. 1935, and a list of banned publications for Jan. 1935; publications of the radical left in the Osaka area in preparation for May Day celebrations.

No. 23 (May 1936). 532 p.

DLC

Survey of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during 1935, the election tactics of the Shakai Taishūtō, the legal leftwing organizations, the farmers unions, and patriotic associations in 1936; social movements in the Osaka area, Jan.-June 1935 and in the Hiroshima area, July-Dec. 1935; the court case against Fuse Tatsuji; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Feb. 1936, and a list of banned publications for Oct. 1935; the Shakai Taishūtō and the Nihon Rōnō Kyūenkai.

No. 32 (Feb. 1937). 286 p.

JJ

Social movements in the Sapporo area, Jan.-June 1936; the 3rd national conference of the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Hyōgikai (日本労働組合全国評議会); list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law in Oct. 1936.

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- No. 33 (Mar. 1937). 492 p. DLC
 Survey of JCP members entering the U.S.S.R. and the present state of the Shakai Taishū-tō; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law for Dec. 1936 and a list of banned publications for June 1936.
- No. 34 (Apr. 1937). 352 p. JJ
 Survey of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during 1935-36; social movements in the Hiroshima and Miyagi areas; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law for Jan. 1937 and list of banned publications for July 1936.
- No. 35 (May 1937). 542 p. DLC
 Survey of the election policies and tactics of various leftwing organizations and political parties during the election of the Tokyo Assembly in Mar. 1937, and the formation of the Nihon Musan-tō; the communization of Japanese in Northern Sakhalin; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law for Feb. 1937, and a list of banned publications for Aug. 1936.
- No. 38 (Aug. 1937). 352 p. JJ
 Survey of offenders who have violated the Peace Preservation Law more than once from 1928 to June 1937; survey of the communist movement among Japanese in the United States; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, May 1937, and a list of banned publications for Nov. 1936.
- No. 39. (Sept. 1937). 510 p. JJ
 The activities of the Nihon Musan-tō: attitudes of leftwing political parties and labor unions toward the China Incident; social movements in the Sapporo area, July-Dec. 1936; the leftwing "Esperanto" movement in Japan; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, June 1937, and a list of banned publications for Dec. 1936.
- No. 40 (Oct. 1937). 246 p. JJ
 Survey of the attitudes of communists, leftwing political parties, labor and farmer organizations toward the China Incident; social movements in the Miyagi area, Jan.-June, 1936; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law and a list of banned publications.
- No. 41 (Nov. 1937). 476 p. JJ
 Social movements in the Hiroshima area, Jan.-June 1937; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, and a list of banned publications.
- No. 42 (Dec. 1937). 292 p. JJ
 Social movements in the Fukuoka, Kagoshima and Aomori areas since the China Incident; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, and a list of banned publications.
- No. 43 (Jan. 1938). 490, and 18 p. DLC
 Survey of the recent state of the Shakai Taishū-tō; social movements in the Nagoya and Nagasaki areas, Jan.-June 1937; a summary of the main activities of "thought groups" from May to Aug. 1937 in the Tokyo area; questioning of the defendant, Suzuki Yasuyuki, an offender of the Peace Preservation Law; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, Oct.-Nov. 1937, and a list of banned publications for Mar. 1937.
- No. 44 (Feb. 1938). 468 p. DLC
 Survey of the communist movement and offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during 1937; social movements in the Sapporo area, Jan.-June 1937; summary of the more important developments in the labor, left and rightwing movements from Sept. to Dec. 1937; court case against persons concerned with the Nihon Museifu Kyōsan-tō (日本無府共産党政); list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, and a list of banned publications; questions and answers by Suzuki Yasuyuki concerning farm problems.

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No. 45 (Mar. 1938). 322 p.

DLC

Study of the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law in 1937; similar survey for those who infringed upon the law more than once from 1928 to 1937; change of attitude of the Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai (全国農民組合); attitudes of the proletarian parties toward the Electricity National Control Bill; social movements in the Miyagi area from July to Dec. 1937; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Feb. 1938, and a list of banned publication in May-June 1937.

No. 46 (Apr. 1938). 222 p.

DLC

Survey of women defendants against the Peace Preservation Law from 1928 to 1937; social movements in the Hiroshima area, July-Dec. 1937; summary of the more important developments in the labor, left and rightwing movements in the Tokyo area, Sept.-Dec. 1937; court decision against Kobayashi Isamu for communist activities; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during March 1938, and a list of banned publications during July 1937.

No. 47 (May 1938). 252 p.

DLC

Survey of the movements of labor and farmer organizations after the arrests concerning the Nihon Musan-tō; the attitude of the Shakai Taishū-tō toward the Kokka Sōdōin-hō (General Mobilization Bill); the formation of the Dai Nihon Nōmin Kumiai (大日本農民組合); the court decision against Koiwai Jō; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law for Apr. 1938, and a list of banned publications for Aug. 1937.

No. 49 (July 1938). 336 p.

DLC

Survey of the recent activities of the main labor unions in Japan; summary of the main activities of the proletarian movement, and the right wing movement, Jan-Apr. 1938; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law for June 1938, and a list of banned publications during Oct. 1937.

No. 50 (Aug. 1938). 388 p.

DLC

Social movements, July-Dec. 1937, in the Osaka, Nagoya, Nagasaki, and Sapporo areas; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during July, 1938.

No. 51 (Sept. 1938). 226 p.

DLC

Survey of anti-war literature of all kinds in Japan appearing after the outbreak of the China Incident; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Aug. 1938, and a list of banned publications during Nov. 1937.

No. 52 (Oct. 1938). 230 p.

DLC

Social movements in the Miyagi area; the verdict against Koiwai Jō and Miyamoto Kenji, and others; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Sept. 1938.

No. 53 (Nov. 1938). 250 p.

JJ

Long survey on the anti-Japanese activities of Kaji Wataru, Aoyama Kazuo and two others in China; social movements in the Hiroshima area, Jan.-June 1938; court verdict against two persons connected with the Nihon Musan-tō; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Oct. 1938.

No. 55 (Jan. 1939). 212, 16, 75 p.

DLC

Essay by Nozaka Sanzō (alias Okano Susumu) on the Chinese and the Japanese people; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Dec. 1938; index of *Shisō geppō* from nos. 1 through 54.

No. 57 (Mar. 1939). 323 p.

DLC

Social movements in the Nagasaki area, Jan.-June 1938; Takenaka Tsunesaburō's statement on communist activities; various court decisions against persons concerned with communist activities; a list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Feb. 1939.

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- No. 58 (Apr. 1939). 226 p. DLC
 Social movements in the Sapporo area, Jan.-June 1938; various court decisions against persons involved in communist and socialistic activities; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Mar. 1939.
- No. 59 (May 1939). 431 p. DLC
 Summary of the more important developments in the social movements from Sept. to Dec. 1938; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Apr. 1939; an essay by a communist suspect, Matsumoto Sōichirō concerning the objectives of the China Incident and its outlook.
- No. 60 (June 1939). 402 p. DLC
 Communist activities among teachers from 1936 through 1938; social movements in the Nagoya area from Jan. to June 1938; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during May 1939.
- No. 61 (July 1939). 450 p. DLC
 Social movements in the Miyagi area, July-Dec. 1938; biographical information on members of nationalistic organizations, and on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law as of May 1939, part 1; various court decisions against persons involved in communist activities; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during June 1939.
- No. 62 (Aug. 1939). 610 p. DLC
 Survey of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law in 1938; social movements in the Nagasaki area from July to Dec. 1938; biographical material on the members of nationalistic organizations, and on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law as of May 1939, part 2; various court cases against persons, such as Okubo Shizuko, and Fukumoto Kazuo; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during July 1939.
- No. 63 (Sept. 1939). 594 p. DLC
 Social movements in the Hiroshima and Sapporo areas from July to Dec. 1938; biographical material on members of nationalistic organizations, and offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, part III; various court cases against persons involved in communist activities; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Aug. 1939.
- No. 64 (Oct. 1939). 508 p. DLC
 Survey of the "new stage movement" (Shingeki undō 新劇運動) during the China Incident (this organization was of a leftwing tendency); summary of important events in the social movements from Jan. to June 1939; report on social conditions from May 1938 to June 1939 by the public procurator of the Osaka Court of Appeals; various court cases against persons involved in communist activities such as the cultural activities in Kyoto, the Yuibutsu Kenkyūkai, and the popular front; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Sept. 1939; biographical material on the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law as of May 1939 and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 4.
- No. 65 (Nov. 1939). 467 p. DLC
 Survey of persons with communistic leanings concerning their actions during the China Incident; social movements in the Nagoya area, July-Dec. 1938; statement of the more important events in the social movements from July to Aug. 1939; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Oct. 1939; biographical material on the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law as of May 1939, and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 5.
- No. 66 (Dec. 1939). 485 p. CSt-H; DLC
 Social movements in the Hiroshima area, Jan.-June 1939; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law in Nov. 1939; biographical information on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law as of Dec. 1939, and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 6.

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No. 67 (Jan. 1940). 300 p.

CSt-H; DLC

Biographical material on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law as of Jan. 1940, and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 7; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Dec. 1939.

No. 68 (Feb. 1940). 322 p.

DSt-H; DLC

Biographical material on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law as of Feb. 1940, and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 8: list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Jan. 1940.

No. 69 (Mar. 1940). 234 p.

CSt-H; DLC

Biographical material on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law as of Feb. 1940, and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 9; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Feb. 1940.

No. 70 (Apr. 1940). 328 p.

CSt-H; DLC

The statement by Shibata Shichirō after he was extradited from Russia in 1939; the court decision against Oiwa Makoto who was involved in communistic activities; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Mar. 1940; the court decision against Kawai Eijirō; a history of Japan by the Russian Embassy; biographical material on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law as of Mar. 1940, and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 10.

No. 71 (May 1940). 315 p.

CSt-H; DLC

The activities of the Comintern in Shanghai; biographical material on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 11; index of *Shisō geppō* nos. 55-66.

No. 72 (June 1940). 262 p.

CSt-H; DLC

Court decision against Kawai Etsuzō and Shiba Hiroshi, the latter being implicated in the Japanese Government Planning Board Incident; biographical material on the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 12.

No. 73 (July 1940). 401 p.

CSt-H; DLC

The court decision against Matsushita Hideo for participation in communist activities; thought tendencies among workers during the China Incident; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Apr. and May 1940; biographical material on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 13.

No. 74 (Aug. 1940). 356 p.

CSt-H; DLC

The activities of the Zenkoku Suiheisha (全国水平社); press censorship of the so-called "thought" periodicals and communications during July 1940; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during June-July 1940; biographical material on the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 14.

No. 75 (Sept. 1940). 351 p.

CSt-H

The activities of the Zai-Ka Nihon Jimmin Hansen Dōmei (Japanese People's Anti-war League in China 在華日本人民反戦同盟); the decision of the preliminary examination of three persons involved in leftwing activities in violation of the Peace Preservation Law; biographical material on the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law; and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 15.

No. 76 (Oct. 1940). 352 p.

CSt-H

Decision of the preliminary examination of Suzuki Mosaburō and Nakai Shōichi concerning violations of the Peace Preservation Law in connection with the Nihon

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Musan-tō and the anti-fascist peoples front; biographical material on the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, and members of nationalistic organizations, part 16.

No. 77 (Nov. 1940). 355 p. CSt-H; DLC

Court cases against Uchida Jōkichi, and Kuriyama Kazuo for communist activities; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Oct. 1940; Russian espionage activities and suppression of Japanese in Northern Sakhalin; biographical material on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 17.

No. 78 (Dec. 1940). 453 p. CSt-H; DLC

Survey of the activities of the Zenkoku Suiheisha; court decisions against persons involved in the "Rōnō group" (労農派グループ), and the Nihon Musan-tō; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Nov. 1940; biographical material on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law and on members of nationalistic organizations, part 18.

No. 79 (Jan. 1941). 258 p. DLC

Study of the court disposition concerning persons involved in the "Rōnō group"; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Dec. 1940; biographical material on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, part 19.

No. 80 (Feb. 1941). 178 p. DLC

Court cases against persons involved in communist activities and in the Yuibutsu Kenkyūkai; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Jan. 1941; biographical material on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, part 20.

No. 81 (Mar. 1941). 242 p. DLC

Survey of the platforms and policies of nationalistic organizations; court cases against persons involved in various types of communist activities; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during Feb. 1941; biographical material on offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, part 21.

No. 82 (Apr. 1941). 380 p. JJ

Biographical material on the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, part 22; court cases against persons involved in communist activities.

No. 83 (May 1941). 275 p. JJ

Court cases against persons involved in communist activities; biographical materials on the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, part 23.

No. 85 (July 1941). 339 p. JJ

Biographical materials on the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, part 25.

No. 86 (Aug. 1941). 262 p. DLC

Biographical material on the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law, part 26; court cases against persons involved in communist activities; list of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law during July 1941.

No. 88 (Oct. 1941). 151 p. JJ

Court decision against persons involved in communistic activities including Kasuga Shōjirō, postwar JCP leader.

No. 90 (Dec. 1941). 182 p. JJ

Court decisions against persons involved in communist activities; reproduction of communist propaganda materials given to Japanese passengers returning from the United States. These materials were published and distributed by members of the American Communist Party.

DOCUMENTS

No. 92 (Mar. 1942). 213 p.

JJ

Court decisions against persons involved in communist activities.

No. 95 (June 1942). 196 p.

JJ

Court decisions against persons involved in communist activities including Hasegawa Hiroshi, postwar JCP leader, and Sekine Etsurō, pro-communist writer, list of government officials involved in the Planning Board Incident which, according to the Japanese government, concerned communist activities.

No. 105 (Aug. 1943). 107 p.

CSt-H

Decision of the preliminary examination of Kamiyama Shigeo and the court decision against Sanuki Noriyoshi for violation of the Peace Preservation Law; also a report by two prosecutors in Peking and Shanghai on the reaction of various organizations in China upon Nozaka Sanzō's arrival in Yenan in 1943.

No. 109 (Apr.-June 1944). 162 p.

DLC

The main sections of the *Shisō geppō* are now divided into right (nationalist) and leftwings, speech, religion, independence movements, and labor. The articles of interest are: the court decisions against Wada Hiroo, and two others involved in the Planning Board Incident.

II-4. *Shisō geppō* (思想月報) and *Shisō ihō* (思想彙報). Chōsen Sōtoku-fu. Kōsoin. Monthly. First published April 1931 (?). Marked confidential.

The initial title of the monthly reports was *Shisō geppō*; the title was changed to *Shisō ihō* in Dec. 1934. The first issues of *Shisō geppō* were mimeographed and later printed, and were about 50-60 pages in length. Many of the individual reports in each issue pertain to radical movements in Korea. However, there are a number of articles, long and short, in this series that pertain to leftwing movements in Japan, such as a serial collection of court decisions on the JCP and its leadership. After the two or three main articles, each issue is divided into several sections, such as undesirable literature (不穩文書), publications, statistics, newspapers, and reference materials.

Shisō ihō was an enlarged revision of its predecessor and averaged about 200-300 pages and also emphasized leftwing activities in Korea. The issues were divided into sections such as reference materials, surveys, statistics, and miscellaneous matters.

While only a general statement has been made about the *Shisō geppō*, a separate description of each relevant issue of the *Shisō ihō* only follows.

The Library of Congress has a very good collection of these documents on microfilm and in physical form. A number of copies in 1933 and 1934 for *Shisō geppō* and copies of *Shisō ihō* from Dec. 1934 to June 1939 are almost complete in physical form. Earlier issues of *Shisō geppō* are available only on microfilm in the Japanese Foreign Office Archives Microfilm Collection in the Library of Congress under the following title:

S 9.4.5.1-2 Miscellaneous documents relating to information regarding Japanese socialism and other dangerous doctrines; Shisō Geppō (distributed by the Thought Division of the Public Procurator's Office, Court of Appeals) (Hompō ni okeru shakai-shugi sonota kiken-shugi kankei jōhō zassen). Sects. 1-7: June 1931-Dec. 1938. 3871p. Reels S355-S358.

No. 2 (Mar. 1935). 120 p.

DLC

Copy of a written report by Kitamura Magomori (his previous name being Yasumuro Magomori) on the communist youth movement. Kitamura's pen name is Tanabe Hisashi. He has also written a commercially published book in Japanese on this subject.

GENERAL REFERENCES

- No. 3 (June 1935). 180 p. DLC
 Explanatory statement concerning the revision of the Peace Preservation Law and the law concerning the punishment of illegal organization (*Fuhō danketsu tō shobatsu ni kansuru hōritsu* 不法団結等処罰に関する法律); the prosecutor's argument against the leadership of the second Communist Party of Japan; a statistical survey of the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law according to number of offenses, age, motive of recantations, etc.
- No. 4 (Sept. 1935). 220 p. DLC
 Tendencies of the nationalist movement as expressed in rightwing publications; treatment of converts; statistics on the activities of converts, their subsequent participation in the CP, nationalistic parties, distribution of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law; general outlook on the nationalist movement; seventh meeting of the Comintern.
- No. 5 (Dec. 1935). 237 p. DLC
 Survey of the motives, education, occupation, age, standard of living of the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law; social movements in Jan.-Oct. 1935; recent activities of the Zenkyō and its national organization; history of the rightwing movement, part 2; list of thought newspapers and magazines as of July 1935; history and activity of the Nihon Proretaria Bunka Remmei (日本プロレタリア文化聯盟 Japanese Proletarian Cultural Federation), part 1; decisions by Japanese courts concerning infringements of the Peace Preservation Law.
- No. 6 (Mar. 1936). 270 p. DLC
 Survey of the occupations of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law after they have been released; survey of persons who had infringed upon the Peace Preservation Law after they had once recanted; summaries of the Supreme Court decision on various aspects of the Peace Preservation Law; formation of the Nihon Museifu Kyōsan-tō; history and activities of the Japanese Proletarian Cultural Federation, part 2; decisions by Japanese courts concerning infringements of the Peace Preservation Law; history of the rightwing movement, part 3 (final); list of thought newspapers and magazines as of Nov. 1935.
- No. 8 (Sept. 1936). 270, 14 p. DLC
 Trends in proletarian literary magazines; court decisions against offenders of the Peace Preservation Law; itemized summary of the social movements in Japan from 1922-1935, part 1; *Shisō-han hogo kansatsu-hō* (思想犯保護観察法 the law for the protection of thought offenders); decisions of Japanese courts concerning infringements of the Peace Preservation Law.
- No. 9 (Dec. 1936). 349, 15-32 p. DLC
 Survey of minors arrested for suspected participation in the communist movement during the last five years; decisions of the Supreme Court concerning the Peace Preservation Law; survey of the anti-Fascist people's front: list of left and rightwing newspapers and magazines as of Aug. 1936; itemized summary of the social movements in Japan from 1922-35, part 2.
- No. 10 (Mar. 1937). 390, 33-59, 5 p. DLC
 The anti-fascist people's front in Japan; the formation of the Dai Nihon Seinen-tō (大日本青年党); the activities of the Zenkyō in 1936; the "historical processes" of the problem of the convert (*tenkō-sha*); itemized summary of the social movements in Japan from 1922-1935, part 3.
- No. 11 (June 1937). 347, 61-112 p. DLC
 Survey of the offenders of the Peace Preservation Law in 1935-36; similar surveys of women offenders, government employee offenders, and those offenders who did not recant after conviction; new policy of the JCP; a written statement by Hirano

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Yoshitarō, suspected of communist activities; decisions of Japanese courts concerning infringements of the Peace Preservation Law; list of left and rightwing newspapers and magazines as of Feb. 1937; itemized summary of the social movements in Japan from 1922-35, part 4.

No. 14 (Mar. 1938). 326 p.

DLC

The Esperanto movement; list of nationalist and socialist magazines, published as of Dec. 1937 including information such as affiliation, central personages, etc; decisions of Japanese courts concerning infringements of the Peace Preservation Law by the JCP.

No 15 (July 1938). 302 p.

DLC

The Rōnō faction and the Nihon Musan-tō; excerpts from the diary of Katō Kanjū when he visited the United States; Japanese capitalism and the livelihood of the worker, the speech that Katō was to have made in the United States in the summer of 1935; the present state of the people's front; list of thought newspapers and magazines in Japan as of Jan. 1938.

No. 19 (June 1939). 338 p.

DLC

Infringements of the Peace Preservation Law since the China Incident; translation from Russian of an article by Okano Susumu (Nozaka Sanzō) entitled *Shina no sensō to Nihon jimmīn* (The China War and the Japanese People); the Nihon Kyōsan-shugi dan (日本共產主義団 The Japanese Communist Group) and its publications; decisions of Japanese courts concerning infringement of the Peace Preservation Law.

II-5. *Shisō kenkyū shiryō* (思想研究資料). Shihō-shō Keiji-kyoku. Irregular. First published Jan. 1927. Title has varied no. 1 *Shisō buhō* (思想部報); nos. 2-6 *Shisō chōsa* (思想調査).

Shisō kenkyū shiryō tokushū (思想研究資料特輯). Irregular. First published Sept. 1932.

Shisō shiryō pamphuretto (思想資料パンフレット). Irregular. First published Dec. 1938.

Shisō shiryō pamphuretto tokushū (思想資料パンフレット特輯). Irregular. First published Dec. 1938.

Series of studies devoted to various aspects of the leftwing social movements and the ultra-nationalist movements. Since most issues specialize on one topic, the series have been scattered throughout this bibliography. (See nos. III-76—III-80; III-170—III-177; IV-48; V-23; V-24; VI-138—VI-141; VII-50; VIII-64; VIII-153; VIII-155; VIII-265; X-82—X-86; X-88; X-89; X-91—X-97; X-100—102).

These are the only issues containing material of immediate interest and presently available. Judging from available indexes, however, issues not mentioned here and as yet undiscovered contain interesting and valuable information.

Indexes of the above publications are available in *Shisō kenkyū shiryō tokushū* 95, and *Shisō shiryō pamphuretto tokushū* 38 in the Library of Congress.

II-6. *Shōwa nen-jō ni okeru shakai undō no jōkyō* (昭和.....年中に於ける社会運動の状況). Naimu-shō Keiho-kyoku. Annual. 1929+Marked secret.

DLC (1929, 1931-42);

CSt-H (1931, 1933-35, 1937);

MiU (1939, 1941); CU (1942); NNC (1936)

A very detailed, well organized yearly record of the leftwing and nationalist movements in Japan. Each volume ranges from 1200-1800 pages. It is the only

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series which records in such detail, the activities of these movements; indispensable in a study of this subject.

Each volume is generally divided into the following sections; 1) Introduction; 2) communist movement; 3) proletarian cultural movements; 4) leftwing student movement; 5) Shinkō Bukkyō Seinen Dōmei (新興仏教青年同盟 New Buddhist Youth League); 6) the nationalist movements; 7) proletarian political parties; 8) labor movement; 9) farmer's movement; 10) Suiheisha movement; 11) anarchist movement; 12) religious movements; 13) cooperative movement; 14) the Korean movement in Japan.

As well as numerous charts, and tables scattered throughout each volume, there is appended a chronology by place and date of the more important organizational meetings, arrests and dissolutions of organizations. (see also II-19).

II-7. *Shuppan keisatsu gaiken* (出版警察概観). Naimu-shō Keiho-kyoku.

An annual police report on publications. An explanatory statement on the tendencies in publications, with a particular emphasis on the conditions that existed in the "thought" publications of both the leftwing and nationalist movements; statistics on the many violations of censorship laws, rules and regulations. More detailed information will be given under each year. The above title was used as a common denominator because the early issues in mimeograph form sometimes varied slightly in title.

II-8. *Shuppan-butsu no keikō oyobi torishimari jōkyō gairyaku* (出版物の傾向及取締状況概略). Naimu-sho Keiho-kyoku. Feb. 1924. Pages unnumbered. Handwritten carbon copy. DLC

An analysis of publications from the end of World War I to the end of 1923, including a review of the pre-and post-Great Earthquake periods. This might be the first study on publications made by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

A supplement is inserted on the strictness of censorship after the Great Earthquake, and a general review of the post-Earthquake period giving statistics and other data. This supplement was compiled in Dec. 1923.

II-9. *Shuppan-butsu no keikō oyobi torishimari jōkyō* (出版物の傾向及取締状況). Survey made in Jan. 1925. 24 leaves. Mimeographed. DLC

II-10. *Saikin ni okeru shuppan-butsu no keikō* (最近に於ける出版物の傾向). Mar. 1926. Marked confidential. 33, 5 leaves. DLC

II-11. *Shuppan-butsu no keikō oyobi sono torishimari jōkyō* (出版物の傾向及其取締状況). Feb. 1927. 45 leaves. DLC

II-12. *Shuppan keisatsu genkyō gaiyō* (出版警察現況概要). July 1, 1927. Pages numbered irregularly. DLC

II-13. *Shuppan-butsu no keikō oyobi sono torishimari jōkyō* (出版物の傾向及其取締状況). Jan. 1928. Pages numbered irregularly. Mimeographed. DLC

II-14. *Shuppan-butsu no keikō oyobi sono torishimari jōkyō* (出版物の傾向及其取締状況). July 1928. 74 leaves. Mimeographed. DLC

II-15. *Shuppan keisatsu gaikan* (出版警察概観).
Dec. 1928. Marked confidential. 193 p. Mimeographed. DLC
June 1929. Marked confidential. 190 p. Mimeographed.
Jan. 1930. Marked confidential. 350 p. Mimeographed.

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II-16. *Shōwa . . . nen-jū ni okeru shuppan keisatsu gaikan* (昭和.....年中に於ける出版警察概観). Naimu-shō Keiho-kyoku Toshō-ka. 1930-35. Marked confidential. DLC

By 1930 a discernible pattern of analysis developed. There was a strong emphasis on the study of trends through statistics and content description of leftwing publications. The control exercised over these publications through censorship by deletion, outright prohibition of circulation, etc. is also described. List of newspapers and magazines of a radical nature are given. A similar process is repeated with regard to published books.

The content description is careful and well documented. The various "thought" magazines are often quoted giving the date and name of publication in the analysis of magazine content. Sometime specific issues are selected and the various magazines are studied for comments and attitudes on issues.

The relationship between the various leftwing publications and their sponsoring organizations is clearly depicted. The essential facts concerning publication, such as date of first issue, changes in title of publication, the effects of censorship and many other items of interest are recorded. The evaluation of the influence of a publication by the police is also given.

II-17. *Shuppan keisatsu-hō* (出版警察報). Naimu-shō Keiho-kyoku. Monthly. First published Oct. 1928. Marked confidential. DLC

A monthly report on the state of publications especially concerning left wing "thought tendencies." The following structural description of the contents of each issue was the original plan appearing in the first issue.

1. *Thought tendencies* (Shichō 思潮). is devoted to the analysis of a topical subject, quite often in serial form, utilizing all kinds of publications as sources of information rather than confidential police intelligence. These analyses are careful, well documented and interesting considering censored publications are used.

2. *The general state of publications* (Shuppan keisatsu gaikyō 出版警察概況). The statistics in this section are two months behind date of publication, while other lists, bibliographies, and indexes are for the previous month. The section titles are:

Number of books submitted and cases handled per month. Book publications by categories per month.

Present number of newspapers and cases handled per month. Monthly report of principal books submitted (A bibliography giving all information even to price, but without annotations). Annotated bibliography of books connected with "thoughts." Index of main articles appearing in newspapers, magazines, and other communications.

Outline of articles in principal magazines concerned with "thoughts." List of prohibited publications. Number of prohibited publications confiscated. Explanatory statement concerning censorship of certain publications. Publications prohibited from being brought into the country.

3. *Reference materials* (Shiryō 資料). Two sections devoted to the introduction of foreign publications: third, to the state of publication of the main newspapers and magazines concerning "thought"; and lastly an article usually devoted to a topic with national and international implications.

Only *some* of the analyses of pertinent subjects will be noted under each issue.

No. 1 (Oct. 1928). Anti-war sentiment as expressed in the arts; criticism of the Musan Taishū-tō; anti-Marxian essays appearing in recent magazines, part 1.

No. 2 (Nov. 1928). Marxian philosophy appearing in recent magazines; anti-Marxian essays appearing in recent magazines, part 2.

No. 3 (Dec. 1928). Recent tendencies in essays advocating social democracy; the coronation and leftwing publications; the tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution and hand-bills, posters, leaflets, newspapers and periodicals published by the leftwing.

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No. 4 (Jan. 1928). Tactics of the *Musansha shimbun*, a leftwing newspaper; leaflets advocating anti-war sentiments.

No. 5 (Feb. 1929). Factionalism in the communist movement; secretly published factory "struggle news letters"; tendencies in recent proletarian culture; introduction of Russian culture in recent periodicals.

No. 6 (Mar. 1929). Criticisms of the present session of the Diet as they appeared in leftwing publications.

No. 7 (Apr. 1929). General state of leftwing publications of a threatening nature; leftwing hand bills and the anniversary of the Mar. 15, 1928 arrests of the members of the JCP.

No. 8 (May 1929). Survey of university newspapers.

No. 9 (June 1929). The development of proletarian literary arts, 1927-1927, part 1; the "expose" and "counter-measure" as they appeared in leftwing publications concerning prefectural assembly elections.

No. 10 (July 1929). Propaganda organization of the *Musansha shimbun* and its activities.

No. 11 (Aug. 1929). Anarchism in recent publications, part 1; development of proletarian literary arts, 1928-1929, part 2.

No. 12 (Sept. 1929). Anarchism in recent publications, part 2.

No. 13 (Oct. 1929). Establishment of the *Dai-ni musansha shimbun*, a radical leftwing newspaper.

No. 14 (Nov. 1929). Vicissitudes of the periodical, *Rōnō*; publications of the extreme leftwing and proletarian education.

No. 15 (Dec. 1929). The proletarian newspaper in Japan, part 1.

No. 16 (Jan. 1930). Vicissitudes of the periodical, *Marukusu-shugi* the proletarian newspaper in Japan, part 2.

No. 17 (Feb. 1930). The revival of the proletarian *tanka* movement; nationalism in recent publications (the first article on nationalism in this series).

No. 18 (Mar. 1930). Nationalism in recent publications, part 2; tendencies of anti-Marxism in Japan; propaganda leaflets and hand-bills printed by the JCP concerning the celebration of the founding of the Japanese Empire on Feb. 11.

No. 19 (Apr. 1930). Rationalization of industry and the advocacies of the various factions of the leftwing.

No. 20 (May 1930). Recent tendencies of materialistic dialectics.

No. 21 (June 1930). Student newspapers and school newspapers.

No. 22 (July 1930). Unemployment problem in leftwing publications.

No. 23 (Aug. 1930). Proletarian literary magazines during Jan.-Aug. 1930, part 1.

No. 24 (Sept. 1930). Proletarian literary magazines during Jan.-Aug. 1930, part 2; Anti-War Day in publications.

No. 25 (Oct. 1930). Proletarian literary magazines during Jan.-Aug. 1930, part 3; focal point in the discussions concerning the draft of the labor union law and publications part 1.

No. 26 (Nov. 1930). Focal point in the discussion concerning the draft of the labor union law, part 2.

No. 28 (Jan. 1931). Theory of proletarian education.

No. 29 (Feb. 1931). Development of the advocacies for the amalgamation of proletarian political parties, part 1.

No. 30 (Mar. 1931). Development of the advocacies for the amalgamation of proletarian political parties, part 2.

No. 31 (Apr. 1931). Development of the advocacies for the amalgamation of proletarian political parties, part 3.

No. 32 (May 1931). Recent tendencies in publications to introduce and explain conditions in Russia; development of the advocacies for the amalgamation of proletarian political parties, part 4.

No. 33 (June 1931). Conditions in Russia as reported in publications.

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- No. 34 (July 1931). Recent tendencies in proletarian literary works.
 No. 35 (Aug. 1931). The "anti-religion" struggle; development of the advocacies for the amalgamation of proletarian political parties, part 5.
 No. 36 (Sept. 1931). Polemics concerning the agricultural depression.
 No. 37 (Oct. 1931). Leftwing newspapers and their guiding principles, part 1.
 No. 38 (Nov. 1931). Organizational problems of the proletarian cultural movement.
 No. 40 (Jan. 1932). Leftwing newspapers and their guiding principles, part 2.
 Nos. 41-49 (Feb.-Oct. 1932). Analyses of topical subjects have been omitted devoting each issue to monthly reports on the items in sections 2 and 3 mentioned in the beginning of this annotation.
 No. 50 (Nov. 1932). From this issue, a new section on "research materials," has been created. The first topic is on "circle" activities as a form of the proletarian cultural movement.
 No. 51 (Dec. 1932). Vicissitudes and control of the proletarian *tanka* movement.
 No. 52 (Jan. 1933). Nippon-ism as the movement for the reconstruction of Japan.
 No. 53 (Feb. 1933). Police publication statistics for 1932.
 No. 56 (May 1933). Vicissitudes and control of the proletarian cultural movement, *i.e.*, an examination of the standards to be applied in the prohibition of certain *haiku*.
 No. 58 (July 1933). State of publications control at the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Board.
 No. 59 (Aug. 1933). Publications and the Kyoto University Incident.
 No. 60 (Sept. 1933). Various critiques concerning the recantations of Sano Manabu, and Nabeyama Sadachika.
 No. 62 (Nov. 1933). From no. 62, the monthly report was changed into four or five main divisions on the state of publications, their control and tendencies, research materials, and miscellany. All the regular indexes, bibliographie, and statistics are included in one of these sections.
 No. 68 (May 1934). Censorship of literature on war, and the dissolution of the Nihon Puroretaria Sakka Dōmei (日本プロレタリア作家同盟).
 No. 72 (Sept. 1934). Criticism of the Okada Cabinet by newspapers and magazines of all persuasions, including a bibliography.
 No. 74 (Nov. 1934). Criticisms appearing in newspapers and magazines of all persuasions concerning the political reorganization of Manchoukuo.
 No. 75 (Dec. 1934). Farm problem in 1934 as seen through newspapers and magazines of all persuasions, part 1.
 No. 77 (Feb. 1935). Farm problems in 1934 as seen through newspapers and magazines of all persuasions, part 2.

II-18. *Shuppan keisatsu shiryō* (出版警察資料). Naimu-shō Keiho-kyoku. Monthly. First published June 1935. Marked confidential. DLC

A monthly review of publications. It is usually composed of a report on one subject of topical interest followed by an analysis of the trends, by statistics and contents, of the books, periodicals, newspapers published during the preceding month. In the analysis of content of periodicals and newspapers certain topics are chosen around which the opinions, criticism, advocacies expressed in these publications are excerpted. The next section is composed of a bibliography of the more important books listed by subject categories deposited with the Ministry of Home Affairs. A useful guide to periodical literature follows according to type of publication, such as leftwing theoretical magazines, student newspapers, and literary magazines. After this breakdown which includes newspapers of all persuasions, the articles are listed under the name of each periodical and newspaper. A final section is on reference materials which is usually on a topic of foreign interest.

Only those reports of interest which appear in the research section will be noted under each available issue as the remainder of the report follows a similar pattern every month.

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- No. 1 (June 1935). Role of the intelligentsia.
- No. 2 (July 1935). Criticism of the so-called "organ theory (機関説)" of the Japanese Emperor in newspapers and magazines with a bibliography on this subject.
- No. 3 (Aug. 1935). Theory of control of the literary arts (文芸統制).
- No. 4 (Sept. 1935). Controversy concerning liberalism during 1935 in the principal theoretical magazines. In the reference materials section there is a brief review of labor disputes in Japan during the first half of 1935.
- No. 5 (Oct. 1935). Problem of the bureaucrat and bureaucracy with a short bibliography on the subject.
- No. 7 (Dec. 1935). Review of publication trends during 1935 with a list of newspapers and magazines of the left and rightwings during 1935.
- No. 12 (June 1936). Criticisms that appeared in newspapers and magazines concerning the Feb. 26, 1936 Incident.
- No. 13 (July 1936). A survey of the so-called "ten cent pamphlets."
- No. 14 (Sept. 1936). Press comments from publications of all persuasions on the new national policy and the Hirota Cabinet.
- No. 17 (Nov. 1936). Press comments by newspapers and magazines on the tax readjustment plan.
- No. 18 (Dec. 1936). Press comments on the budget for 1937.
- No. 19 (Jan. 1937). Review of publication trends during 1936.
- No. 20 (Feb. 1937). Press comments on the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact.
- No. 21 (Mar. 1937). Press comments on Yuki finances (Yuki was Finance Minister in the Hayashi Cabinet).
- No. 22 (Apr. 1937). Press comments on the dissolution of the 70th session (1937) of the Diet, and the tendency of "Nipponism"; the amalgamation of the two seamen's unions, and the 16th annual convention of the Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai; press comments on the 14th annual convention of the Suiheisha.
- No. 23 (May-June 1937). Press comments concerning the rise in prices; present state of the seamen's union.
- No. 24 (July 1937). Press comments on the North China Incident from July 9 to Aug. 12, 1937; criticism of the Konoye Cabinet.
- No. 25 (Sept. 1937). Press comments on the expenses of the China Incident; the activities of the proletarian and rightwing organizations.
- No. 26 (Oct. 1937). Critique of the economy on a war-time basis; trends in the labor and farmers unions.
- No. 29 (Mar. 1938). Analysis of the editorials of the nationalistic newspapers and magazines; study of the ordinary and leftwing newspapers and magazines.
- No. 30 (Feb.-Mar. 1938). Rejection of the popular front; trends in socialist newspapers and magazines.
- No. 31 (Apr.-June 1938). Articles on trends in newspapers and their control.
- No. 32 (July 1938). Press comments in leftwing newspapers and magazines on unemployment resulting from the mobilization of resources, and measures for the alleviation of this problem.

II-19. *Tokkō geppō* (特高月報). Naimu-shō Keiho-kyoku. Monthly. First published 1930? Marked secret. DLC

Each issue, about 100 pages, is usually divided into the following sections; 1) The JCP; 2) The Japan Young Communist League; 3) The Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Kyōgikai; 4) The Nihon Han-Tei Dōmei; 5) The Nihon Rōnō Kyūenkai Jumbikai; 6) The leftwing student movement; 7) The proletarian cultural movement; 8) The proletarian parties; 9) The nationalistic movement; 10) The labor movement; 11) The farmers movement; 12) The renter's movement; 13) The salaried man's movement; 14) The Suihei movement; 15) The women's movement; 16) The consumer's union movement; 17) The anarchist movement; 18) Koreans in Japan.

YEARBOOKS

Other than the above there are always a few appendices such as a list of publications of various organizations and parties, a chronology, and a few specially selected short topics.

In later years, a new section on religious movements was added while other sections were deleted.

It seems that there are parts in the monthly issues which do not appear in the annual publication (*See no II-16*). It is, therefore, advisable to scan these issues after a study of the annual report. Some supplementary data will be found. This is especially true in the section known as "Kenkyū shiryō" where often the subject matter cannot be found in the annual report.

Actual volumes are available in the DLC for July 1931; Feb.-Dec. 1932; Jan.-Dec. 1933; Jan.-Sept. 1935; Aug.-Sept., Nov.-Dec. 1938; Jan.-Mar., May-Dec. 1939; Jan.-Dec. 1940; Jan. Mar.-Dec. 1941; Jan.-Feb., May-Sept. Nov.-Dec. 1942; Jan.-Dec. 1943; Jan.-Apr. June-Aug. Oct.-Nov. 1944.

Jan.-Dec. 1934 are available only on microfilm in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives Microfilm Collection in DLC under the following title:

IMT 123 Monthly Reports on the Special Higher Police (Tokkō Geppō). Jan.-Dec. 1934. Compiled by the Peace Preservation Section, Police Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs. Japanese text only. (IPS Dec. no. 927). 1468 p. Reels WT24-WT25. (See also II-6).

- II-20. *Tokkō kankei nenhan nenpō* (特高関係年半年報). Keishichō. Mimeographed. LC has volumes for the following dates; as of Dec. 1935, Dec. 1936, June 1937, Dec. 1937, June 1938, and Dec. 1938. DLC.

Semi-annual reports on the activities of "thought organizations," political parties, cooperative movement, student cooperative movement, Suihei movement, renters movement, and on arrests made according to the Peace Preservation Law. Detailed day to day activities of these organizations are given together with names of principal participants, supporting or affiliated organizations, membership, and events concerning the party organ.

B. Yearbooks

- II-21. *Rōdō nenkan* (労竹年鑑). Compiled by Chūō Rōdō Gakuen.
CSt-H (1947); CtY (1948, 50-51);
CU (1946-48); DLC (1947-49, 51);
MH (1948-50);

Most of the yearbook is devoted to labor policy, labor conditions, labor legislation, labor contracts, etc. There is one chapter on the political scene and political parties. Useful appendices on statistics, bibliographies and chronology are also included. The Chūō Rōdō Gakuen was the successor to the prewar research organization on left wing social movements, the Kyōchōkai. The last edition was published in 1951.

- II-22. *Rōdō nenkan* (労竹年鑑). Compiled by Kyōchōkai. 1933.
CSt-H (1933-39, 41-42);
CtY (1935-37, 41-42);
CU (1935-38); DLC (1933-42)

Since March 1926, the Kyōchōkai published an annual report of labor activities in foreign countries called the *Kaigai Rōdō Nenkan* (1932 at CtY). This was amalgamated with an edition covering activities in Japan. The first issue of this revised edition was published in 1933.

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The yearbook is divided into two sections: one on Japan, and the other on foreign countries. The detailed contents of the former are: a general review of the labor movement, political labor parties, labor unions, labor disputes, nationalistic movements, cooperative societies, the farmers' movement, tenant farmer disputes, education of the working classes by the political parties, the government and labor unions. There are also additional tables and charts.

From 1935 a section on social administration (*shakai gyōsei*) was added and this section later assumed a more important position in the makeup of the yearbook. Sections on industrial labor, the conditions of the workers in various industries were also added.

For 1939 and 1940 a bibliography for the preceding year is appended.

- II-23. *Rōdō nenkan* (労働年鑑). Compiled by Sangyō Rōdō Chōsajō and Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei Shuppan-bu. Kibōkatu 1925. 465 p. DLC

The contributors to this yearbook are from both the left and right wings of the early proletarian movement: Akamatsu Katsumaro, Shiga Yoshio, Takahashi Kamekichi, Aono Suekichi are among those contributing. The principal subdivisions are: the trends in the capitalistic economy in Japan, the labor movement, the farmer's movement, general social movements including the student movement, the Suihei movement, the socialist movement, and the movement to educate workers, working conditions, social policy and labor legislation.

- II-24. *Nihon rōdō nempō* (日本労働年報). Compiled by Nihon Rōdō Nempō Hensanjō. Gakugei-sha. 1933. 410 p. CSt-H; DLC

This yearbook adopts the topical approach to the yearly events. The principal reporting of subdivisions are: the social position of the labor movement; working conditions, stage of development of capitalism in Japan from the standpoint of the census, characteristics of the Japanese laboring class, working conditions in Japan, state of the farmer, labor movement, labor disputes, labor union movement, farmer's movement, proletarian political parties, theory of fascism, development of fascism in Japan, fascistic organizations and their activities. Some of the contributors such as Kōno Mitsu, Hirano Manabu, Kikukawa Tadao give the yearbook a somewhat proletarian rightwing tendency.

- II-25. *Nihon rōdō nenkan* (日本労働年鑑). Compiled by Ohara Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjō (The Ohara Institute for Social Research). 1920. t

CSt-H (1920, 25-35, 37-40, 51-53);

CtY (1920, 1922-40, 1949-54); CU (1920-40);

DLC (1920-40, 52-55, 58); MH (1936, 39, 45-58);

NNC (1949, 52); WaU (1925, 30, 33)

The Japan Labor Yearbook presents a conservative description of the labor movement, and other social movements. The postwar editions, however, are generally regarded as having been compiled from a more radical leftwing point of view. With various modifications the yearbook is generally divided as follows: working conditions, unemployment, labor unions, labor movement, worker education, social welfare works, socialistic and anti-socialistic movements, labor policies by employers and the government, housing problems, immigration, farmer's movement, and labor laws. Although relatively few pages are allotted to the political party movements each year, this section, with a somewhat slanted presentation favor of the in left SDP has one of the better documentary accounts of the annual developments in with the leftwing political parties. Many documents which are usually difficult to obtain at a later date are liberally quoted.

DICTIONARIES

A useful bibliography and periodical index is appended to each issue from 1920 to 1933.

- II-26. *Shakai undō nenkan* (社会運動年鑑). Compiled by Nihon Shakai Undō Tsūshin-sha Chōsa-bu. San'yū-sha. 1931. 653 p.

CLSU; CSt-H; DLC; IEN; NNC

The first edition was banned by the government but a revised edition was soon reprinted. The yearbook is prefaced by Fuse Tatsuji and Fukuda Kyōji. It tends to be more radical than the other yearbooks published about this time. It is divided into six main sections: the condition of workers and farmers as a result of the depression in Japan, political movements including the parties, labor disputes and the labor union movement, tenant disputes and farmer's union movement, other proletarian movements, including the women's, student, Suihei, cooperative, renters, and literary movements, and finally the international labor movement.

C. Dictionaries

- II-27. *Kyōsan-shugi jiten* (共産主義辞典). Nisshin Shoin. 1949. 342 p.
Compiled by Kobayashi Eisaburō and Uchino Sōji. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

As the English title indicates, it is a "Dictionary of Communism." "Compiled by two communist journalists under the supervision of Hosokawa Karoku and Kawakami Kan'ichi, communist members of the House of Councillors and House of Representatives respectively. Contains definitions for more than 1,600 Japanese and Western language terms covering not only general Marxist theory and practice, but also related fields (such as social and political philosophy, labor legislation, trade unionism, and land reform), as well as a fairly exhaustive list of terms peculiar to Japanese communist lingo. The latter category includes both pre and postwar incidents involving communists or anti-communists, descriptions of communist or communist-front organizations, often accompanied by brief historical sketches. A number of terms used exclusively by the Chinese Communists are also listed. An appendix marked 'Required Reading Materials' consists almost entirely of writings by foreign communists. Usefulness of the dictionary is increased by the inclusion of a carefully compiled index enabling the reader to locate the desired term (whether written in 'Kana' or in Chinese characters) in an instant. Factual data have proved unusually reliable for a compilation of this kind. It must be pointed out, however, that all definitions and interpretations follow closely the Communist Party line (see for example 'the Asiatic mode of production'), as the dictionary was intended as a semi-official publication. Lack of a substantial 'Who's Who among Japanese revolutionists' (the few biographies of Japanese and foreign communists in a separate appendix are practically useless) constitutes the only omission in this otherwise excellent compilation." (Langer and Swearingen).

- II-28. *Shakai undō jiten* (社会運動辞典). Hakuyō-sha. 1931. 487 p. Compiled by Tadokoro Teruaki. CSt-H; DLC

Dictionary of terms peculiar to the social movements written by a member of the Nihon Rōdō-tō in 1928 and member of the central executive committee of the Shakai Taishū-tō in 1932. Often brief histories of the subjects are given.

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D. Bibliographies

- II-29. HOSOKAWA, Karoku. *Nihon shakai-shugi bunken kaisetsu* (日本社会主義文献解説). Iwanami Shoten. 1932. 120 p. 日本資本主義発達史講座 4 部

CSt-H; CtY; DLC

An annotated bibliography of Japanese socialist literature from 1880 to 1927 divided into three periods. Period one is from 1880 to 1895-96; period two from 1897 to 1914; period three from 1915 to 1927. Each period is preceded by a short description of the main events in the socialist movement during these years. The bibliographic items in each period are arranged by date of publication. The annotations are usually fairly long and the principal periodical articles are described under the name of the magazine. The original bibliography was banned by the Japanese government.

Fortunately the Library of Congress possesses both a deleted copy and the copy used by the Government censors. The writer of the bibliography is now a prominent leftwing leader and was involved in prewar leftwing activities and arrested by the Japanese government. He was one of the editors of the *Ohara Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjo Zasshi*. In the postwar era he was a JCP member of the House of Councillors.

- II-29. 1. HOSOKAWA, Karoku, WATANABE, Yoshimichi and SHIODA, Shōbei, comp. *Nihon shakai-shugi bunken kaisetsu*. Otsuki Shoten. 1958. 339, 31 p.

CSt-H

A considerably expanded and revised version of the 1932 edition bearing the same title. It is one of the first detailed and annotated bibliographies published in the postwar period on Japanese socialist and communist literature from 1868 to 1945. The bibliography is divided into five parts: the entire Meiji era (1868-1912), from 1912 (when the Yuaikai was established) to 1921, from 1922 (when the JCP was created) to 1931 (when the 1931 political thesis was announced), from 1932 (at which time the 1932 JCP Thesis was announced) to 1945. Significantly, most of these historical divisions follow the development of the communist party in Japan, and also imply the political and ideological bias of the bibliography. Each historical section is prefaced by a ten to fifteen page introduction, and the bibliographic items are arranged chronologically with no topical breakdowns. In addition to important books and periodicals, this bibliography also includes significant periodical and newspaper articles. Although many hundreds of prewar Japanese government documents on the prewar leftwing social movements have become available in the postwar period, none has been included in this bibliography. A chronology of publications and an author-title index are appended.

- II-30. ISHIKAWA, Shigeru. *Homnō shoki shakai-shugi bunken* (本邦初期社会主義文献), in *Marukusu-shugi*. vol. 4, no. 1 (Jan. 1926). p. 62-73

DLC

Bibliography of early socialist writings in Japan covering the years 1868 to 1909. The breakdown as a principle is by subject and then by date of publication. Some items are annotated. The subject categories are: socialism, biographies written or translated by Japanese or foreign socialists, liberation of women, miscellaneous items, socialist literature, social reformism, socialist newspapers and magazines.

- II-31. KIMURA, Tsuneo. *Nihon ni okeru burujoa minshu-shugi hattatsu-shi no bunken* (日本に於けるブルジョア民主主義発達史の文献) in *Puroretaria kagaku kenkyū*, no. 1 (May 1931). p. 187-205.

DLC

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Bibliography on the history of the development of "bourgeois democracy" in Japan. The principal publications and their authors are given for almost each year from 1827-1892.

- II-31.1. KOYAMA, Hirotake, *comp. Nihon rōdō undō shakai undō kenkyū-shi* —senzen sengo no bunken kaisetsu (日本労働運動社会運動研究史 戦前戦後の文献解説). Sangatsu Shobō. 1957. 296, 6 p. CSt-H

The first annotated bibliography on the historiography of the Japanese labor and social movements from the early Meiji period to the present. All articles and books which have analyzed these movements from the historical point of view have been included according to Koyama. Except for a few items, all primary materials such as declarations by political parties and labor unions, articles and books by prominent leaders on actions programs and other strategy questions have been omitted (Koyama says he plans to compile another bibliography on this subject). Part I is a general review of historical works on the 1868-1945 period. Part II is on more than one dozen different aspects of the social movements such as farmers unions, women's and student movements, secret police, labor unions. Part III is on supplementary materials such as biographies, fascism, social policy, secret police, chronologies, annual reports, dictionaries and bibliographies. Each section is prefaced by an introductory statement briefly commenting on the principal works, followed by a listing of articles and books. Unlike previous Japanese bibliographies, this compilation does take note of a limited number of Japanese Government documents.

- II-32. *Nihon rōdō nenkan* (日本労働年鑑). Compiled by Ohara Sakai Mondai Kenkyūjo.

A very useful bibliography and periodical index broadly interpreting social movements and classified according to subject is appended to each issue from 1920 to 1933. (See also no. II-25).

- II-33. *Nihon shakai-shugi bunken* (日本社会主義文献). Osaka. Dōjin-sha Shoten. 1929. 254 p. Compiled by Ohara Sakai Mondai Kenkyūjo.

CSt-H ; CtY ; CU ; NNC

An excellent and most comprehensive bibliography on socialist literature published in Japan from 1882 to 1914, covering most of the Meiji period and the first years of the Taishō period. The range of movements covered is wide and includes socialism, communism, anarchism, farmers movements and others. It is divided into two parts: books and periodicals. Part I lists the books chronologically according to each year. All necessary bibliographical data is given. The annotations consist of listing the chapter headings and making verbatim quotations from the preface, foreword or introduction of the book. Most of the foreign works translated into Japanese give the name and author of the original book. Part II is a listing of periodicals which were socialist or which carried articles on socialism. At the beginning of each item the publishers, editors, their policies and regularity are clearly stated by quotation. Most of the time all the articles or the principal articles of any one issue are given together with this information on each periodical. Since many of the periodicals are now difficult to obtain this is a very valuable list.

- II-34. *Rōdō nenkan* (労働年鑑). Compiled by Chūō Rōdō Gakuen. annual. 1947-1951.

Each annual volume contains an extensive classified bibliography on social, economic and political problems including books, magazine and newspaper articles. The pre-

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iod covered is the preceding year of each yearbook. This is a convenient and handy list in studying the political activities of Japan's labor movement. For location see no. II-21.

- II-35. YASUDA, Shin'ei and ISHIGURA, Toshio, *comp.* *Saikin 10-nen-kan ni okeru shisō kankei Shuppan-butsu sōran* (最近十年間に於ける思想関係出版物総覧). Tōkō Shoin. 1933. 326, 91 p. DLC

Catalog of books that are related to "thought problems" and published in Japan between September 1923 and September 1932. It includes original monographs, pamphlets and leaflets, and translations and divided into five sections: politics, law, economics, society, and philosophy. It is a useful reference book to note what foreign works relating to the leftwing movements (a category omitted in this bibliography) have been made available through translation to the Japanese reading public. Each item contains the author's and/or the translator's name, name of book, place of publication, name of publisher, date of publication, size, price, and pagination.

E. Chronologies

- II-36. *Shisō mondai nempyō* (思想問題年表). Seinen Kyōiku Fukyū-kai. 1937. 267 p. Edited by Kawamura Tadao. CSt-H; CU

A chronology of events in Japan, the world, and in the student movement in Japan from 1912 to 1936.

- II-37. *Nihon puroretaria hennen-shi* (日本プロレタリア編年史). Dōjin-sha. 1931. 458 p. Edited by Komiya Yoshitaka. CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

A day-to-day chronological account of events relating to the leftwing social movements from 1868 to Oct. 1928; a subject index is appended. It includes accounts of political developments such as the formation, dissolution or mergers of political parties, the movements and arrests of political and labor leaders, summaries of labor leaders, summaries of labor strikes and disputes. A useful reference work when the unseen hand of censorship is considered.

- II-38. *Sekai minshu kakumei nempyō* (世界民主革命年表). Minshu Hyōron-sha. 1948. 213 p. Edited and compiled by Saeki Reizō, Tamiya Shigeru, and Shiba Hiroshi.

A pro-communist chronology of world events from the French Revolution in 1789 to Sept. 1946. It is arranged in three parts: the upper column has international events; the center column, political, economic, social, and intellectual events in Japan pertaining mostly to communism; the lower column contains about fifty short articles "explaining the principal events." Most of the latter are on communism in Japan from a slanted point of view. "Although partial to the communist cause, a very useful reference work." (Langer and Swearingen)

- II-39. *Shisō geppō* (思想月報) and *Shisō ihō* (思想彙報). Chōsen Sōtoku-fu. Kōsoin. Marked confidential. DLC

An itemized summary of the social movements in Japan from 1922-1935 is included in nos. 8-11 (Sept. & Dec. 1936, Mar. & June 1937) of *Shisō ihō*. For details of *Shisō ihō* see no II-4.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

F. Miscellaneous works

II-40. *Hompō shakai undō dantai yōran dai 1-hen* (本邦社会運動団体要覧第一編): Title on spine. *Musan seitō no enkaku gensei* (無産政党の沿革現勢) on title page. 1929. 466 p. Mimeographed. Compiled by Ripōto-sha.

CSt-H

History of the proletarian leftwing movement from the establishment of the Tōyō Shakai-tō in 1882 including a separate listing of the officers, platforms, policies, declarations, regulations, etc. of each party and thumbnail sketches of the principal members of each party. A similar study is made of other proletarian organizations giving their officers, policies, biographies, etc. These studies were compiled under the editorial guidance of Hirano Manabu.

II-41. KEISHICHŌ. *Shōwa 8-nen—1-gatsu—12-gatsu shuppan keisatsu tōkei-hyō* (昭和8年—1月—12月出版警察統計表). Mimeographed. DLC

Censorship statistics for Jan.–Dec. 1933.

II-42. KEISHICHŌ. *Shimbun-shi zasshi shuppan gyōsha chōsa-hyō* (新聞雑誌出版業者調査表). 284 leaves. Mimeographed. Marked secret. As of Dec. 1, 1938. DLC

An investigation of all the principal newspapers, magazines, and publishing houses noting the name of publisher, political tendencies, regularity of publication, type of readership, when established and other pertinent information.

II-43. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Zenkoku shisō kankei shimbun zasshi shirabe* (全国思想関係新聞雑誌調). 185 p. DLC

A useful list of newspapers and magazines connected with thought problems as of April 1935. The initial breakdown is by prefectures. Wherever possible the following data has been collected for each publication: political philosophy, factional affiliation, date of first publication, regularity of publication, circulation, place of publication, name of publisher(s), editors' names, platform, central personnel, finances, readership, method of distribution, slant noticeable in articles, and shops selling the publication.

II-44. RŌDŌ JIJŌ CHŌSA-JŌ. *Nihon shakai undō no gensei* (日本社会運動の現勢). Shōwa Shoin. 1931. 614 p. CSt-H; DLC; MiU

A radical leftwing presentation of a wide variety of topics on the leftwing movement: leftwing political parties, labor movement, Zenkyō, agrarian movement, Suihei movement, women's movement, youth and student movements, white collar workers' union, consumer cooperative union, Korean minority in Japan, Hantai Dōmei (反帝同盟 Anti-Imperialism League), Japan Red Aid Society, Nihon Musansha Geijutsu Dantai Kyōgikai, and labor schools. The book was banned by the government. (The DLC copy is imperfect; all pages after p. 614 are wanting.)

II-45. RŌDŌ MONDAI KENKYŪ-KAI. *Shakai undō soshiki ichiranhyō* (社会運動組織一覧表). Rōdō Mondai Kenkyū-kai. 1937. 200 p. DLC

A chart depicting the political affiliations of various proletarian organizations followed by a listing of labor unions, farmers' unions, labor parties, and nationalistic

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parties giving their date of formation, head office, officers, organ, strength, and affiliated organizations. In the case of political parties, the party platform is also given.

- II-46. SANGYŌ RŌDŌ Chōsa-jo. *Bōatsu-hō to ikani tatakau ka* (暴圧法と如何に斗ふか). Osaka. Rōdō Mondai Kenkyūjo. 1928. 68, 11 p. CSt-H; DLC

A radical leftwing textbook on the problem of "how to fight oppressive laws," the class-ness of existing laws, various forms of bribery, and the development of the class struggle through the courts, through long, evasive, and propagandistic arguments to be expounded in the court room explaining the radical leftwing movement and all the ramifications of the class struggle.

- II-47. *Seiji undō kyōtei* (政治運動教程). Ganshōdō Shoten. 1929. 310 p. Edited by Tadokoro Teruaki. CSt-H; DLC

Essentially a textbook on tactics to be utilized by the proletarian political parties in elections, the expose tactics against the conservative parties, and a point by point discussion of the policies of the leftwing parties to be followed in the elections. It is one of the more thorough presentations of election tactics and policies. The author was one of the leaders in the formation of the principal leftwing parties during the twenties and thirties.

- II-48. *Shakai kagaku kōza* (社会科学講座). Seibundō. 1931-1932. 15 v. Edited by Kimura Tsuyoshi. CtY (v. 5, 8, 11, 14); DLC

A social science series with a definite leftwing interpretation of social phenomena. Only those titles in each volume believed to be of interest are given below:

Vol. 1

Leninism and the agricultural problem. Inamura Ryūichi

Proletarian introduction to economics. Tadokoro Teruaki

Splits and amalgamations in the Japanese proletarian movement. Asō Hisashi

Vol. 2

The advocacies of the Zenkokū Taishu-tō. Asō Hisashi

Organization and tactics of tenant farmer disputes. Miyake Shoichi

Vol. 3

History of the student movement in Japan. Kikukawa Tadao

The farmer's union. Shōbara Tatsu

The advocacy of the Rōnō-tō. Oyama Ikuo

The Far Eastern problem. Kondō Eizō.

The outlook for the Japanese farmers movement as observed at the convention of the Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai. Miyake Shōichi

A short history of May Day celebrations in Japan. Shakai Kagaku Kenkyū-jo

Vol. 4

The organization and tactics of strikes. Katō Kanjū

Vol. 5

The proletarian theater. Yasumi Toshio

The women's movement in Japan. Oku Mumeo

The proletarian newspaper handbook. Tahara Haruji

Vol. 6

Outline of the agricultural problem. Sugiyama Motojirō

The cooperative. Yamamura Takashi

The advocacy of the Shakai Minshū-tō. Abe Isao

Personalities in the social movement: Hokkaido, Aomori and Akita prefectures. Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

Vol. 7

- Proletarian literature. Okazawa Hidetora
 Anarchism. Nii Kaku
 History of Japanese proletarian political parties. Asahara Kenzō
 The present strength of the Japanese labor union movement. Hirano Manabu
 The establishment of the Zenkoku Rōnō Taishū-tō, unification of the leftwing movement. Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo
 Personalities in the social movement: Miyagi, Iwate, Yamagata, Niigata prefectures. Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo

Vol. 8

- Proletarian finance. Orimoto Tadashi
 History of the Japanese labor union movement. Akamatsu Katsumaro
 Proletarian women's movement. Orimoto Sadayo
 History of the Suihei movement. Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo
 Personalities in the social movement: Fukushima, Ibaragi, Tochigi, Gumma prefectures. Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo
 Political science. Rōyama Masamichi

Vol. 9

- Proletarian oratory. Asanuma Inejirō
 International relations of the Japanese social movement. Akamatsu Katsumaro
 Personalities in the social movement: Saitama, Chiba, Tokyo, Kanagawa, Nagano, Toyama, Ishikawa, Fukui prefectures. Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo

Vol. 10

- Local finances in Japan. Orimoto Tadashi
 The present strength of the Japanese farmer's movement. Hosono Michio
 Five-year history of the struggle of the proletarian political parties in the Diet. Asanuma Inejirō
 History of the movement for collective bargaining in Japan. Rōdō Jijō Chōsajo
 The "pioneer" movement. Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo
 Personalities in the social movement: Yamanashi, Gifu prefectures, and the Shikoku and San'in districts. Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo

Vol. 11

- Agricultural policy. Kawamata Kiyonari
 History of the Japanese socialist movement. Sakai Toshihiko
 The present strength of the Japanese proletarian political parties. Matsumoto Junzō
 The salaried-man's union movement in Japan. Rōdō Jijō Chōsajo
 Personalities in the social movement: Nara, Mie, Wakayama, Okayama, Aichi, Fukuoka prefectures. Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo

Vol. 12

- History of the Labor School in Japan. Gotō Teji
 Personalities in the social movement: Kyūshū. Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo

Vol. 13

- Finance. Ouchi Hyōe

Vol. 14

- The theory of social classes. Tadokoro Teruaki
 The labor union. Kamijō Aiichi
 Proletarian educational policy. Tabei Kenji
 Proletarian motion picture policy. Kawagishi Hiroshi
 The disarmament problem. Mizutani Chōsaborō
 Personalities in the social movement: Kyoto, Ōsaka, Hyōgo, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Shiga prefectures. Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo

Vol. 15

- History of the Japanese farmer's movement. Hirano Manabu
 Outlook for proletarian literature. Kimura Tsuyoshi
 Study of the labor committee system in Japan. Yatsugi Kazuo

CHAPTER III

HISTORIES OF THE LEFTWING POLITICAL PARTIES

A. General Histories

This section consists of books, documents and pamphlets whose contents on the whole pertain to the historical development of the prewar non-communist leftwing movement. In many of the items mentioned in this section there are references to the JCP as part of an overall study. Although certain persons, policies, and activities of the more radical leftwing parties, such as the Rōnō-tō, may have been related to or identified with the JCP, studies of these parties, individually or as part of a large volume, have been included in this section.

Besides the historical and analytical studies there are other types of items included in this section. For example, there are a few studies specifically on the Meiji social movements, several essays by Yamakawa Hitoshi, Oyama Ikuo, Sakai Toshihiko which are not historical in the narrow sense of the term, but interpretations of certain historical developments or certain political ideas or themes from a particular socialist position. There are also several expose-type books by extreme left wingers attacking the "wrong-doings" of the more conservative left wing. The Kyōchōkai, an independent research organization devoted to the study of leftwing social movements, compiled a number of studies on the leftwing movement in certain short periods in the thirties and during the war period.

Unlike the attention focused upon the JCP by the Japanese Government, scholars, and other interested persons and organizations, the non-communist political parties have not been given such serious consideration. In general, it could be said, objective surveys of party history, policies, organization and philosophy have not been conducted by the non-partisan scholar. Many of the better known studies recognized as being relatively reliable have been made by persons who were once active in the leftwing political movement. Even though they may strive to attain objectivity it should not be expected that a former leader be dispassionately critical of his own past philosophies, policies and those of his colleagues.

Two studies by Akamatsu Katsumaro (III-2, and III-3) are highly regarded as comparatively objective histories of the leftwing social movements in Japan. They were written during the postwar period, many years after Akamatsu had retired from active participation in politics. They are the representative works of a former leader of one of the more radical leftwing

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groups who later became identified with the national socialists and the ultra-nationalists. *Saikin no shakai undō* (III-18), compiled by the Kyōchō-kai, is the most voluminous single study of all facets of the leftwing social movements up to 1929. *Senkusha no keifu* (III-23) by Naka Masao, a veteran newspaper reporter of the large Tokyo daily, the *Mainichi shimbun*, has a unique chronological presentation according to each calendar year from World War I to the early postwar years. *Shiryō Nihon shakai undō-shi* (III-36) is an excellent documentary history of secondary sources for the early years of the leftwing social movements, 1866-1908.

As compared to the various studies in "1. Books" the items in "2. Documents" are highly specialized, each concentrating on a much narrower field of inquiry. The range of topics is so wide—from a 3000 page collection of intelligence reports on persons under surveillance to a college professor's statement on the Rōnō faction and the Japanese economy, from reports on the leftwing attitude toward the China Incident to a collection of "seditious" scribbles on telephone poles in 1945—that a generalization or special mention is difficult.

1. Books.

III-1. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. *Atarashii yaban-shugi* (新しい野蠻主義). Tōkai Shuppan-sha. 1939. 294 p. DLC

"Neo-barbarism" is an interpretation of social trends during the thirties. The author's wide experience in political movements included his shift from communism in 1922, to social democracy by 1925, and then to national socialism by 1932.

III-2. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. *Nihon shakai undō no rekishi-teki kenkyū* (日本社会運動の歴史的研究). Rōmu Gyōsei Kenkyūjo. 1948. 222 p. CST-H; DLC

A postwar historical review of the proletarian political movement of Japan. The approach is topical and somewhat different from the many histories of this period. The first chapter pertains to the influence of various countries upon the social movements in Japan, followed by an organizational description of the embryonic period, the birth and development of realism and idealism in the social movements, the causes, types, methods, and solutions of labor disputes in the past, the struggle for social democracy during the Taishō era, and a history of the Shinjin-kai. A useful and informative book.

III-3. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. *Nihon shakai undō-shi* (日本社会運動史). Tsūshin Kyōiku Shinkōkai. 1949. 365 p. DLC; NNC

Also published under same title by Iwanami Shoten (Tokyo) in 1952 (330 p.) as no. 83 of *Iwanami shinsho* series. CtY; DLC; MiU

History of the Japanese social movements from early Meiji to World War II, divided into five parts: Early Meiji era to the enlightening activities of the magazine *Kokumin-no-tomo*, the Sino-Japanese War to the Taigyaku Incident, the Yūaikai to the

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Great Earthquake of 1923, the change in direction of the labor movement to the Rōdō Kurabu, and the Manchurian Incident to World War II.

According to the author's preface in the popular edition, this book covers the longest period, largest array of source materials, and is the most objective among the author's works. It was written while he was purged from political activities during the postwar period. He admits that his other books were inevitably partisan as they were written when he was active in the political movement.

- III-4. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. *Shakai minshu-shugi no hata no moto ni* (社会民主主義の旗の下に). Chūseidō. 1930. 228 p. CSt-H; DLC

Critical review of the leftwing movement with a severe appraisal of the JCP, followed by a criticism of the policy of the Third International toward Japan, the fight against the rationalization of industry, the significance of the class struggle in the electric light and gas disputes, the lessons of the seamen's dispute, the establishment of the Shin Rōnō-tō, the efforts by the capitalists to suppress the labor union law, religious and social movements, and a history of the Shinjin-kai.

- III-5. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. *Shakai undō ni okeru genjitsu-shugi* (社会運動に於ける現実主義). Seiunkaku Shobō. 1928. 200 p. DLC

"Realism in social movements" is an exposition of the viewpoint of the rightwing in the proletarian movement, as opposed to what Akamatsu calls the "utopianism" of the leftwing. It is a crystalization of his ten years participation in the social movement. He analyzes the development of realism, its criticism of utopianism, democracy and bureaucracy, the alternatives for proletarian parties, the guiding principles of the Shakai Minshū-tō, and a criticism of the united front movement.

- III-6. AONO, Suekichi. *Musan seitō to shakai undō* (無産政党と社会運動). Hakuyō-sha. 1925. 355 p. CSt-H; DLC

Collection of essays on the proletarian political movement and proletarian parties, the political situation and the social movements, bourgeois politics. The author was active in the publication of proletarian periodicals and also in the establishment of the first proletarian political organizations after World War I. Prior to that he was a teacher and journalist.

- III-7. ARAHATA, Kansō. *Nihon shakai-shugi undō-shi* (日本社会主義運動史). Mainichi Shimbun-sha. 1948. 290 p. CtY; DLC; MiU; MnU; NNC

History of the Japanese socialist movement from its early years in the Meiji period to 1922. The author was an active participant in the radical leftwing during much of the time with which his history is concerned. He has long retired from the front line of the movement. The book is divided into four parts: the dawn of the movement, the anti-war movement and the Heimin-sha, the formation of factions and the Taigyaku Incident, and the revival of the proletarian movement ending with "the change of direction" in the proletarian movement in 1922. It is a useful book.

- III-8. Aso, Hisashi. *Musan seitō to wa nan zo?* (無産政党とは何ぞ). Shichō-sha. 1926. 454 p. CST-H; CtY; DLC

An analytical history of the Japanese proletarian political movement to the establishment of the Rōdō Nōmin-tō in 1926. Chapter headings are indicative: the rational significance and mission of proletarian parties; early proletarian movements in Japan;

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from the advocacy of universal suffrage to direct action period and the re-emergence into a political movement; the development of political action and preparatory activities for the formation of a proletarian party; the formation and prohibition of the Nōmin Rōdō-tō; the establishment of the Rōdō Nōmin-tō; the future of proletarian parties. In the last chapter Aso notes his belief in the ultimate collapse of the bourgeois parties and the historical necessity of the triumph of the proletarian parties. He also deals with proletarian party electoral campaigns.

- III-9. HONDA, Takeo. *Nihon shakai undō-shi gaisetsu* (日本社会運動史概説). Tachibana Shobō. 1949. 205 p. CST-H

An analytical study of the left and rightwing Japanese social movements from early Meiji years to 1936-37, excluding the farmers movement. Consisting of six chapters the subject matter is topically treated: the first and second half of the Meiji period, the upsurge of the labor movement, the proletarian political parties, and the development of the ultra-nationalist movement. Honda was a professor at the Police University (Keisatsu Daigaku) and compiled this book from his lectures. It is one of the few books written in the postwar era by a scholar not identified with the leftwing. An index and short bibliography are appended.

- III-10. ICHIDA, Teizō and WASHIDA, Senkichi. *Teian ni taisuru hihan—Shin-Rōnō-tō juritsu undō to warera no nimmu* (提案に対する批判—新労農党樹立運動と我等の任務). Kyōseikaku. 1929. 100 p. CST-H

A criticism of the attempt by Oyama Ikuo and others to form a new proletarian party of the radical left, generally known as the Shin-Rōnō-tō. The essay is subtitled: With what political group should the proletariat and farmers combine?

- III-11. ISHIKAWA, Gyokuzan. *Nihon shakai-shugi shi*. See no. I-20 (7)

- III-12. KAGAWA, Toyohiko. *Seishin undō to shakai undō* (精神運動と社会運動). Keisei-sha. 1919. 719 p. English title on cover: A movement, spiritual and social. DLC

Relevant chapters include those on the farm village, the social outcasts, the slum housing problem, the labor union movement as a counter measure against poverty in Japan, and the conditions in certain coal mines. They reflect an early interpretation of the Japanese social movements. Kagawa, a leading Japanese Christian and social worker, has acted as advisor to the Social Democratic Party in the postwar period.

- III-13. KAJI, Ryūichi. *Meiji jidai no shakai mondai* (明治時代の社会問題). Iwanami Shoten. 1934. 75 p. 岩波講座, 日本歴史 TUK

A short but excellent study of the "social problems" of the Meiji period. The social problems in this case are largely political with much of the essay devoted to the budding socialist and labor movements. The author is on the editorial board of the *Asahi shimbun* in Tokyo.

- III-14. KIKUCHI, Jirō. *Kinsei Nihon shakai undō-shi: Shiryō-hen* (近世日本社会運動史—資料編). Hakuyō-sha. 1934. 468 p. DLC

History of the social movements in Japan from 1897 to 1932. According to the preface, this book is the record of the author's experiences over a ten year period while he was assigned to the Metropolitan Police Board as a newspaper reporter.

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- III-15. KITAMURA, Iwao *and* SHIGENO, Tetsuo. *Darakan zaiaku-shi* (ダラ幹罪悪史). Kōgyokudō Shoten. 1930. 141 p. CST-H; DLC

A radical leftwing expose of the "wrong-doings" of the "decadent" rightwing of the proletarian movement. The first two chapters concern the activities of the Shakai Minshū-tō and the Nihon Taishū-tō.

- III-16. KITAMURA, Iwao. *Shichika hachiretsu no musan seitō-shi* (七花八裂の無産政党史). Kōgyodō. 1930. 147 p. CST-H

On the splintered proletarian parties and the first manhood suffrage election in Japan.

- III-17. KONO, Mitsu, AKAMATSU, Katsumaro *and* the Rōnō-tō Shoki-kyoku. *Nihon musan seitō-shi* (日本無産政党史). Hakuyō-sha. 1931. 747 p. CST-H; CU; IEN; NNC

A detailed and fairly well documented history of the proletarian political parties: Nihon Rōnō-tō, Nihon Taishū-tō, Zenkoku Taishū-tō, Shakai Minshū-tō, Rōnō-tō (including the Rōdō Nōmin-tō and other organizations. The parties' policies, election activities, and conventions are mentioned in some detail.

- III-18. KYŌCHŌKAI. *Saikin no shakai undō* (最近の社会運動). 1929. 1422 p. CLSU; CSt-H; CU; DLC; IEN; MH; NNC

One of the most voluminous compilations of information on "social movements" in Japan and abroad. Two thirds of the book are devoted to Japan. Since censorship prevented the proper study of the communist movement, this part is not so thorough but there is a considerable amount of material on the many types of social movements and social conditions that prevailed in Japan during the twenties, the period emphasized in this book.

The principal topics in this volume are: the labor union movement, labor disputes, tenancy disputes, the agrarian movement, industrial and labor conditions, the movement for the emancipation of social outcasts (Suihei-sha), the cooperative movement, labor committees, the proletarian political parties, the women's movement, the control of social movements, employers associations, labor and capital conciliation.

- III-19. KYŌCHŌKAI. *Saikin shakai undō gaikan* (最近社会運動概観). 1939. 117 p. CST-H

Report on the activities of the social movements, especially the labor and farmers movements, and labor disputes during 1938 as published in the *Shakai seisaku jihō*.

- III-20. KYŌCHŌKAI. *Shōwa...nen ni okeru shakai undō no jōsei* (昭和...年に於ける社会運動の情勢). 1933 (121 p.), 1933 (163 p. rev. ed.), 1934 (202 p.) CST-H; DLC

An annual report of the developments in the social movements, which are divided into four sections: proletarian political parties, the labor union movement, labor disputes, and nationalist movements. Appended are charts, tables of the labor unions, and their relationship with the political parties, and a list of patriotic organizations. Each section in the report is penned by a staff member of the Kyōchōkai.

- III-21. KYŌCHŌKAI. *Waga kuni genka no shisō dōkō* (我国現下の思想動向). 1944. 137 p. Marked secret. CSt-H; DLC

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A comparatively brief survey of the state of social thought during the war period to 1944. The analysis begins with a short review of social thought in Japan from the Meiji period to the present. An evaluation of the present status of both left and rightwing thought presenting such aspects as methods used to diffuse leftwing ideas, the protection of thought offenders, etc.

- III-22. MATSUSHITA, Yoshio. *Meiji Taishō hansen undō-shi* (明治大正反戦運動史). Sōbi-sha. 1949. 271 p. CSt-H; DLC

History of the anti-war movements from 1868 to 1926. The anti-war activities of a united front of Christian materialist socialists immediately preceding and during the early part of the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-05, is recounted in detail with documentation.

- III-23. NAKA, Masao. *Senkusha no keifu* (先驅者の系譜). Shakai Shichō Henshū-kyoku. 1949. 266 p. CSt-H

Principally a history of the prewar social democratic movement. The presentation is somewhat unique in that it is completely chronological; each year is given a separate chapter. This is a useful book for a concise statement of what occurred in any particular year but it tends to lack analysis and to become a documentary history. It is also useful as a source for the names of persons elected to the Diet and to each committee of the numerous prewar social democratic parties. There is a very short chapter on the postwar movement. The author was a political reporter of the *Mainichi* newspaper in Tokyo.

- III-24. NIHON RŌNŌ-TŌ. *Nichirō-tō wa kaku tatakatta* (日労党は斯く戦つた). Nōmin Rōdō-sha. 1928. 228 p. DLC

Annual report for 1928 of the activities of the Nihon Rōnō-tō and its committees.

- III-25. NIHON TAISHŌ-TŌ. *Nihon taishū nenkan* (日本大衆年鑑). 1929. 146 p. (Also in *Zenkoku taishū nenkan*, Tokyo, 1930, See IV-307)

Party yearbook for the Nihon Taishū-tō.

- III-26. OTSUKI SHAKAI MONDAI CHŌSAJO. *Shakai Taishū-tō no kiki* (社会大衆党の危機—The crisis of the Shakai Taishū-tō). Osaka. 1933. 19 p. DLC

- III-27. OYAMA, Ikuo, HOSOSEKO, Kanemitsu, and KAWAKAMI Hajime. *Sayoku sensen no shin-tenkai* (左翼戦線の新展開). Dōjin-sha. 1929. 56 p. CSt-H

Three short essays by each of the authors on the justification for, and class significance of, the proposal for the establishment of the Shin-Rōnō-tō.

- III-28. OYAMA, Ikuo, KAMIMURA, Susumu, and HOSOSEKO Kanemitsu. *Shin-Rōnō-tō juritsu no teian* (新労農党樹立の提案). n.p. 1929. 47 p. CSt-H; DLC

Statement issued by three legal leftwing socialists justifying the establishment of the new Rōnō-tō in 1929.

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- III-29. OYAMA, Ikuo. *Taishū wa ugoku* (大衆は動く). Ars. 1930. 428 p.
CSt-H; DLC; MH

Collection of essays written from about 1929, when the "new" Rōnō-tō was proposed, to the middle of 1930. The first part concerns the establishment of the Rōnō-tō, its policies, Oyama's candidacy, the elections, and his impressions of the 58th session of the Diet. Parts 2 and 3 are an analysis of bourgeois democracy and society. The last part contains six speeches by Oyama.

- III-30. RŌNŌ DŌMEI. *Shin-Rōnō-tō teishō no handōsei* (新労農党提唱の反動性). Marukusu Shobō. 1929. 116 p. DLC

Communist criticism of the proposal to establish the Shin-Rōnō-tō, as reactionary. Appended also are the statement of various organizations critical of this proposal.

- III-31. ROYAMA, Masamichi, comp. *Musan seitō-ron* (無産政党論). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1930. 502 p. 現代政治学全集 11

CSt-H; Ct-Y; DLC; MH; MiU; NNC

A good book on the general subject of the proletarian leftwing parties. The book was written by Rōyama and several other writers; however, the chapters of immediate significance were written by Royama and Shōbara Tatsu. Part 1 is on the general problem of the conditions for the establishment and organization of proletarian political parties, their creeds (either dictatorship or democracy, class struggle or class conciliation), party principles, and policies. Chapter I of Part III is on the international relations and activities of the communist parties, their strategy of a united front, etc. Parts I and III were written by Rōyama. The last eighty pages by Shōbara are on the proletarian parties in Japan including a cursory historical review, a study of factions, party strengths through an analysis of party membership, elections, and supporting organization and elections, and the attitudes of the various parties toward the problem of unification. The glaring omission in this book is the lack of treatment of the JCP. (Under the circumstance this was to be expected).

- III-32. SAKAI, Toshihiko. *Musan-tō zen-gōdō—Kyōdō sensen—tan'itsu musan-tō—no shin-igi* (無産党全合同—共同戦線—単一無産党—の真意義). Rōnō Shuppan-sha. 1931. 42 p. 労農パンフレット 5 DLC

A pamphlet written by an elder statesman of the leftwing movement calling for a united and single proletarian party. Traces briefly the development of the political proletarian movement from the Meiji period. The pamphlet is part of a series of pamphlets printed most probably for propaganda purposes.

- III-33. SEIJI-TEKI JIYŌ KAKUTOKU RŌNŌ DŌMEI. *Rōdōsha nōmin no Daigishi Yamamoto Nobuharu wa Gikai ni oite ikani tatakatte ka* (労働者農民の代議士山本宣治は議會に於て如何に闘つたか). Kibōkaku. 1929. 129, 12, 9 p.

DLC

Eulogy and collection of interpellations by Yamamoto Nobuharu in the Diet.

- III-34. SHISŌ MONDAI KENKYŪ-KAI. *Shisō mondai no tembō to hihan* (思想問題の展望と批判). Shakai Kyōiku-kai. 1931. 358 p. CSt-H; DLC

The Shisō Mondai Kenkyū-kai was located within the Ministry of Education. The tone of publications emanating from this kind of organization was of course critical of the leftwing movement. There are, however, informative essays on the proletarian

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parties in Japan by an official of the former Ministry of Home Affairs, Miura Naohiko, and a critique of proletarian literature by Chiba Kameo.

- III-35. TANAKA, Sōgorō. *Nihon shakai undō-shi* (日本社会運動史). Sekai Shoin. 1947-1948. 3 v. CSt-H; CtY; NNC

A detailed and well documented history of the leftwing social movements from the early Meiji era to the end of the Taisho period in 1926. The history is divided into detailed small sections of the social movements, each chapter being divided into (1) the international perspective, (2) the national perspective, (3) the development of socialist philosophy, (4) the organization and activities of workers, and (5) the organization and activities of farmers.

- III-36. TANAKA, Sōgorō, ed. *Shiryō Nihon shakai undō-shi* (資料日本社会運動史). Tōzai Shuppan-sha. 1948. 2 v.

CLU (v. 1); CST-H; CtY (v. 2); CU; DLC; MiU; WaU

A collection of reports on a variety of subjects and events occurring between 1866 and 1908 in the Japanese socialist movement. The following newspapers were relied upon to supply the information: *Tokyo nichii-nichi*, *Yūbin Hōchi*, *Kokumin*, *Yorozu*, and *Asahi*. Among the liberal and leftwing newspapers and magazines, the following were used: *Rikugō zasshi*, *Kokumin-no-tomo*, *Shakai*, *Heimin*, *Chokugen*, *Shin-kigen*, *Hikari*, *Sekai fujin*, *Nikkan heimin shimbun*, *Kumamoto hyōron*, *Tokyo shakai shimbun*. At the end of each year is a list of the pertinent books and periodicals published in that year. An excellent reference book.

- III-37. TANAKA, Sōgorō. *Tōyō Shakai-tō kō* (東洋社会党考). Ichigen-sha. 1930. 300 p. CSt-H; NNC

A detailed study of one of the first socialist parties in Japan, the Tōyō Shakai-tō, including its platform and officers, the influence it had over newspapers, magazines, and a biographical study of its founder, Tarui Tōkichi. This is the only detailed study of the party.

- III-38. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi. *Shakai-shugi undō shoshi* (社会主義運動小史). Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjo. [1953?]. 149 p. 研究資料 6 CSt-H

History of the socialist movement from the Meiji period to the beginning of World War II. It is a revision of part II of the author's book *Shakai-shugi seitō no hanashi* (See no. III-39), reducing it to about one-third its original length.

- III-39. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi. *Shakai-shugi seitō no hanashi* (社会主義政党の話). Itagaki Shoten. 1949. 487 p. CSt-H; CtY; DLC

"The story of socialist political parties" is divided into three sections. Part I is on the socialist parties in various countries; part II is exclusively on the development of Japanese proletarian parties from the early Meiji era to the rise of fascism in the 1930's; the third part is entitled "What is a proletarian political party?" Yamakawa was once the most important communist theoretician but by 1925 began to criticize the Comintern-backed Japanese communists. In postwar Japan he has remained an important influence on the leftwing Socialists.

- III-40. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi. *Rōdōsha seitō no tame ni* (労働者政党のために). Itagaki Shoten. 1949. 190 p. CtY; DLC; MH; MnU

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The main theme of this book in the author's words is: "The establishment of a socialist party as a driving force for the democratic revolution." "The establishment of this party is the only alternative to the victory of the conservative and reactionary forces." Some chapter headings are: For the socialist party, the crisis of the socialist party, reorganization of the socialist party.

- III-41. YOKOMIZO, Mitsuteru. *Nihon shakai-shugi undō-shi kōwa* (日本社会主義運動史講話). Shōkadō. 1931. 2 v. CSt-H; DLC

A history of the socialist and communist movements in Japan from early Meiji years to 1931. The first three chapters concern the developments up to the end of World War I. Of the remaining eleven chapters considerable space is allotted to the communist movement and its subsidiary movements, theoretical arguments, strategy and tactics, international relations, and the communist youth and student movements. The non-communist socialist parties up to the formation of the Zenkoku Taishū-tō are also studied.

- III-42. YOSHIKAWA, Morikuni. *Keigyaku seisō-shi* (荊逆星霜史). Fujiya Shobō. 1936. 253 p. DLC

The sub-title is a descriptive sidelight on the history of the socialist movement in Japan. The history starts with the early beginnings about the time of the Sino- and Russo-Japanese Wars and ends with the Taigyaku Incident in 1910. Yoshikawa was one of the early socialists.

- III-43. YOSHINO, Sakuzō. *Nihon musan seitō-ron* (日本無産政党論). Ichigen-sha. 1929. 365 p. CSt-H; DLC; IEN; MH; NNC

Collection of articles written between the fall of 1925 and the spring of 1928 on the proletarian political party problem by a leading theoretician of the conservative leftwing movement. He was the adviser to the Shakai Minshū-tō. Appended is an eighty page essay on the student movement and thought offenses pertaining to the students' clashes with the police, freedom to study the social sciences, the Morito case, and suppression of thought in the universities. A useful book.

2. Documents

- III-44. GAIMU-SHŌ. *S 9.4.5.2-18 Miscellaneous documents relating to persons under surveillance: Japanese (Yō shisatsu-nin kankei zassan: Hompō-jin no bu)*. Sect. 1: July 1930—June 1943; sect. 2: Oct. 1930—Apr. 1933; sect. 3: Apr. 1930—Sept. 1933; sect. 4: Feb.—Apr. 1933; sect. 5: Sept. 1930—Apr. 1934; sect. 6: Mar. 1934—Jan. 1935; sect. 7: May 1928—June 1943; sect. 8: Oct. 1929—June 1943; sect. 9: July 1929—Jan. 1937; sect. 10: July 1930—Mar. 1934; sect. 11: Apr. 1927—Nov. 1939; sect. 12: June 1927—Nov. 1937; sect. 13: Jan. 1927—Apr. 1936; sect. 14: May 1928—July 1939; sect. 15: Oct. 1930—Nov. 1933; sect. 16: Dec. 1927—Sept. 1938; sect. 17: Aug. 1929—Jan. 1939; sect. 18: Sect. 1930—Apr. 1934; sect. 19: Oct. 1926—Sept. 1935; sect. 20: Oct. 1928—Feb. 1935. 3856 p. Reels S392-S395.

The above is part of a microfilm collection of papers of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Library of Congress.

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- III-45. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Musan undō shiryō* (無産運動資料). n.d. Approx. 1800 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

Collection of miscellaneous Special Higher Police documents dated July 1936 to December 1937 on the proletarian movement.

- III-46. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Nihon musan-tō, Rōnō-ha gurūpu* (日本無産党労農派グループ). n.d. 500 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

Miscellaneous police documents, and memoranda concerning the Nihon Musan-tō and the Rōnō faction.

- III-47. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Nōmin Rōdō-tō kaisan go no Shin-Rōnō-tō kessei jumbi katei no naijō* (農民労働党解散後の新労農党結成準備過程の内情). 1929. Approx. 120 p. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. CSt-H

Memoranda prepared by the Tokyo Metropolitan Police concerning the preparations for the formation of the Shin-Rōnō-tō after the dissolution of the Rōdō Nōmin-tō.

- III-47.1. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Shakai-shugi undō geppō* (社会主義運動月報). 1921-1922? Various pagings. Sometimes marked secret. DLC

Monthly reports, June 1921—April 1922, on the activities of socialists, communists, and other leftwing organizations. According to the explanatory note, these reports, compiled by the Keiho-kyoku (Police Bureau) of presumably the Ministry of Home Affairs, were based on intelligence gathered by the various branches of the government and from the publications and statements of the socialists. These are some of the earliest reports on the embryonic post-World War I proletarian movement.

- III-47.2. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Tokubetsu yō-shisatsunin jōsei* (特別要視察人状勢). 1917-1922. 2 v. DLC

Voluminous reports on persons under police surveillance for certain political activities. The first volume covers the period from May 1916 to November 1919. Each section includes a general report, distribution of the persons under surveillance, the inter-relationships between these persons, a report by prefectures on these persons, publications, statistics on persons under surveillance, and the relations between persons under surveillance and Koreans, Chinese and other foreigners. Each report seems to become more and more thorough and particularized. The last part includes separate reports on the anarchist, Osugi Sakae, Arahata Katsuzō, Sakai Toshihiko and others. Volume two contains many items on the problem of controlling persons under surveillance, such as regulations for carrying out this surveillance, various reports on this surveillance for 1920, 1921 and 1922, a list of persons under surveillance, various directives concerning surveillance activities, summary of persons under surveillance in the United States, and the preliminary examination of Kondō Eizō, the communist courier.

- III-48. KEISHICHŌ. *Abe Isamu, Rōnō-ha Hōsei Daigaku Keizai Gaku-bu kyōju* (阿部勇労農派法政大学経済学部教授). 1938. Approx. 300 p. CSt-H

A record of statements made by Abe Isamu, professor at Hōsei University, in 20 meetings with the police concerning his interpretation of the Rōnō faction, the Japanese economy and the leftwing social movements.

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III-49. KEISHICHŌ. TOKUBETSU KŌTŌ-KAKARI. *Musan seitō soshiki undō no enkaku* (無産政党組織運動の沿革). 1926. 1 v. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. DLC

One of the early detailed studies of the history of the organization of the proletarian political parties by the police. It begins with the organization of the Shakai-shugi Dōmei (Socialist League) in 1920 and ends with the establishment and dissolution of the first proletarian political party, the Nōmin Rōdōtō. Appended are 12 documents on party platforms, action programs, regulations, etc.

III-50. KEISHICHŌ. *Nihon Musan-tō narabini Rōnō-ha kankeisha no kōso jijitsu* (日本無産党並に労農派関係者の公訴事実). 1939. Approx. 80 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

The indictment of the members of the Nihon Musan-tō and the Rōnō faction of the proletarian movement in 1939.

III-51. KEISHICHŌ. *Nihon Rōnō Bengoshi-dan kenkyō* (日本労農党弁護士団檢舉). 1938. Approx. 20 leaves. Mimeographed. Marked secret. CSt-H

Police memoranda on the arrest of members of the leftwing lawyers association in 1938. Also included are the proceedings of the Kaihō Undō Giseisha Kyūen Bengoshi-dan Sōritsu Sōkai (解放運動犠牲者救援弁護士団創立総会), and the arrest of the central organizers of the Nihon Sekishoku Kyūenkai (日本赤色救援会).

III-52. KEISHICHŌ. *Rōnō gurūpu-in no chinjutsu keika-hyō* (労農グループ員陳述経過表). n.d. 12 leaves. Mimeographed. CSt-H

The statements of a number of members of the Rōnō faction concerning the allotment of responsibility, the establishment of the magazine, *Senku*, their understanding of the Nihon Keizai Kenkyūjo, and the state of the Rōnō faction during the middle thirties.

III-53. KEISHICHŌ. *Rōnō-ha ni tsuite; Nihon Musan-tō* (労農派に就いて 日本無産党). [1935?]. Approx. 78 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

A description of the Rōnō faction, and the tactics, policies, and formation of the Nihon Musan-tō.

III-54. KEISHICHŌ. *Rōnō Musan Kyōgikai kessei to kaku-hikoku no kōso jijitsu* (労農無産協議会結成と各被告の公訴事実). 1936. Approx. 100 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

The formation of the Rōnō Musan Kyōgikai, and the arraignment of those involved in the Nihon Musan-tō and the Rōnō faction, giving brief descriptions of reasons for arraignment.

III-55. KEISHICHŌ. *Shakai-shugi kyōsan-shugi kei musan kaikyū daikyō kaku seitō* (社会主義・共産主義系無産階級代表各政党). As of Jan. 1930. Approx. 77 leaves. Mimeographed. CSt-H

A detailed listing of party officers of all levels, the names of supporting organizations, membership, and outline of activities of the proletarian political parties. Two short reports on the Zenkoku Rōnō Seinen Dōmei (全国労農青年同盟) and on the proletarian movement after the February 1928 elections are also included.

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III-56. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Dai 65-Gikai setsume shiryō* (才 65 議会説明資料). Dec. 1933. 75 leaves. Mimeographed. Marked confidential.

DLC

Police report to the 65th session of the Imperial Diet concerning the communist movement, the Zenkyō, the anti-war movement, the leftwing student movement, the proletarian cultural movement, and labor and tenant farmer disputes.

III-57. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Hokushi jihen ni kansuru jōhō* (北支事変に関する情報). Mimeographed. Marked confidential.

DLC

Report on the activities and attitudes of both left and rightwing groups toward the North China Incident. Under the leftwing section the following are discussed: the control of anti-war sentiments, the appearance of anti-war posters and bills, tendencies among leftwing publications, the attitudes of the various proletarian political parties, labor unions, and farmers unions. There is also a section on Korea, foreigners, especially Chinese in Japan, and the activities of various embassies and consulates. DLC has the following two issues: no. 4 Aug. 26, 1937. 72 leaves; no. 6 Sept. 9, 1937. 79 leaves. (See also III-133).

III-58. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Jihen-ka nōson sho-jōsei* (事变下農村諸情勢). June 1939. 120 leaves. Mimeographed. Marked secret.

DLC

A general report on the conditions from 1937 to 1939 in the farm areas, concerning tenant farmer disputes, farm prices, the farmers union, etc.

III-59. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Musan kaikyū undō ni okeru gōhō to hi-gōhō—Rōdō Nōmin-tō kaisan yori Rōnō-tō kessei made* (無産階級運動に於ける合法と非合法—労働農民党解散より労農党結成まで). 1930. 115 p. Marked confidential. 出版警察資料 2

DLC

An analysis of the “legal” and the “illegal” left wing in the Japanese proletarian movement, from the dissolution of the Rōdō Nōmin-tō in 1925 to the establishment of the Rōnō-tō in 1929.

III-60. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Nōmin Rōdō-tō kinshi kankei shimbun kirinuki* (農民労働党禁止関係新聞切抜). Newspaper clippings. 1925. 1 v.

DLC

A collection of newspaper clippings on the banning of the Nōmin Rōdō-tō in December 1925.

III-61. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Saikin ni okeru nōson taisaku-ron no jōkyō* (最近に於ける農村対策論の状況). 1936. 159 p. Marked confidential.

DLC

Analysis of politics vis-a-vis the farm problem as expressed in newspapers, magazines, and books from the radical left to right wing nationalists.

III-62. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Sankō shiryō... 1) Iwayuru Hibiya yaki-uchi jiken gaiyō, 2) Taishō 7-nen kome sōdō jiken gaiyō* (参考資料...1) 所謂日比谷焼打事件概況 2) 大正七年米騒動事件概要). Survey made in Dec. 1939. 54, 418 p. Mimeographed. Marked secret.

DLC

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Two police reports: (1) on the mob violence at Hibiya Park in Tokyo when the terms of the peace treaty were announced at the end of the Russo-Japanese War, and (2) the Rice Riots in 1918. The latter report covers the influences of World War I, democracy, the Russian Revolution, and domestic politics, the type of participants, political philosophies held by these participants, and the legal, military and administrative measures taken to control the riots.

- III-63. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Sankō-tsuzuri* (参考綴). 1945. Variousy paged. Marked secret, confidential. Typewritten, handwritten, and mimeographed. DLC

A motley collection of documents on the movements and the opinions of communists, those suspected of communist leanings, and social democrats in the months immediately after the end of the Pacific War. Some of the documents are as follows: a secret report from the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture dated September 27, 1945 on the outlook of three journalists detained by the police at that time for alleged violation of the Peace Preservation Law; on the future of communism in Japan; evaluations by Japanese communists of what may happen in postwar Japan and their prophesy of a cold war; materials gathered for a basis of discussion at the meeting of the section chiefs of the Special Higher Police concerned with communists and social democrats, with accompanying charts showing the activities of the latter group.

- III-64. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Sayoku fukei fuon tsuzuri* (左翼不敬不穩綴). n.d. 1 v. Mimeographed. DLC

Collection of scribbings on telephone poles, etc., calling for the overthrow of the Emperor and government during the latter part of 1945.

- III-65. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Sayoku uyoku ni kansuru sankō shiryō* (左翼右翼に関する参考資料). 1935 (?) [21] double leaves. Marked secret. DLC

"Contains among other things a brief discussion of police measures adopted to combat left-wing groups and some statistics on violations of the Peace Preservation Law." (Langer and Swearingen).

- III-66. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Sayoku uyoku senden-ka shirabe* (左翼右翼宣伝歌調). 1920-1933. 96 p. Marked confidential. DLC; NNC

Collection of songs used by the left and rightwing social movements in Japan from publications used by these groups. Most of the songs are marked as banned by the Government.

- III-67. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shakai undō dantai gensei shirabe* (社会運動団体現勢調). As of June 30, 1933. Variousy paged. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. DLC

A detailed structural description of seventy-six "thought" organizations from the extreme left to the extreme rightwing. The information given is as follows: the name of the organization in full, date of organization, membership, name of organ(s), names of participants, names of subsidiary organizations, regional or prefectual subdivisions, or sub-subdivisions giving membership and principal officer on each level.

- III-68. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shiryō mokuroku* (資料目録). Nov. 1935. 110 leaves and 118 p. DLC.

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A list of reference materials divided into two sections of Japanese books and foreign books as of July 1934. There are several parts in the Japanese section on various aspects of the left wing movement, such as the socialist movement in general, the Young Communist League, the student movement, the proletarian cultural movement, and the anti-war movement.

III-69. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shōwa 2-nen-jū ni okeru musan seitō undō no jōkyō* (昭和二年中に於ける無産政党運動の状況). 1927. 249, 59 double leaves. Marked secret. Mimeographed. DLC

Annual reports on the activities of the proletarian political parties, their unification problems, election tactics, and local proletarian political parties. Appended are pertinent charts. (See also II-6; II-19)

III-70. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shuppan-butsu o tsūjite mitaru Nihon kakushin-ron no genkyō* (出版物を通じて見たる日本革新論の現況). Dec. 1933. 614 p. Marked confidential. 出版警察資料 5 DLC

The ideas, theories, principles of various political groups from January 1932 to January 1933. Two sections are of immediate interest: various leftwing groups that have embraced national or state socialism, and the "reformist" ideas (*kakushin-ron*) of Shakai Taishū-tō, and the JCP (p. 223-318).

III-71. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Fusen dai 2-ji senkyo to shuppan-butsu* (普選才二次選挙と出版物). Apr. 1930. 156 p. Marked confidential. 出版警察資料 3 DLC

An analytical survey of printed matter used by the leftwing in the second general election under universal manhood suffrage in February 1930. The publication conditions, attitudes towards the election and election policies, the reporting of election news and criticisms of the bourgeois parties and cabinet by left, right, center, and anarchist newspapers are reviewed. With modifications similar studies are made of periodicals, books, and other printed matter including advertisements, printed by the various competing parties. Cognizance is taken of communist influence and literary activity.

This study by the police affords an unusual opportunity to study leftwing election tactics now when a great many of the original publications are unavailable.

III-72. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Taisho 10-nen shuppan-butsu yori mitaru kokumin shisō no henshin* (大正 10 年出版物より見たる国民思想の変遷). Oct. 1921. 19 leaves. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. DLC

A study in the change of national thought as expressed in various publications. The report is divided into the middle class problem, criticism of labor disputes, cases of imprisonment, tendencies among newspapers and magazines operated by socialists and labor leaders, and secret publications of manifestoes.

III-73. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu shiryō* (特別高等警察資料). vol. 1, no. 3 (Nov. 1928). 404 p. Marked secret. DLC

A translation of a treatise in Russian on organization. (For part 2 see III-167).

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The intelligence section is on the establishment of the Musan Taishū-tō (Proletarian Masses Party) and the subsequent activities of the Party in Tokyo and in localities. The second part is on the various amalgamations by the left and rightwings in the farmers movement. In the miscellaneous section the party organs of a variety of organizations in the social movement from communist to rightwing nationalist as of September 1928 are described.

III-74. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu shiryō* vol. 1, no. 4. See no. III-167.

III-75. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHOSA-KA. *Musansha kyūgo no shakai-teki hōritsu-teki kōsatsu* (無産救護の社会的・法律的考察). Mar. 1934. 808, 406 p. 司法研究才 18 輯 報告書集 16 CSt-H

A voluminous study by a judge of the Tokyo District Court on the social and legal aspects of the relief of the proletariat in Japan, some European countries, and America.

III-76. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Nihon Musan-tō jiken no kenkyū* (日本無産党事件の研究). Apr. 1939. 286 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 60 JJ

An analysis of the Nihon Musan-tō Incident in 1937 by a prosecutor in the Tokyo Criminal District Court. This report is divided into three parts: The Nihon Musan-tō, The Rōnō faction, and the labor organization, Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Hyōgikai, abbreviated Zenkyō. Part I is an evaluation of the economic and political philosophies of this group and the communist movement. Part II is on the Rōnō faction, its establishment, theories, activities in rural areas, labor unions, and organization. Part III concerns the Nihon Musan-tō and labor organizations.

III-77. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Nihon Musan-tō no kessei keika to sono honshitsu* (日本無産党の結成経過と其本質). Oct. 1938. 160 p. Marked secret. 思想資料パンフレット 6 JJ

Record of nine interrogations of one Kitada Ichirō who was closely connected with the establishment of the Nihon Musan-tō and well acquainted with the historical circumstances and character of the party. Kitada was a lawyer and an elected member of the prewar Greater Tokyo Municipal Assembly and the City Assembly. He was active in the labor movement, and arrested many times for participation in certain labor disputes. Appended are six documents concerning Kitada and the party.

III-78. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Rōnō-ha to Nihon Musan-tō* (労農派と日本無産党). 1938. 131 p. Marked secret. 思想資料パンフレット 1 CSt-H

An analysis of the relationship between the Rōnō faction and the Nihon Musan-tō by a prosecutor of the Supreme Court who had been continuously connected with the prosecution of the communist movement. Appended are the declarations, regulations, policies and platform of the Rōnō Musan Kyōgikai, the opening statement of the magazine, *Rōnō*, and a short article by Yamakawa Hitoshi apparently describing the theory of the Rōnō faction.

III-79. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shina Jihen ni tomonau hompō-jin (naichi-jin) u-sayoku bunshi no Hokushū shinshitsu-raiō-sha o fukumu-narabini*

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kore ga dōkō gaikyō (支那事変に伴う本邦人(内地人)右左翼分子の北支進出一来往者を含む一並之が動向概況). Jan. 1940. 111 p. Marked secret. 思想資料ノンフレッツ特輯 JJ

Intelligence report by the police department of the Japanese Embassy in Peking on the activities of Japanese socialists, communists, anarchists, and ultra-nationalists in the North China area as of May 1939. The greater part (p. 30-111) of this volume is a collection of biographical data on the many persons included in this report with a thumbnail sketch of their activities in North China.

III-80. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shōwa 7-nen 1-gatsu yori 6-gatsu made shakai undō jōsei* (昭和7年自1月至6月社会運動情勢). Sept. 1932. Marked confidential. 思想研究資料 29, 30, 31, 33 CSt-H

The social movements, i.e., the communist, ultra-nationalist, proletarian political parties, labor, farmer and other movements from January to June 1932 in areas under the jurisdiction of the Nagoya, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Sapporo Courts of Appeal. Each report is about 150-250 pages long.

III-81. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Waka kuni ni okeru saikin no kokka-shugi naishi kokka-shakai-shugi undō ni tsuite* (我国に於ける最近の国家主義乃至国家社会主義運動に就いて). March 1935. 826 p. 司法研究才 19 輯, 報告書集 10 PC

Although this lengthy study is devoted to an analysis of nationalism and national socialism in Japan, Chapter 7, entitled "Sayoku tenkōha," is one of the few studies on the problem of political conversion from socialism to nationalism during the 1930's. The chapter (p. 398-536) lists twenty-nine organizations describing briefly their activities, and gives the declarations of conversion, new platforms, and officers of these organizations. Some of the organizations mentioned are: Kokumin Nihon-tō Jumbikai, Nihon Kokka Shakai-tō, Aikoku Seiji Dōmei, Kokka Shakai-shugi Seinen Dōmei. This study was made by a prosecutor of the Tokyo District Court.

III-82. TOKYO KŌSŌIN KENJI-KYOKU. *Tokyo Kōsōin kannai shakai undō jōsei chōsa* (東京控訴院管内社会運動情勢調査). Dec. 1929. 584 p. Marked confidential. DLC

Reports on the leftwing social movements during the first half of 1929 in areas under the jurisdiction of the Urawa, Chiba, Mito, Utsunomiya, Maebashi, Shizuoka, Kōfu, Nagano, and Niigata courts. The specific topics covered are 1) a general outline of thought problems in a particular area, 2) principal leftwing organizations and their participants, 3) quasi-leftwing organizations and their participants, 4) the factory labor movement, 5) farm labor movement, 6) the Suihei movement, and 7) other social movements.

B. Postwar Social Democratic Party of Japan

Due most probably to the fact that only a decade has lapsed since the end of World War II, there is a dearth of historical studies on the postwar Social Democratic Party. Unfortunately, there are no analyses of the SDP as thorough as those on the JCP. This paucity is accentuated when

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it is realized that the SDP headed one coalition government, participated in another, and, after a stunning electoral defeat in 1949, has slowly become an imposing political opposition to conservative government. It has the numerical strength to forestall a revision of the postwar constitution and could head a government should the conservative leadership resign. Although it would seem that the SDP is of greater significance than the JCP in post-World War II Japanese politics, the principal surveys of the SDP have not been made by disinterested scholars but instead by persons active in the party or who are closely associated with a particular faction within the party.

The communist expose of the SDP, the retrospective essay by the party leader, and the general historical study are some of the types of books included in this section. *Nihon Shakai-tō jūnen-shi* (III-94) by Yamazaki Hiroshi, though somewhat partisan in favor of the right wing in the SDP, is the only coordinated history of the postwar period. *The postwar history of the Social Democratic Party of Japan as seen through the Tokyo daily newspapers* (III-92) is a voluminous but unusual collection of newspaper clippings on the SDP from 1947 to 1956, describing on a day-to-day basis the rapid rise, abrupt decline, and steady recovery of the chief opposition to the conservative parties.

- III-83. Katayama, Tetsu. *Minshu seiji no kaiko to tembō* (民主政治の回顧と展望). Minshu Hyōron-sha. 1954. 239 p. DLC

Written with the conviction that postwar democracy in Japan is confronted with a crisis. The author was the first socialist premier in Japan. It is a restatement of the conservative social democratic point of view. Of particular interest is the chapter on recollections of his tenure as premier in 1947-48.

- III-84. Kurihara, Hiromi. *Hirano tsuihō no shinsō: Minshu seiji no teki wa dare ka?* (平野追放の真相—民主政治の敵は誰か). Kazama Shoten. 1948. 282 p. DLC

Probably the only book on the unusual circumstances of the political purge of Hirano Rikizō in 1948, and a partial political history of the turbulent years, 1947-1948. Hirano was an outstanding member of the rightwing SDP and in the beginning of the Katayama Cabinet was the socialist Minister of Agriculture. Kurihara is critical of the Katayama-Nishio-Suzuki group that purged Hirano. When the Katayama Cabinet was formed Kurihara resigned his position as vice-chief of the political affairs department of the Tokyo *Mainichi* newspaper to join the SDP.

- III-85. NISHIO, Suehiro. *Watakushi no seiji techō* (私の政治手帖). Jikyoku Kenkyū-kai. 1952. 90 p. PC

The sister volume to the author's *Taishū to tomo ni*—an autobiography of his prewar activities—dealing with the first six years after the termination of World War II when Nishio reached the peak of his political career as Vice Premier.

- III-86. OHASHI, Seiichi. *Heiwa kakumei to rōdō kumiai* (平和革命と労組組合). Kyōdō Shuppan-sha. 1948. 181 p. CSt-H; DLC; MH

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"The peaceful revolution and the labor union" contains the strategic and tactical formula for the advancement of the SDP, the peaceful revolution, and the labor unions, by a professor of the Chūō Rōdō Gakuen, the central labor school. Only the first 50 pages are devoted to the SDP, the remainder is devoted to the peaceful revolution and the labor unions. Appended is a history of the prewar labor movement.

- III-87. OMAGARI, Tadashi. *Nihon Shakai-tō ron* (日本社会党論). Chōryūsha. 1949. 60 p. 潮流講座経済学全集 3 部 日本資本主義の現状分析 CSt-H

A communist interpretation of the role of the Shakai-tō in postwar Japan. The author was involved in the prewar student movement, and since December 1945 was associated with the JCP periodical, *Zen'ei*.

- III-88. SASSA, Hiroo. *Sekai no ummei* (世界の運命). Kokuritsu Shoin. 1948. 263 p. DLC

Three articles are of immediate interest: the Katayama Cabinet, an administration headed by the socialists, and a critical review of the political situation centering around the SDP in 1947.

- III-89. SAWA, Toshizō. *Shōden gigoku no zembō* (昭電疑獄の全貌). Kyoto. Mie Shobō. 1949. 118 p. NDLM

Pamphlet on the largest scandal of the early postwar years which caused the arrest of a ranking rightwing leader of the SDP and even began to involve the immediate subordinates of the Premier. Ultimately, the Shōwa Denkō scandal ended in the downfall of the Ashida Cabinet, the second Cabinet in which the SDP had participated. This scandal is regarded as one of the reasons for the severe defeat suffered by the SDP in the 1949 general elections. The source of the scandal, the Shōwa Denkō Kabushiki Kaisha, was the largest manufacturer of chemical fertilizer in Japan at the time. It was reported that some two hundred million yen was involved in the scandal.

- III-90. SEIJI KEIZAI HYŌRON-SHA. *Go dai-seitō o kaibō-suru* (五大政党を解剖する). 1948. 122 p. 良識叢書 1 DLC

An analysis of the five principal political parties in postwar Japan. The SDP is reviewed by Nakamura Akira, a liberal commentator and university professor of political science.

- III-91. *Shakai-tō no uchimaku* (社会党の内幕). Jimmin-sha. 1948. 208 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

"Behind the scenes in the SDP" is an extremely anti-SDP version of socialist activities before, during and after the Pacific War. The study touches upon the prewar parties, the establishment of the SDP in 1945, its relations with the Yoshida government, the Katayama Cabinet, the anti-communist of the leftwing, the Hirano-Nishio controversy, and the split of the SDP.

- III-92. *Shimbun-shi o tsūjite mita sengo no Nihon Shakai-tō shi* (新聞紙を通じて見た戦後の日本社会党史). 1953-56. DLC

The English title is *Postwar history of the Social Democratic Party of Japan as seen through the Tokyo daily newspapers*. This history, the only one on a day-to-day basis for almost ten years is a voluminous collection of newspaper clippings compiled

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by 1) the National Diet Library newspaper clipping service from March 7, 1947 to the end of 1953, 2) the Nihon Shakai-tō Seisaku Shingi-kai from January 3, 1953 to March 1956 and 3) the compiler of this bibliography from March 1955 to August 1956. For the convenience of the student part 1 is divided into several parts: a newspaper history of the SDP from 1947 to 1953 including two volumes, one each on the left and right SDP to the end of 1953; two volumes on the Katayama Cabinet; four volumes on the Ashida Cabinet; and two volumes on socialist policies. Part 2 was begun by the right SDP when the party was split between 1951 and 1955. The newspaper history was continued by the same office of the SDP after unification in late 1955. This part was not microfilmed in entirety as part 3 was already available. Parts 1 and 2 are based on all the newspapers published in Tokyo; part 3 relied upon only four main newspapers in Tokyo. When all these clippings are completely bound (some are now bound) there will be about 80 volumes of all sizes. Parts 1 and 2 were microfilmed by the National Diet Library; part 3 is available in the original form as assembled by this compiler. The original clippings of parts 1 and 2 respectively are available at the National Diet Library and maintained in the SDP headquarters in Tokyo.

III-93. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi. *Rōdō kaikyū no seitō* (労働階級の政党). Rōdō Bunka-sha. 1949. 144 p. CST-H

"On the political party for the working class" is on the postwar development of the socialist party, its principles, organization, relations with labor unions, conditions for success, and many other aspects. The book was actually written about the time of the postwar Socialist government in 1947; in this connection it might contain interesting observations.

III-94. YAMAZAKI, Hiroshi. *Nihon Shakai-tō jū-nen shi* (日本社会党十年史). Taibunkan. 1956. 262 p. PC

Although by no means a definite study it is at present the only postwar history of the SDP in one volume in Japanese. Since it is in a pocket-size edition, it is perforce only a concise history but it does give the reader the turbulent postwar experiences of the party. Since the author has always been identified with the rightwing of the SDP both in prewar and postwar years it has a rightwing slant. The author was director of the SDP General Affairs Bureau in early postwar years, secretary to the Socialist Prime Minister in 1947, chief of the party organ and at present editor-in-chief of the *Nihon shakai shimbun*, which is generally identified with the rightwing.

The postwar period is divided into three parts: from the revival of the SDP in 1945 to its decline in 1949 at which time the leadership of the party switched from the right to the leftwing; from 1949 to the fundamental split over the peace treaty in 1951; and lastly the four year schism and eventual unification in 1955. The appendices include the party platform of the unified SDP and a ten year chronology of the party.

C. Japanese Communist Party

Because of the peculiar position of the JCP there have been more studies, pro and con, on this party than on the other leftwing party. There are a number of biased studies and statements by anti-communist organizations, such as the pamphlet (III-120) by the Japanese equivalent of the

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American Legion on the “Communist world plot and the JCP,” and the testimony of a ranking JCP member at the famous trials of the early thirties (III-101) and reports by a JCP member on activities of the Japanese Anti-War League in China up to 1944 (III-110). The study (III-125) by Yamamoto Katsunosuke and Arita Mitsuho, the pseudonym of a ranking official of the Public Security Investigation Agency of the Japanese Government, is regarded as one of the best and most detached analyses of the prewar JCP.

As in the previous section the documents which originate mainly from the Naimu-shō, Shihō-shō and the Tokyo Chihō Saibansho, are so varied in scope and topics as to defy convenient classification. The Gaimu-shō has assembled a voluminous collection of over 10,000 pages of documents on the JCP trials. (III-130). Although listed as a document, Okada Tsunesuke’s study on the reasons why leftist ideas are accepted is in reality a short analysis which could be contrasted with the findings of a separate study by Ikeda Katsu (III-102) in the previous section. Both studies endeavor to discover the factors influencing the mental processes through which an individual passes before becoming a communist.

Unlike the prewar period, no detailed and voluminous documents on the postwar period are available. There are three histories which are recognized as being fairly authoritative analyses of the postwar period. By coincidence they are all written or compiled by anti-communist sources: Yoshioka Nobumasa’s *Nihon Kyōsan-tō no kaibō* (III-195) and Yaginuma Masaharu’s *Nihon Kyōsan-tō undō-shi, sengo-hen* (III-193) and the more recent compilation by the Nikkan Rōdō Tsūshin-sha (III-187) which is essentially a Japanese Government study since certain officials fully cooperated in its compilation utilizing government intelligence. This book gives the reader one of the best panoramic views of the development of the postwar JCP.

1. Prewar Period

A. Books

- III-95. AMAKUSA, Rintarō. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō dai kenkyo-shi* (日本共産党大検挙史). Bukyō-sha. 1929. 420 p. DLC; MH; NNC

A somewhat sensational anti-communist history of the JCP until the mass arrests in 1929. According to the preface it is a “document,” a “popular novel,” “a true thought crime story,” and a “history of the social movements in Japan”!!

- III-96. AYAKAWA, Takeji. *Kyōsan-tō undō no gaiaku* (共産党運動の害悪). Zen-Nihon Kōkoku Dōshikai Shuppan-bu. 1930. 278 p.

CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

- III-97. AYAKAWA Takeji. *Kyōsan-tō undō no shinsō to dokuaku-sei* (共産党

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運動の真相と毒悪性). Zen-Nihon Kōkoku Doshikai. 1929. 192 p.

CSt-H; DLC

III-98. AYAKAWA, Takeji. *Kyōsan-tō o warera ga haigeki-suru itsutsu no riyū* (共産党を我等が排撃する五つの理由). Zen-no-seikatsu-sha. 1932. 51 p. Revised edition. DLC

An anti-communist history of the communist movement in Japan from the inception of the party to 1930 for the specific purpose of "awakening the Japanese public to to the danger of communism." It includes not only the history of the party, but also its organization, its relations with Moscow (which Langer and Swearingen state are explained in detail), its objectives and tactics, and peripheral organizations.

The first mentioned book is the most complete while the other two are shorter versions of the same.

III-99. FUSE, Tatsuji. *Kyōsan-tō jiken ni taisuru hihan to kōgi* (共産党事件に対する批判と抗議). Kyōseikaku. 1929. 154 p. DLC copy imperfect: all after p. 154 wanting. CSt-H; DLC

"Criticism and protests against the JCP Incident" concerns the authors's protests against the mass arrests of the JCP in 1928 and his record of struggle in the Osaka District Court where he received disciplinary measures for irregular conduct in the Court. Fuse was a defense lawyer in all the communist trials from the Gyōmin Kyōsan-tō trials in 1921 to the famous JCP trials in 1928. The articles in this book were originally written for magazines and newspapers: *Hōritsu sensen*, *Musansha shimbun*, *Rōnō*, and *Kaizō*.

III-100. Hakuyō-sha. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō shōshi* (日本共産党小史). 1931. 92 p. CSt-H; DLC

A short history of the JCP from the radical leftwing point of view.

III-101. ICHIKAWA, Shōichi. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō tōsō shōshi* (日本共産党斗争小史). Shōkō Shoin. 1946. 214 p. Also published in 1952 (153 p.) by Kibōkaku. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

"The official history is a revised edition of the late Ichikawa's testimony in the famous communist trials of the early 'thirties, published in 1932 by the Central Committee of the JCP. Although practically no names or locations are indicated and many details have been either omitted (such as Yoshihara's speech) or intentionally distorted, the work is of some value in tracing the JCP's interpretation of events in and around the JCP. Contains a good deal of theory." (Langer and Swearingen)

III-102. IKEDA, Katsu. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō Jiken no tōkei-teki kōsatsu* (日本共産党事件の統計的考察). Parts 1-2 in *Keisatsū Kenkyū*, vol. 1, nos. 5, 6 (1930). DLC

Though an official of the Ministry of Justice, the author starts his statistical survey of the JCP Incident by quoting a passage from W. A. Bonger which starts: "It is society that prepares the crime....." The survey covers the age, condition of health, level of education, school attended, school grades, family relationships, living standards, family occupation, the individual's occupation, and the mental processes through which the individual passed before becoming a Communist.

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- III-103. KAMBA, Nakanosuke. *Genka bōkyō no sho-mondai* (現下防共の諸問題). Seinen Kondankai Shuppan-bu. 1939. 20 p. DLC

An anti-communist interpretation of the historical development of the "Labor-Farmer faction" (Rōnōha). It also takes up social conditions for communism, and the concluding chapter is on recantations.

- III-104. KANDA, Tetsuo. *Kyōsan-tō taishū-tō no michi* (共産党大衆化の途). Daini Musansha Shimbun-sha. 1929. 42 p. DLC

A small pamphlet on the "mass-ization" of the JCP. The position of the author in the JCP cannot be verified. The pamphlet was banned by the government.

- III-105. KAWAI, Eijirō. *Komintern no ummei* (コミンテルンの運命). Kōbundō. 1950. 154 p. CSt-H; DLC; MH

Though divided into two main sections, one on the collapse of the Comintern and the other on the national socialist movement of Hitler, there is a short account of the "turn-about" of communism in Japan. It describes why communism had spread in Japan and also why it had to reconsider its program in Japan. The book is composed of articles written by Kawai at various times in various magazines.

- III-106. KISHIDA, Kikuhan. *Kyōsan-tō hiwa* (共産党秘話). Gendai Tsūshin-sha. 1929. 125 p. DLC

Personal anecdotes concerning the JCP obtained by the author while he was in the Ichigaya Prison in Tokyo (not for communist activities).

- III-107. KITA, Kazuo. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō shimatsu-ki* (日本共産党始末記). Shobo. 1929. 346 p. CtY; CSt-H; DLC; MH; MiU; NNC

History of the JCP from its inception to the mass arrests in 1928 and 1929 from the viewpoint of a newspaper reporter assigned to the Tokyo Metropolitan Police in Board. The forward is signed by the Commissioner of Police. According to the author's preface it includes the difficulties experienced by the police and legal officers making the arrests, the attitude of the government, particularly as expressed by the Premier, Ministers of Justice and Education, and the various political parties in the Diet.

- III-108. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō Jiken kōhan sokki-roku* (日本共産党事件公判速記録). Total volumes unknown. Mimeographed. CSt-H (6 v.); NNC (10 v.)

Stenographic records of the trial of the principal leaders of the JCP in 1931. The defense and explanation of the JCP's history, organization, policies, youth movement, and the illegality of the Peace Preservation Law as expounded by the defendants are given in full. This is a difficult document to obtain.

- III-109. Nihon Shimbun-sha Henshū-kyoku. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō no shōtai to bokumetsu-saku* (日本共産党の正体と撲滅策). Senshin-sha. 1931. 186 p. CSt-H

A nationalist partisan study of the "evil ramifications" of the JCP, its objectives, activities, international relations, and a policy for the extermination of the JCP.

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III-110. NOZAKA, Sanzō. *Heiwa e no tataikai: Hansen Dōmei jissen-ki* (平和への戦い—反戦同盟実践記). Kiryū. Akatsuki Shobō. 1947. 144 p.

CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

Series of front-line reports and diaries of the "Japanese Anti-War League (Nihon-jin Hansen Dōmei)" up to 1944. They first appeared in Chinese translation in 1944 in the communist newspaper, *Chieh-fang-jih-pao* (解放日報). According to Nozaka these reports were highly praised by Mao Tse-tung, and widely read by the Chinese people. Although the identities of Japanese communists at Yen-an cannot be ascertained (as fictitious names are used), some idea can be obtained of the methods used to propagandize the Japanese Army. The Anti-War League was formed by Japanese prisoners-of-war in 1942 and reorganized into the Japanese Liberation Federation (Nihon Jimmin Kaihō Remmei) in 1944.

III-111. ROYAMA, Masamichi. *Tōyō ni okeru kyōsan-tō no hatten* (東洋に於ける共産党の発展). Keijō (Seoul). Chosen Insatsu K.K. 1931. 123 p. Marked confidential. DLC

A series of lectures given at the Police Academy by a former professor at Tokyo University (now president of the Ochanomizu Women's University) on communism in the Orient.

III-112. SATSUKI-KAI. *Saikin ni okeru kyōsan-tō no undō ni tsuite* (最近に於ける共産党の運動に就いて). 1937. 60 p. DLC

Two reports in May 1937 on the activities of the JCP, and on the characteristics of the radical leftwing movement by Ikeda Katsu, a prosecutor in the prewar Japanese Supreme Court, and one of its judges in the postwar era, and Inomata Keijirō, an official of the defunct Ministry of Home Affairs.

III-113. [SEKKI INSATSU-KYOKU]. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō jiken kōhan saishū chinjutsu* (日本共産党事件公判最終陳述) 1932. 123 p. July 14-26, 1932. DLC

The final statements by members of the JCP in the famous JCP trials in the early 'thirties. These statements were used more for propaganda purposes than for defending the accused in the trials.

III-114. SHAKAI SHISŌ TAISAKU Chōsa-kai. *Ishikawa-ken ka sekka bunshi no kenkyō ni kansuru chōsa shiryō* (石川県下赤化分子の検挙に関する調査資料). n. p. 1934. 10 p. part 2. DLC

Research materials concerning the arrest of communists in Ishikawa prefecture.

III-115. SHAKAI SHISŌ TAISAKU Chōsa-kai. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō Jiken kyotō hikoku Sano Manabu-ra no kōso kōhan-tei ni okeru chinjutsu no gaiyō* (日本共産党事件巨頭被告佐野学等の控訴公判廷に於ける陳述の概要). Kyoto. 1934. Total number of volumes unknown. (DLC v. 2)

A summary of statements made by Sano Manabu and others during the JCP Trial.

III-116. SHAKAI SHISŌ TAISAKU Chōsa-kai. *Shōwa 11-nen jū ni okeru sayoku shakai undō gaiyō narabini shakai undō kankeisha shōsoku ippan* (昭和 11

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年中に於ける左翼社会運動概要並に社会運動関係者消息一般). 1937. Parts 3 and 4. DLC

Reports on the activities of leftists in the social movements, especially the communists, during 1936.

III-117. SUZUKI, Takeshi. *Kyōsan-tō chōyaku no zembō* (共産党跳躍の全貌). Keibun-sha. 1932. 292 p. DLC; MH

A somewhat sensational anti-communist presentation of the JCP up to the fall of 1932. "For the most part superseded by postwar studies." (Langer and Swearingen)

III-118. SUZUKI, Takeshi. *Sano Manabu ichimi o hōtei ni okuru made* (佐野学一味を法廷に送るまで). Keiyū-sha. 1931. 264 p. CST-H; NNC

An anti-communist history of the JCP until the arraignment of Sano Manabu et al. Parts II and III concern the activities, policies, tactics, etc. of the JCP, and its front organizations, the deficiencies of Marxist theory, and how the Japanese legal system, especially the Peace Preservation Law applied to the communist movement.

III-119. TAJIMA, Zenkō. *Kyōsan-tō Shakai-tō haigeki no konkyo to gendai Nihon no henkaku taikō* (共産党, 社会党排撃の根拠と現代日本の変革大綱). Wakayama. Kishū Suisan Shimbun-sha. 1950. 259 p. CST-H

A frontal attack on the deficiencies of the JCP and the SDP by a former communist who was active in the reconstruction of the JCP in 1931 and imprisoned for JCP participation and murder for 14 years till after the end of the World War II. A denunciation of the JCP is the main aim of the book; the criticism of the SDP and other leftwing groups is secondary. Included also are the letters exchanged between Tajima and his imprisoned wife concerning their gradual recantation from 1934 to 1940.

III-120. TAMAKI, Masayoshi. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō kōhan tōsō hishi* (日本共産党公判斗争秘史). Fukuoka. Kyūshū Rōdō Gakkō. 1946. 2 v. IEN; NNC

"Secret history of the JCP trials" is a partial record of the court proceedings. These should be read with caution as there may be "indistinct and somewhat warped parts" (p. 3) in the verbatim records. The compiler was head of the Kyūshū Rōdō Gakkō (Kyūshū Labor School).

III-121. TATEYAMA, Takaaki. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō kenkyo hishi* (日本共産党検挙秘史). Bukyō-sha. 1929. 398 p. CST-H; DLC; MH; MiU; NNC

An excellent and detailed analysis of the leftwing movement from the Meiji years and especially of the communist movement during the 'twenties, including the ideological and political background of the movement. Appended is a statistical study of the background of the membership of the JCP according to a Ministry of Justice study, biographical sketches of JCP leadership and women party members, route of entry to Russia, and Japanese party members who have studied in Russia. The book is written with an anti-communist slant by a journalist.

III-122. TEIKOKU ZAIGO GUNJIN-KAI. *Sekai imbō to Nihon Kyōsan-tō* (世界陰謀と日本共産党). 1933. 90 p. CST-H; DLC

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A study of the communist movement in Japan and the world by the equivalent of the American Legion. The title of the study is indicative of the contents: World Plot and the Japanese Communist Party.

- III-123. TOKUNAGA, Toshitsugu. *Sekka bōshi gutai-saku* (赤化防止具体策). Nihon Shakai Mondai Tsūshin-sha. 1933. 87 p. DLC

Textbook on counter-measures against communist infiltration of factories, offices, banks, and others. The bulk of the pamphlet is devoted to methods used for detecting communist elements and methods to dispose of these elements. A short section on the relation between the JCP and front organizations is also included. In the short preface, the publishers note that Tokunaga was once a leader in the JCP and the communist-dominated labor organization, Zenkyō.

- III-124. TOYO GAKUJIN. *Kōōsan-tō wa naze warui ka* (共産党は何故悪いか). 1933. 207 p. CST-H

An expose of the JCP, its foreign dominance, the irresponsibility of its leadership, the objectives of the JCP, an analysis of Marxism and its resort to violent revolution.

- III-125. YAMAMOTO, Katsunosuke and ARITA, Mitsuho. *Nihon Kyōsan-shugi undō shi* (日本共産主義運動史). Seiki Shobō. 1950. 473 p. CLSU; CSt-H; DLC; MH; MiU; NNC

Comprehensive history of the Japanese communist movement from its early beginnings to the end of the Pacific War; the postwar years are briefly covered. "The most complete and reliable account published in the Japanese language...(which) successfully avoided any *parti-pris*." (Langer and Swearingen) Appended are nine useful charts on various aspects of the organization of the JCP. According to reliable sources this book was based, in general, on the police records of Arita Mitsuho, who for 20 years was officially concerned with the control of these movements in the Metropolitan Police Board. Arita is the pseudonym of Ashida Tatsujirō, now a ranking officer of the Public Security Investigation Agency of the Japanese Government.

- III-126. YOKOMIZO, Mitsuteru. *Nihon shakai-shugi undō-shi kōwa*. See no. III-41.

- III-127. ZAI-KA NIHON-JIN HANSEN DŌMEI. EN'AN [YENAN] SHIBU. *Nihon teikoku-shugi to Nihon kakumei no seishitsu* (日本帝国主義と日本革命の性質). [Yenan]. 1941. 28 p. DLC

Excerpts from the report by Otto Vihelm Kuusinen (?), at the standing committee of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, on Japanese imperialism and the nature of the revolution in Japan. Reprinted by the communist propaganda group among Japanese prisoners-of-war in Yanan.

b. Documents

- III-128. GAIMU-SHŌ, OBEI-KYOKU. *Kyōsan-shugi Intanashonarū dai 6-kai taikai no jōkyō* (共産主義インタナショナル赤六回大会の状況). 1929. 223 p. Marked secret. 共産運動研究資料集 6. CST-H

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A description of the 6th world conference of the Communist International, including the speeches by certain Japanese representatives who are identified by their surnames only (except Katayama Sen). A considerable part of the report is devoted to the presentation of resolutions, decisions, and theses.

III-129. GAIMU-SHŌ. *PVM 21 The lesè-majesté case of Namba Daisuke, a member of the Communist Party (Kyōsan-tō-in Namba Daisuke no fukei jiken)*. Dec. 1923. 111 p. Reel P 56. DLC

Actually a printed document entitled: *Tora-no-mon ni okeru fukei jiken ni kansuru chōsa* (虎の門に於ける不敬事件に関する調査).

It is a detailed analysis of Namba Daisuke from a description of his social background to Russian press comments. This study is no. 1 of *Tokubetsu Kōtō Keisatsu Kenkyū Shiryō* (特別高等警察研究資料) and marked "secret."

The above is part of a microfilm collection of papers of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Library of Congress.

III-130. GAIMU-SHŌ. *S 9.4.5.2-(22-32) Miscellaneous documents relating to the Japanese Communist Party (Nihon Kyōsan-tō kankei zakken)*. DLC
S 9.4.5.2-22 [General]. Jan.-Dec. 1929. 817 p. Reel S 396.

S 9.4.5.2-(23-28) The Communist Party Incident (Kyōsan-tō Jiken).

S 9.4.5.2-23 Research papers (Chōsho). Sect. 1: Apr. 1928-June 1930; sect. 2: Aug. 1928-June 1930. 920 p. Reels S396-S397.

S 9.4.5.2-24 Hearings of the defendants by the Metropolitan Police (Keishichō ni okeru Kyōsan-tō Jiken hihikoku-nin chōshu-sho). June-Sept. 1929. 249 p. Reel S397.

S 9.4.5.2-25 Hearings of the defendants by the Tokyo District Court (Tokyō Chihō Saiban-sho ni okeru Kyōsan-tō Jiken hikoku-nin chōshu-sho). Sect. 1: Mar.-Dec. 1929; sect. 2; Sept. 1928-May 1929; sect. 3: Apr. 1928-July 1929. 1771 p. Reels S397-S399.

S 9.4.5.2-26 Minutes of the preliminary examination of defendants (Kyōsan-tō Jiken hikoku-nin yoshin chōsho). Sects. 1-4: 2345 p. Reels S399-S401.

S 9.4.5.2-27 Japanese Communists studying at the Communist University for the Toilers of the East in Russia (Hompō-jin shugi-sha no zai-Ro Tōhō Kinrō-sha Kyōsan Daigaku ryūgaku kankei). 199 p. Reel S401.

S 9.4.5.2-28 Written decision of the preliminary examination of defendants (Kyōsan-tō Jiken hikoku-nin yoshin shūketsu kettei-sho). Sect. 1: Dec. 1929; sect. 2: Oct. 1930. 2067 p. Reels S401-S403.

S 9.4.5.2-29 The investigation and control of Communist movements (Kyōsan-shugi undō chōsa oyobi torishimari kankei). Apr. 1928-Sept. 1936. 62 p. Reel S403.

S 9.4.5.2-30 (Unavailable).

S 9.4.5.2-31 Defendants charged with the violation of the Peace Preservation Law (Chian Iji-hō ihan hikoku jiken kankei). Sects. 1-2: Oct. 1929-Sept. 1931; sects. 3-4; Aug. 1930-June 1932; sect. 5; Apr.-Dec. 1932. 3977 p. Reels S404-S407.

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S 9.4.5.2-32 *The arrest of Sano Manabu (Sano Manabu taiho kankei)*. June-Sept. 1929. 420 p. Reel S408.

S 9.4.5.2-22 Research papers prepared by the Tokyo District Court on leftwing activities; Communist propaganda, press reports on arrests of JCP members, the establishment of the Musan Taishū-tō, the student movement from January to August 1928; the proletarian cultural movement, the establishment of the Kaihō Undō Giseisha Kyūen-kai (解放運動犠牲者救援会 Society for the aid of victims in the liberation movement); cooperation between the Japanese and Chinese Communist parties; the supply of funds to the JCP from the Third International; the meeting of the Japanese and Korean Communist Parties in Shanghai; directives sent to the Central Committee of the JCP; the labor league between the Japanese, Korean, and Chinese Communist parties; the JCP report on the conditions of Japanese mine workers; and other intelligence reports on the JCP; there are also reports on the activities of some twenty persons connected with the JCP.

S 9.4.5.2-23 Research papers prepared by (1) the Bureau of European and American Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning the JCP Incident, the secret sessions of the 55th Diet regarding the Incident, the influence of the Incident in various fields of activities; and (2) the Ministry of Home Affairs concerning the activities and arrest of members of the JCP, and reports on the principal members of the JCP, such as Watanabe Masanosuke, Ichikawa Shōichi, Nabeyama Sadachika, Mitamura Shirō; and (3) the Tokyo District Court and the Ministry of Justice on the activities of JCP members not arrested, and on the party organ *Sekki* (Akahata), and the Japan Young Communist League in the Kansai area. A collection of confiscated party songs, and essays on dialectics are also included.

S 9.4.5.2-24 The defendants are: Ichikawa Shōichi; Sano Manabu; Mitamura Shirō; Nabeyama Sadachika.

S 9.4.5.2-25 Some of the twenty defendants who are fairly well known are: Takahashi Sadaki, Sano Manabu, Kawai Etsuzō, Nozaka Sanzō, Fukumoto Kazuo, Mizuno Shigeo, Arahata Katsuzō (Kanson).

S 9.4.5.2-26 Actually the record of a series of interrogations of the following defendants: Mizuno Shigeo, Tokuda Kyūichi, Fukumoto Kazuo, Arahata Katsuzō, Sano Manabu, Kitaura Sentarō and others.

S 9.4.5.2-27 Reports on Japanese Communists studying at the University, their entry into Russia for this purpose, and their return to Japan after the March 15, 1928 arrests of the JCP.

S 9.4.5.2-28 The written decision of the preliminary examination of the defendants in the JCP Incident.

S 9.4.5.2-29 Reports of officials of the Ministry of Home Affairs sent to the United States to investigate communism among Japanese in the United States.

S 9.4.5.2-30 The Korean Communist Party.

S 9.4.5.2-31 Greater part of the documents concern the court trials of offenders of the Peace Preservation Law: the JCP, Chinese Communist Party, and the Korean Communist Party.

S 9.4.5.2-32 Communications of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning the arrest of Sano Manabu in Shanghai in 1929.

The above are included in the microfilm collection of Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs archives in the Library of Congress.

III-131. GAIMU-SHŌ. *SP 82 Conditions in the U.S.S.R. (Roshia jijō)*. Oct. 1921-June 1924. 236p. Reel SP31. DLC

Collection of newspaper clippings concerning conditions in Russia written by various Japanese leftwing leaders and newspapermen, e.g. Suzuki Mosaburō, Fuse Tatsuji, Arahata Kanson, etc. The above is part of a microfilm collection of papers of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Library of Congress.

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- III-132. GAIMU-SHŌ SP 248 *A study of Japanese national culture [A survey of the causes and significance as to why leftist ideas are adopted. By Okada Tsunesuke. Published by the Government Research Institute of National Culture]*. Mar 1935. 177 p. Reel SP146. DLC

The above is part of a microfilm project of papers of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Library of Congress.

Also published under the following title: Okada, Tsunesuke. *Shisō sakei no gen'in oyobi senō keiro* (思想左傾の原因及び其の経路). Nihon Bunka Kyōkai. 1935. 169 p. (PC)

- III-133. GAIMU-SHŌ. SP 257 *The arrest and control of Japanese Communists (Nihon Kyōsan-shugisha no kenkyō torishimari)*. 414 p. Reel SP147. DLC

Description of the arrests of the Nihon Musan-tō, list of the names of persons arrested; the establishment of the Nihon Musan-tō and Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Hyōgikai; intelligence reports assembled by the Ministry of Home Affairs on the attitudes and activities of left and rightwing groups toward the China Incident. Only part of these reports is included; no. 15 (Dec. 21, 1937-Jan. 15, 1938; no. 16 (Jan. 16-31, 1938); no. 17 (Feb. 1-15, 1938); no. 18 (Feb. 16-26, 1938); no. 19 (Mar. 1-15, 1938).

The above is part of a microfilm collection of papers of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Library of Congress (see also III-57).

- III-134. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT Files. *Kenjū hakken shirabe—kyōsan-shugi kankei* (拳銃発見調—共産主義関係). Dec. 1934. 5 p. Mimeographed. Marked secret. DLC

List of about fifty communists who when arrested had pistols on their persons. The arrests cover a seven year period from 1928 to 1934. Many of the famous names in the JCP of the period appear on this list. The following data is given on this list: place and date of arrest, and make of pistol.

- III-135. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT Files. *Kyokusa undō dantai keitō ryakkai* (極左運動団体系統略解). Feb. 1934-36. 1 p. Mimeographed. DLC

These charts showing relationship between the Communist International, the JCP and various front organizations.

- III-136. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT Files. *Kyōsan-tō jiken sho-shiryō* (共産党事件諸資料). [approx. 1928] 218 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

Various materials concerning the JCP Incident in 1928, including the announcement of the Ministry of Justice, list of items confiscated in raids, translated issues of the Communist International, list of JCP members posing as candidates of the Rōdō Nōmin-tō, and many other items.

- III-137. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT Files. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō* (日本共産党). 1 p. Marked secret. DLC

Organization chart of the JCP as of October 1932.

- III-138. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō gaishi* (日本共産党概史). 1939. 10 leaves and diagrams. Mimeographed. CSt-H

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Actually only a chronology of events. The interesting part is the nine pages showing a diagrammatic description of the communist movement in Japan from 1906 to 1938; these diagrams show the various factions and principal incidents.

- III-139. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō saiken botai Nihon Seiji Keizai Kenkyūjo no kenkyo jōkyō* (日本共産党再建母体日本政治経済研究所の検挙状況). n.d. 54 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

A brief description of the arrests of the members of Nihon Seiji Keizai Kenkyūjo, believed to be the founding organization for a reconstructed JCP in the middle 1930's.

- III-140. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō Shōwa 8-nen 12-gatsu rinchi jiken tōji* (日本共産党昭和八年十二月「リンチ」事件当時). 1 p. Mimeographed. Marked secret. DLC

Organizational chart of the JCP at the time of "Lynching Incident" in December 1933.

- III-141. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō Tokubetsu Shikin-kyoku gyangu tantō sekininsha Imaizumi Zen'ichi chōsho* (日本共産党特別資金局ギャング担当責任者今泉善一調書). n.d. Approx. 154 leaves. Mimeographed. CSt-H

Questioning of and statements by two persons concerning their activities in obtaining funds for the JCP during the latter part of 1932, known as the Omori affair, an armed robbery.

- III-142. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Nihon Museifu Kyōsan-tō kessei to sono kenkyo* (日本無政府共産党結成とその検挙). 1935-36. Approx. 100 p. CSt-H

Documents concerning the formation of the "Anarchist Communist" party of Japan and the arrests of its members. A chart showing the ramifications of the party is also included giving the names of principal officers on all levels.

- III-143. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Nihon Museifu Kyōsan-tō no issei kenkyo* (日本無政府共産党の一斉検挙). 1935. Approx. 120 p. CSt-H

Actually a two page chart showing the arrest in December 1935 of party members of the "Anarchist Communist" party.

- III-144. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Nihon Seinen Kyōsan Dōmei no guntai kankei* (日本青年共産同盟の軍隊関係). n.d. 33 leaves. DLC

A short study on the relations between the Japan Youth Communist League and the Army during the late twenties.

- III-144.1. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Shakai-shugi undō geppo*. See no. III-47.1.

- III-145. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Tō shin-chūō-bu (tasū-ha) soshiki-hyō* (党新中央部(多数派)組織表). [1935?] 1 p. Mimeographed. DLC

HISTORIES OF THE LEFTWING POLITICAL PARTIES

Organizational chart of the New Central Group (Majority Faction or Bolshevik Faction?)—shin-chūō-bu (tasū-ha)—of the JCP.

- III-146. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Uemura Taibun chōsho Nihon Museifu Kyosan-tō chūō iin* (植村諦聞聴書日本無政府共産党中央委員). n.d. Approx. 250 p. CSt-H

Record of nine sessions of questioning of Uemura Teibun by police officials for his activities in the "Anarchist Communist" party of Japan. Uemura was a member of the Central Committee of the JCP.

- III-147. KEISHICHŌ. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō tokubetsu shikin-kyoku shozoku Omori Dai-Hyaku Ginkō gyangu jiken tantōsha Nakamura Keiichi chōsho* (日本共産党特別資金局所属大森才百銀行ギャング事件担当者中村経一調書). 1932. 74 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

Statement to the police concerning the bank robbery by Nakamura Keiichi, member of the JCP fund raising bureau, and allegedly responsible for the robbery.

- III-148. KEISHICHŌ. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō yori Kominterun ate 1938-nen-do jōhanki hōkoku no zembun* (日本共産党よりコミンテルンあて 1938 年度上半期報告の全文). n.d. 10 leaves. Typewritten. CSt-H

Translation and synopsis of the JCP report to the Comintern for the first half of 1938 on the condition and activities of the JCP.

- III-149. KEISHICHŌ. *Sekishoku Bengoshi-dan no kessei sankō shiryō* (赤色弁護士団の結成参考資料). [1934?] Approx. 100 p. Mimeographed and handwritten. CSt-H

Miscellaneous police documents on the formation of the Sekishoku Bengoshi-dan, the radical leftwing lawyers association.

- III-150. KEISHICHŌ. *Sekishoku Senshi Dōmei no kessei* (赤色戦士同盟の結成). 1929. 20 leaves. Mimeographed. CSt-H

A statement by Maeda Kazumori to the police concerning the formation of the Sekishoku Senshi Dōmei formed in the late twenties.

- III-151. KYŌTO CHIHŌ SAIBANSHO. *Fukei-zai jiken yoshin shūketsu kettei-sho* (不敬罪事件予審終結決定書). 1926. 47 leaves. Mimeographed. DLC

Copy of the decision of the preliminary examination of lèse-majesté cases and violations of the Peace Preservation Law by Judge Namba Ryōzō on September 15, 1926. This incident involved such prominent communist figures as Noro Eitarō, Iwata Yoshimichi, Tan Tokujirō.

- III-152. MOMBU-SHŌ. GAKUSEI-BU. *Kyōsan-shugi undō gaikan* (共産主義運動概観). 1934. 83 p. Marked confidential. CSt-H

A brief survey of the communist movement in Japan, its objectives, motive power, and its anti-war movement.

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- III-153. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Gaikaku dantai no honshitsu* (外廊団体の本質). [1934]. 18 p. Typewritten. DLC

The nature of various communist front organizations as depicted by statements made by prosecutors in the trials of communists and by court decisions from 1931 to 1934. Some of the front organizations are the Zenkyō labor organization, the Anti-War League, and the Japan Red Aid Society.

- III-154. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU, HOAN-KA. *Guntai to sekka undō* (軍隊と赤化運動). 1924. 30 p. "Naimu-shō" designation was stamped on cover. Marked confidential. DLC

One of the few documents on early communist infiltration of the Japanese armed forces.

- III-155. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Himitsu kessha Nihon Kyōsan-tō Jiken dai isshin hanketsu-sho* (秘密結社日本共産党事件才一審判決書). n.d. 485 p. Marked secret. 特別高等警察資料才3輯. DLC

Collection of court decisions of the first trial of the JCP district committees. The district committees of the JCP are Otaru, Sapporo and Muroran, Hakodate, Asahikawa, Kyōto, Osaka, Kobe, Niigata, Nagoya, Nagano, Okayama, and Kyūshū.

- III-156. NAIMU-SHŌ. *Himitsu kessha Nihon Kyōsan-tō yoshin shūketsu kettei-sho* (秘密結社日本共産党予審終結決定書). n.d. 266 p. Marked secret. 特別高等警察資料特才2輯. DLC

Collection of court decisions on the conclusion of a preliminary examination of the JCP. The regional committees involved are Otaru, Sapporo, Hakodate, Asahikawa, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, Niigata, Nagoya, Nagano, Okayama and Kyūshū.

- III-157. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Jimmin sensen senjutsu ni kansuru insatsu-butsu* (人民戦線戦術に関する印刷物). Apr. 1938. 6 p. Marked secret. DLC

The sub-title translated is descriptive: [Printed Material on the tactics of the people's front] believed to be the directives of the Comintern in response to the new situation resulting from the arrests of the Rōnō faction.

- III-158. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Kaigai yori no sayoku senden insatsu-butsu-shū* (海外よりの左翼宣伝印刷物集). 1936+2 v. DLC

More than 1300 pages of reprinted communist propaganda material smuggled into Japan from the United States and confiscated by the authorities in Japan during 1935-1937. Three different publications are collected: *Kokusai tsūshin* (International correspondence), the organ of the Japanese department of the USCP, the *Kokusai tsūshin* pamphlet series, the *Taiheiyo rōdōsha* (The Pan-Pacific worker in Japanese), organ of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, and the pamphlet series of the same, and the *Kaijō tsūshin*, a seamen's propaganda organ. It should be noted that the new propaganda route for the Comintern to Japan during the mid-1930's was through the United States.

The Library of Congress has about 15 copies of the original *Kaijō tsūshin* as they were printed and distributed from the United States. There are also about twenty-five different original issues of *Kokusai tsūshin* and *Taiheiyo rōdōsha* in the Library of Congress; most of these have been reproduced and included in the above document.

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III-159. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Kominterun shin-hōshin no waga kuni ni okeru han'ei jōkyō—Kominterun no waga kuni ni taisuru sakudō jōkyō* (コミンテルン新方針の我が国に於ける反映情況——コミンテルンの我が国に対する策動情況). 1937. 106 p. Mimeographed. Marked secret. CSt-H

The effect of the new policy of the Comintern upon Japan. The report is divided into three parts: 1) the arrests for violations of the Peace Preservation Law since December 1936, among the JCP and the Zenkyō, other illegal groups, and the Proletaria-esperanto groups; 2) the effects of the Comintern's new policy upon Japan, i.e., JCP literature, people's front relations with the Shakai Taishū-tō, the proletarian cultural movement; liaison between the JCP and U.S. Communist Party, liaison with Japanese-American Communists during 1935-36, and liaison between the leftwing political party and the Shakai Undō Tsūshin-sha, and the Taiheiyō Rōdōsha.

III-160. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Kyokusa bunshi no buki shiyō ni yoru shōgai teido narabini sono buki betsu shirabe. Kyokusa bunshi no buki shiyō ni yoru keisatsu-kan shōgai shirabe* (極左分子の武器使用に依る傷害程度並其の武器別調, 極左分子の武器使用に依る警察官傷害調). 1935. 6 leaves. Tables. Mimeographed. DLC

Police survey of incidents from March 1928 to January 1934 resulting in the wounding or killing of police officers by leftwing revolutionaries. Such details as name of assailant, type of weapon, date, and place are given.

III-161. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Kyōsan Intanashonaru ni kansuru kenkyū* (共産インタナショナルに関する研究). 1935. 2 v. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. DLC

About 1400 mimeographed pages on the establishment, platform, policy, and organization of the Communist International. Volume 2 contains 13 different resolutions, decisions, and debates of the Comintern on the Japan problem.

III-162. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Kyōsan-shugi senden bunsho* (共産主義宣伝文書). [1923?] 1 v. (various pagings). Mimeographed. DLC

Copies of communist propaganda put out between 1922 and 1923.

III-163. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU, HOAN-KA. *Sekka senden kenkyū shiryō* (赤化宣伝研究資料). 1920's (?) nos. 31-40. (one volume). about 500 p. Mimeographed. Marked restricted. DLC

Reproductions of communist propaganda pamphlets, appealing to the women and youth of Japan, on the labor movement in Japan, and translations, for instance, of Lenin's *State and Revolution* and of pamphlets on the seamen's movement in Russia. It is an interesting collection in that the authorities seem to have faithfully reproduced entire pamphlets, and it also shows some of the propaganda methods used by the communists.

III-164. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shōwa nen-jū ni okeru shakai undō no jōkyō. See no. II-6.*

III-165. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shuppan-butsu ni arawareteru kokusai sekishoku dē* (出版物に現われたる国際赤色デー). 1929. 130 p. Marked confidential. 出版警察資料 1. DLC

JAPANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

A study of the meaning and mission of the "International Red Day" or "Anti-war Day" as established by the Comintern to be August 1 (1929). This report consists principally of an analysis of this day in Japan and the activities and policies of various leftwing organizations through pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, and other communications and posters.

III-166. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Tokkō geppō*. See no. II-19.

III-167. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu shiryō* (特別高等警察資料). 1928-1929. Marked secret.

Vol. 1, no. 1 (Sept. 1928) 220 p.

DLC

The first section, dealing with research materials, consists of a translation of the resolution of the central executive committee of the Communist International in 1928 printed in *Inprecorr*, concerning the mission of the JCP, a translation of an essay by Katayama Sen in *Pravda* concerning the JCP in 1928, and the first of a series of pamphlets published by the JCP on organization, policy, and the outlook on revolution. The intelligence section deals with the Shin-tō Soshiki Jumbi-kai (The Preparatory Committee for the Organization of a New Party) and conditions in Tokyo and in the prefectural localities. The first twenty directives issued by this Committee are listed verbatim. A chronology of daily events concerning the social movements from January to August 1928 and a list of the various proletarian parties with their strengths and principal officers are appended.

vol. 1, no. 2 (Oct. 1928) 242 p.

DLC

The research materials section consists of two items: an essay on dialectics by a member of the JCP and a pamphlet published by the JCP "On the Party," and "The guiding principles of the Communist Party" and "Parliamentarism" written by Stalin. The intelligence section is concerned with the Kaihō Undō Giseisha Kyūen-kai and the situation in the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Hyōgikai after it was ordered dissolved. Various charts of the several organizations and proletarian political parties and their officers are given in the third section.

vol. 1, no. 2 See no. III-73.

vol. 1, no. 4 (Dec. 1928). 272 p.

DLC

The second half (for part I see III-73) of the treatise on organization is presented in the research material section. The intelligence section is devoted entirely to a further report—which was given in vol. 15 no. 1—on the Shin-tō Soshiki Jumbi-kai both in Tokyo and in the localities. Directives 21 through 29 of this Committee are given together with other directives from such organizations as Seiji-teki Jiyū Kakutoku Rōnō Dōmei. In the miscellaneous section are the platforms of the Nōmin Rōdō-tō, Rōdō Nōmin-tō, Shakai-Minshū-tō, Nihon Rōnō-tō, Nihon Nōmin-tō, and the Nihon Taishū-tō. Appended is a list of the daily events concerning the social movement from September to December 1928.

vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1929)

CSt-H; DLC

The first part is a reproduction of five pamphlets, nos. 1-5, from a series called the *Sekki pamufuretto* published about 1929. The pamphlets are concerned with the general principles of activities and organization of the party, the 56th session of the Diet and JCP slogans, the present mission of the JCP in the revolutionary labor union movement, a communication to JCP comrades, the bourgeois Diet, and with a worker's and farmer's government. The second part pertains to the reorganization of the JCP after the mass arrests in 1928, and the movement for the formation of the Zenkoku Rōnō Seinen Dōmei (全国労働青年同盟 All Japan Labor-Farmer Youth League).

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vol. 2, no. 2 (Feb. 1929). 260 p.

CSt-H; DLC

The first part is devoted to documentary material concerning the Zen-Nihon Gakusei Shakai Kagaku Rengō-kai (全日本学生社会科学联合会 The All Japan Students Social Science League) and their course of indoctrination and methodology. The second part which comprises most of the book is a description of the Senso Hantai Dōmei Jumbi-kai (戦争反対同盟準備会 The Preparatory Committee for the Organization of the Anti-War League).

vol. 2, no. 3 (July 1929). 418 p.

CSt-H; DLC

The JCP organ, the *Sekki* (Akahata), nos. 1-27, (Feb. 1, 1928-Mar. 20, 1929) are reproduced. The sixth pamphlet in the *Sekki pamufuretto* series on the most urgent missions confronting the JCP at the present time is also reproduced, together with the resolution concerning the organization problem, especially the organization and activity of cells, facing the JCP at this time. The last thirty pages pertain to the arrest of those concerned with the reorganization of the JCP in 1928.

vol. 2, no. 4 (Aug. 1929). 226p.

CSt-H; DLC

The thesis concerning the mission of the Nihon Kyōsan Seinen Dōmei (The Japan Young Communist League), and a pamphlet issued by the League on organizational policy constitute the first part of the report. The second part consists of the preparations for the organization of a new Young League, the situation in Tokyo and in the various prefectures, and the relations between the JCP and the League, and the Zenkoku Rōnō Seinen Dōmei.

The directives, news and statements of the Shin-Seinen Dōmei Jumbi-kai (新青年同盟準備会 New Youth League Preparatory Committee) and the Musan Seinen Shimbunsha (無産青年新聞社 Proletarian Youth Newspaper) are also included.

III-168. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Kenjū no mitsu yu'nyū ni tsuite* (拳銃の密輸入に就いて). Mar. 1934. 535 p. 司法研究才 18 輯報告書集 14. CSt-H

Mostly a technical report on the laws, regulations, manufacture, etc., of pistols. Chapter X is of interest as it concerns "special offenses regarding pistols" involving the leftwing, i.e., the JCP and the rightwing, and smuggling (p. 434-524).

III-169. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Shihō kenkyū* (司法研究). Dec. 1928. variously paged. 司法研究才 8 輯報告書集 4. CSt-H; DLC

The appendices to the essay entitled "The organization and tactics of the international communist party" (国際共産党の組織と戦術), 322 pages, are of interest; the organization and tactics of the JCP, the resolution on Japan's occupation of Sakhalin, the Japan thesis, the policy and platform of the JCP, and others. This essay was written by a prosecutor of the Osaka District Court.

III-170. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Chūgoku Kyōsan-tō no tai-Nichi sakubō ni tsuite* (中国共産党の対日策謀に就いて). August 1942. 226 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 93. JJ

Study of the resistance policy of the Chinese Communist Party vis-à-vis Japan during the China Incident. It is of interest in the study of methods used by the Chinese Communists in resisting Japanese influence by attempting to breakdown Japanese Army morale.

III-171. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Kominterun no senryaku senjutsu no henshen—shutoshite Nihon ni okeru kyōsan-shugi undō to no kankei* (コミン

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テルノの戦略戦術の変遷——主として日本に於ける共産主義運動との関係). Dec. 1941. 663 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 89. JJ

Study of the changes in the strategy and tactics of the Comintern as they related to the communist movement in Japan by a judge in the Osaka District Court. The most relevant chapter is from p. 306 to p. 472 on the Comintern objectives in the Japanese revolution, the 1938 meeting of the Comintern and the Popular Front movement, and the Japanese communist movement.

III-172. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Nihon Kyōsan-shugisha-dan kankei shiryō* (日本共産主義者関係資料). Jan. 1939. 137 p. Marked secret. 思想資料パンフレット特輯. JJ

Reproduction of seven documents explaining the purposes, regulations, introduction to illegal activities, etc. of the Nihon Kyōsan-shugishadan (Japanese Communist Group) established in the Kansai area in December 1937.

III-173. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Nihon Kyōsan-shugisha-dan no kenkyū* (日本共産主義者団の研究). Nov. 1939. 252 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 67. JJ

A thorough analysis of the "Japanese Communist Group" (Nihon Kyōsan-shugishadan) by a prosecutor of the Osaka District Court. This group of communists was organized by Kasuga Shōjiro, an "unreformed" communist, in December 1937 in the Kansai area. Kasuga was arrested in 1928 as chairman of the Kansai district committee of the JCP and sentenced to 10 years in prison. When released in January 1937 he immediately began forming another revolutionary organization. (Kasuga has also been an active communist in the postwar era.) From 1938 to 1939 a total of 178 persons were arrested in connection with this incident.

The author states his research was based on a direct study of all materials used by the government prosecutors including memoranda by the leaders of the group, their publications, etc. The court records, however, were not used as the case was then in court.

The following topics are covered in this study: the domestic and international situation, establishment of the group, its objectives, platform, regulations, organization, activities, and personal histories of some of the leaders of the group.

III-174. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō hakkō kankei bunsho-shū* (日本共産党発行関係文書集). Aug. 1933. 388 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 4. JJ

Reproduction of publications of the JCP published during Apr.-July 1933: *Sekki* (Akahata) (赤旗), no. 142, June 16, 1933; *Sendō sendensha* (煽動宣伝者), no. 2; *Teikoku-shugi sensō to rōnō heishi taishū* (帝国主義戦争と労働兵士大衆), no. 4. Apr. 1933; *Chūō jōhō-bu buhō* (中央情報部々報), nos. 1-4. June 5-22, 1933; *8.1 Kokusai hansen dē tosō* (八一国際反戦デー斗争), July 20, 1933; *Sekki tsūshin oyobi tsūshin-in setchi mondai ni tsuite* (赤旗通信及び通信員設置問題に就いて), May 25, 1933; *8.1 Hansen tōsō o ikani tatakau ka* (八一反戦斗争をいかに戦うか), May 19, 1933.

III-175. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shina Jihen ni okeru Shina-gun no bōryaku senden bunsho* (支那事变に於ける支那軍の謀略宣伝文書). July 1938. 66 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 44. JJ

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Reproductions of 39 leaflets used by the Chinese armed forces, including many written by communists appealing to the Japanese soldiers to give up the "fruitless" fight against the Chinese people.

- III-176. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Tasū-ha hihan, hoka ippen* (多数派批判外一篇). June 1939. 131 p. Marked secret. 思想資料パンフレット特輯. JJ

Two essays by Kasuga Shōjirō, a leading communist in Japan before and after the war. The first, entitled '*Tasūha hihan* (a criticism of the 'Majority Faction'), was published originally for private distribution among a very few persons in August 1937 shortly after the author had been released from ten years in prison. It is written in the form of a letter to a comrade but prefaced by an introduction for the police. The second essay, entitled *Nihon Kyōsan-shugisha-dan kessei no dōki* (Motives for the establishment of the Japanese Communist Group), was written in March 1939 at a police station in Osaka for the public prosecutor. It is an analysis of the domestic and international situation, the trend toward monopoly capitalism in Japan, military-dictatorship, objectives of the war, and the proletarian political party movement.

- III-177. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Yuibutsuron Kenkyū-kai kankeisha shuki* (唯物論研究会関係者手記). June 1940. 105p. Part II. Marked secret. 思想資料パンフレット特輯. JJ

A statement given to the Tokyo Police in 1939 by Tozaka Jun, an economist, on the Yuibutsuron Kenkyū-kai (Materialism Study Group). Tozaka, together with Oka Kunio, was one of the founders of this group in 1932. His statement describes the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Group, its regulations, research activities, publications, finances, organization, relation with the JCP, and its basic themes. In the preface the government claims this group consistently supported the JCP and the Comintern and acted as a front organization for the JCP.

- III-178. TOKYO CHIHŌ SAIBANSHO. *Nabeyama Sadachika yoshin jimmon chōsho* (鍋山貞親予審問調書). [1930?] 140 leaves. Mimeographed. CSt-H

The stenographic record of the 25th through 42nd interrogation of Nabeyama by a prosecutor of the Tokyo District Court concerning his involvement in the JCP Incident.

- III-179. TOKYO CHIHŌ SAIBANSHŌ. KENJI-KYOKU. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō chian iji-ho ihan hikoku jiken yoshin shūketsu kettei-sho* (日本共産党治安維持法違反被告事件予審終結決定書). 1930. 287p. CSt-H

The written decision of the preliminary examination of those implicated in the JCP Incident, such as Tokuda Kyūichi, Sano Manabu, Nozaka Sanzō, Shiga Yoshio, Arahata Katsuzō and others.

- III-180. TOKYO CHIHŌ SAIBANSHO. KENJI-KYOKU. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō minshu-shugi-teki shūken-shugi-teki soshiki zukai* (日本共産党民主主義的集権主義的組織図解). 1928-32. Approx. 30 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

About 15 useful diagrams of the organizational structure of the JCP, its front organization relations, and the Japan Young Communist League. These diagrams were compiled from the evidence and testimony revealed by the defendants in the JCP Incident.

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- III-181. TOKYO CHIHŌ SSIBANSHO. *Sano Manabu yoshin chōsho hosoku jōshinsho* (佐野学予審調書補足上申書). [1931?] 79 leaves. Mimeographed. CSt-H

Sano's report (jōshinsho) to the Tokyo District Court pertaining to part of the JCP Incident trial. This supplementary statement is his interpretation of the dissolutionist faction of the JCP—the "kaitō-ha."

- III-182. TOKYO CHIHŌ SAIBANSHO. *Sugiura Keiichi yoshin chōsho hosoku jōshinsho* (杉浦啓一予審調書補足上申書). [1930?] 98, 100, 40 leaves. Mimeographed. CSt-H

The report (jōshinsho) of Sugiura Keiichi to the Tokyo District Court concerning his interpretation of the Japanese economic and political systems, the labor movement, and many aspects of the communist movement.

- III-183. TOKYO KEIJI CHIHŌ SAIBANSHO, KENJI-KYOKU, SHISŌ-BU. *Nihon Sekishoku Kyūenkai-shi* (日本赤色救援会史). [1935]. 207 leaves. Mimeographed. CSt-H

History of the Japan Red Aid Society which assisted Japanese Communists and their families from 1922 to 1935. The writer, Takizawa Ichirō, was a central member of this organization, and this consists of his report (*jōshinsho*) concerning the history of the Society.

- III-184. OSAKA-FU. *Nihon ni okeru kyōsan-shugi undō ni taisuru ichi kōsatsu* (日本に於ける共産主義運動に対する一考察). Apr. 1941. 40 leaves. Mimeographed. Marked secret. DLC

Observations on the communist movement in Japan by members of the central group in the JCP: Horie Sōichi and Kishimoto Shigeo.

- III-185. OSAKA-FU. *12.5 jiken to kyōsan-shugi undō no dōkō* (十二五・事件と共産主義運動の動向). n.d. 58 p. Mimeographed. Marked secret. DLC

The arrests of December 5, 1936 and the communist movement in Japan.

2. Postwar period

A. Books

- III-186. *Buryoku kakumei to Habō-hō* (武力革命と破防法). Jikyoku Mondai Chōsa-kai. 1952. 297 p. Compiled by Jikyoku Mondai Chōsa-kai. PC

Half of the book is a reproduction of various pamphlets published by the JCP, directives, and reports of the JCP on their military policy and the attacks and destruction by communists of the security organs of the state. Many of these pamphlets were disguised as instruction on diets, horticulture, etc.

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- III-187. *Sengo Nihon kyōsan-shugi undō* (戦後日本共産主義運動). Nikkan Rōdō Tsūshin-sha. 1955. 760 p. Compiled by Nikkan by Nikkan Rōdō Tsūshin-sha. NDLM

A detailed ten year history of the postwar JCP. According to the best information this was compiled with the full cooperation of the Public Security Investigation Agency of the Japanese Government. This history is not divided chronologically but topically beginning with the strategy and tactics and basic character of the JCP followed by an analysis of party organization and party strength, party activities which include political activities, participation in the labor and farmers movements, youth and women movements, student and cultural movements, the peace movement, the strengthening and enlarging of party newspapers, magazines, education, discipline, and finances. The last section is on JCP activities among Koreans in Japan.

- III-188. OSUGI, Katsuo. *Arashi o yobu 35-nin* (嵐を呼ぶ 35 人). Sōbun-sha. 1949. 80 p. NNC

Description of the parliamentary tactics of the 35 JCP members of the Japanese Diet. A brief biographical sketch of each member is appended. Osugi is the pseudonym of Yamamoto Katsunosuke.

- III-189. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō shiryō taisei* (日本共産党資料大成). 1951. 453 p. Compiled by Shakai Undō Shiryō Kankō-kai. CSt-H; DLC; MH; MiU; NNC

A detailed documentary history of the JCP from October 1945 June 1950 prior to the purge of party leaders in June of that year. The sources used are the party organ *Akahata*, *Tōhō*, *Zen'ei* and other pamphlets published by the JCP. The resolutions and basic policies of the national conventions, central committee plenary sessions, national representatives council (*zenkoku daihyōsha kaigi*), statements issued by the politburo, the secretariat, the control commission, and Diet member groups are included in this collection. A useful reference work.

- III-190. SUGAIE, Kiroku, ed. *Kyōsan-tō to bōryoku jiken no shinsō* (共産党と暴力事件の真相). n.p. 1950. 205 p. CSt-H

Report of a Diet investigation on four incidents pertaining to the "JCP and violence." The incidents investigated are 1) the resolution by the National Railway Labor Union to use force, 2) the strike by the national railways, 3) the Taira city disturbances, and 4) labor unions at the Nihon Seikōsho in Hiroshima.

- III-191. TSUKUI, Mantarō. *Kyōsan-shugi no jissō* (共産主義の実相). Tachibana Shobō. 1952. 185 p. CSt-H

"On the reality of communism" by the chief of the communications section of the Metropolitan Police Board is divided into five sections, only the first appearing to be of immediate interest: the violent or peaceful revolution, the Japanese neutrality stand of the JCP and what the JCP would do if given the reins of government.

- III-192. YAMAMOTO, Katsunosuke. *Nikkyō hihan no kiso chishiki* (日共批判の基礎知識). Kumiai Shoten. 1950. 170 p. CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

"Basic knowledge for a criticism of the JCP" is an anti-communist description of the historical developments of the postwar JCP, the mistakes in Marxism, the purged

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leaders of the JCP, Tokuda, Itō (Ritsu), Nozaka, and Shiga. In prewar years Yamamoto was once an anarchist but later was befriended by the ultra-nationalists.

- III-193. YAGINUMA, Masaharu. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō undō-shi. sengo-hen* (日本共産党運動 史戦後編). Keibunkaku. 1953. 395 p. DLC

A well documented history of the postwar communist movement in Japan to the general elections in 1952. The author is an instructor at the Sendai District police school. Appended are short biographical sketches of the principal JCP members, a chart showing the organization of the JCP, and the complete text of the JCP, and new party regulations shown in comparison.

- III-194. YOSHIOKA, Nobumasa. *Kyōsan-shugi taisaku* (共産主義対策). Kyōyū-sha. 1950. 331 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

"Counter measures against communism" is discussed in only one-third of the book. The remainder is a summary of the author's book, *Nihon Kyōsan-tō no kaibō*, with an additional account of the activities of the JCP during 1949. Seven organizational charts are appended on the various organizations under the dominance of the JCP, on the organization of the JCP itself, the JCP Secretariat, labor unions, youth and student organizations, and cultural bodies connected with the JCP, and the various publications of the JCP.

- III-195. YOSHIOKA, Nobumasa. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō no kaibō* (日本共産党の解剖). Kyōyū-sha. 1949. 241 p. CSt-H; DLC; IEN; MH; NNC

One of the best surveys of communism in postwar Japan by an anti-communist. It covers the history of the JCP, the character of the JCP, the real strength of the JCP, the labor movement and the JCP, the JCP and the farmers movement, the JCP and the middle-class unorganized citizens, the JCP and the youth and student movements, and the cultural affairs activities of the JCP. Seven organizational charts are also appended (*See no.* III-194).

B. Documents

- III-196. *Hakai Katsudō Bōshi-hō*. *See no.* X-129

- III-197. KŌAN CHŌSA-CHŌ. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō no genjō* (日本共産党の現状). 1955. 86 p. PC

The only public document published by the Public Security Investigation Agency of the Japanese Government on the postwar JCP. It is divided into ten chapters on the basic character of the JCP, its evaluation of two topics—the preparation for an atomic war and the receding possibilities of a revolution, the JCP's evaluation of the general Japanese situation, its military policy, its present emphases in party policies, the JCP's policy vis-à-vis the labor and farmers movements, the position of the Koreans in Japan, the status of the overseas Chinese in Japan and their relations with the JCP, and finally an evaluation of party strength in Japan.

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D. Anarchism

The anarchist movement during the height of its activities in Japan centered around one man, Ōsugi Sakae. When Ōsugi was strangled to death after the Great Earthquake of 1923 the movement for all intents and purposes died with him. There been a few attempts to revive the movement even after World War II, but these have been insignificant and wholly unsuccessful. To date, the anarchist movement has been ignored as an object of research. Histories of the movement except for brief mention in larger studies, have been by former anarchists or in biographical form such as that by Ōsugi (III-203).

1. Books

III-198. ISHIKAWA, Sanshirō. *Jijoden* (自叙伝—An autobiography). Riron-sha. 1956. 2 v. NDL

III-199. ISHIKAWA, Sanshirō. *Nami* (浪). Sōru-sha. 1956. 124 p. PC

An autobiography which was originally published in the organ of the Nihon Anā-kisuto Remmei (Anarchist League of Japan), the *Heimin shimbun*, from May 24 to December 27, 1948. Ishikawa, who died in 1956, was one of the anarchists who escaped annihilation during the twenties as he lived in exile in Europe. He returned to Japan in the late 1920's. An indication of the scope of the postwar anarchist movement in Japan may be gauged by the fact that this essay was printed as a limited edition of only 300 copies.

III-200. Itō, Noe. ...*zenshū* (...全集). 1925. 788 p. Compiled by Ōsugi Sakae Zenshū Kankō-kai. DLC

The writings and biography of Itō Noe, wife of Ōsugi Sakae.

III-201. IWASE, Sakutarō *Kakumei dansō* (革命断想). Kokushoku Sensen-sha. 1931. 153 p. 黒旗叢書 6 Supplement to *Kurohata*, May 1931. DLC

A collection of essays (which originally appeared in several anarchist newspapers and magazines, i.e., *Rōdō undō*, *Jiyō rengō shimbun*, *Kurohata*), on anarchism, on political exposés of the conservatives, and on anarchist tactics. Iwasa was one of the leading anarchists in Japan.

III-202. KOTOKU, Shūsui. See nos. I-12—I-18 for his writings and nos. IX-74—IX-80 for biographies.

III-203. *Museifu-shugi tokuhon* (無政府主義読本). 1932. 61 p. Compiled by Museifu-shugi Kyōkai. DLC

This "Text on anarchism" expounds on general principles and specific topics, such as the labor and agrarian movements, unemployment, religion, and war. It was compiled by the Anarchist Association in Japan.

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- III-204. OSUGI, Sakae. *Hangyaku no seishin* (叛逆の精神). Bakunin-sha. 1948. 230 p. Edited by Kondō Kenji. CSt-H; DLC

"The spirit of rebellion" is a collection of essays by Ōsugi.

- III-205. OSUGI, Sakae. ...*ikō* (...遺稿). Kinseidō. 1928. 498 p. Edited by Yasutani Kan'ichi. CSt-H; DLC

Essays and articles by Osugi not included in the ten volume set of his complete works mentioned in III-207.

- III-206. OSUGI, Sakae, *Jijo-den* (自叙伝 An autobiography). Kaizō-sha. 1923. 343 p. Reprinted in 1948 (259 p.) by Kaizō-sha. CSt-H (1948 ed); DLC

- III-207. OSUGI, Sakae. ...*zenshū* (...全集). 1926. 8 v. Compiled by Ōsugi Sakae Zenshū Kankō-kai. CSt-H; DLC; MiU; NNC (v.6)

The writings and autobiography of Osugi Sakae, the outstanding Japanese anarchist. He was arrested in 1908 for his participation in the Red Flag Incident. Ōsugi survived the turbulent period of the 1910's and remained in Japan. In post-World War I days, Osugi led the anarcho-syndicalists as opposed to the radical socialists. He was strangled to death by a captain of the Japanese military police in 1923 in the aftermath of the Great Earthquake. The series does not follow a chronological presentation but is divided by subject.

- III-208. SUZUKI, Yasuyuki. *Nihon museifu-shugi undō-shi* (日本無政府主義運動史). Kokushoku Sensen-sha. 1932. 48 p. 才 1 分冊, 才 1 編 DLC

History of the anarchist movement in Japan.

- III-209. YANAGIZAWA, Yoshie and SHIBAHARA Junzō. *Kindai museifu-shugi undō-shi* (近代無政府主義運動史). Jiyū Kōron-sha. 1926. 26 p. plate. 「自由公論社」パンフレット 1 DLC

History of the anarchist movement in Japan from 1910 to 1926.

2. Documents

- III-210. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Anākisuto no seikaku to shisō, Kaihō Bunka Remmei no katsudō to tō no kōsaku, anākizumu no genjō to shōrai-sei ni tsuite* (アナキストの性格と思想, 解放文化聯盟の活動と党の工作, アナキズムの現情と将来性について). 1936. Approx. 90 p. CSt-H

On the character, ideas, and future possibilities of the anarchist movement, by Uemura Teibun and Okamoto Yasutarō.

- III-211. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Museifu-shugisha Oba Seishi shuki* (無政府主義者大場正史手記). 1936. Approx. 60 p. CSt-H

Autobiographical notes written on official police stationery by the anarchist, Oba Seishi.

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III-212. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Nihon anākizumu undō nempyō* (日本アナキズム運動年表). 1932. 29 p. CSt-H

A chronology of the anarchist movement in Japan to 1931.

III-212.1. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Nihon Museifu Kyōsan-tō Omura Kōsaborō Shuki*. See no. IX-93.

3. Periodicals

III-213. *Anarukisuto* (アナルキスト). Esperanto title: Anarkiisto Batalanta Organo en Japanio. Published by the A Shisō Kenkyūkai. Edited by Kondō Torao. DLC has nos. 1 and 2 (Mar. and Apr. 1931).

III-214. *Hanran* (汜濫). DLC has vol. 1, no. 1 (May 1933).

III-215. *Heimin shimdun* (平民新聞). Published by Heimin Shimbun Henshūkyoku every 10 days. CSt-H has nos. 1-131 (June 15, 1946-Dec. 20, 1949) except nos. 22 and 90.

III-216. *Jiyū rengō shimbun* (自由連合新聞). Published monthly by Zenkoku Rōdō Kumiai Jiyū Rengōkai. DLC has nos. 35 (May 1, 1929) -36, 39, 46, 49, 51-54, 59, 61-65, 67-68, 70, 73, 76, 78-79, 80, 83, 97-98 (Feb. 28, 1935), CU has nos. 12, 21-25, 27-31, 33-44, 46-49, 51-60, 62-67, 70, 72, 74, 76, 80, 97-98 on microfilm. Prior to no. 27 it was known as *Jiyu rengō* (自由連合).

III-217. *Kokusen* (黒線). Esperanto title: La organo de l'arnarkiistoj. Edited by Shionaga Gorō. DLC has vol. 1, nos. 1-5 (Feb.-Sept. 1930), vol. 2, nos. 6-7 (Oct.-Dec. 1931). Changed title to *Anakizumu Bungaku* in 1932. DLC has June-Nov. 1932. Same editor.

III-218. *Kokushoku seinen* (黒色青年). English title: Militant organ of Japanese anarchist. Monthly publication. Edited by Furukawa Tokio. DLC has nos. 19 and 29 (Mar. 1, 1929 and Feb. 10, 1931).

III-219. *Kokushoku sensen* (黒色戦線). Esperanto title: Nigra fronto la organo de anarchismo. Edited by Hoshino Junji. DLC has vol. 1, no. 1 (Feb. 1929), vol. 2, no. 2-7 (Apr.-Dec. 1932), vol. 5, no. 1 (Nov. 1933).

III-220. *Kokushoku rōnō shimbun* (黒色労農新聞). Esperanto title: la nigra laboristo kaj farmisto. Monthly newspaper published by Kokushoku Rōnō Shimbun-sha and edited by Shirai and Ogawa Takeshi. DLC has nos. 3 (Sept. 1, 1930), 5-8, 11, 14-18 (Mar. 1932). DLC also has *Warera ikani tata-kaubeki ka* (我等如何に戦ふべきか), 1931. 52 p. 黒新パンフレット 1 compiled by the newspaper as a collection of its editorials.

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III-221. *Kumiai rengō* (組合聯合). Published by Jun-Rōdō Shimbun-sha. Organ of Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Rengō. Edited by Sakamoto Kosaburō. Publication dates not clear. Issued monthly. After no. 102 (Feb. 15, 1926) name changed to *Kumiai sōrengō*. Except for nos. 95, 109, 114, 115, 117, 126 and 128, CU has a microfilm copy of nos. 92-134 (Apr. 1928).

III-222. *Kurobasha* (黒馬車). Published by Kuroba-sha. DLD has vol. 1, nos. 1-2 (Mar. and June 1933), vol. 2, nos. 6-7 (Feb.-Mar. 1934), vol. 3, no. 13 (Feb. 1935).

III-223. *Kurohata* (黒旗). Esperanto title: Nigra flago. Anarkiista militanta organo en Japanio. Published monthly by Kokushoku Sensen-sha and edited by Hoshino Junji. DLC has vol. 2, nos. 3-11 (Mar.-Dec. 1930) and vol. 3, nos. 1-4 (Jan.-May 1931). It seems also to have been published in the postwar years but on a very small scale.

III-224. *Museifu kommyun* (無政府コンミュン). Esperanto title: La anarkai kumunumo. Published by Bummei Hihiyō-sha. DLC has no. 1 (July 1932).

III-225. *Museifu-shugi kenkyū* (無政府主義研究). Published by Museifu-shugikai. DLC has Sept. 1932 issue.

III-226. *Nihon rōdō shimbun* (日本労働新聞). CU has nos. 20-47 (March 1919-May 1921).

III-227. *Rōdō undō* (労働運動). Esperanto title: Laborista movado. Published Rōdō Undō-sha. Irregular microfilm of almost complete set of 62 issues (5 vols.) from Oct. 1919 to Oct. 1929 at CU. CSt-H has vol. 5, nos. 4-7.

III-228. *Seishin* (誠心). Organ of Shimbunkō Kumiai Seishinkai. Published as monthly from Apr. 1920; date of last publication not clear. CU has a microfilm copy of vol. 1, nos. 1-8 (Apr.-Nov. 1920) and vol. 2, nos. 1-12 (Jan.-Dec. 1921).

III-229. *Shisōkai* (思想界). English title: Anarchism. Published by Kokuryū-sha. DLC has vol. 1, no. 5 (June 1932).

E. Regional Histories

III-230. KYŪSHŪ SSANGŌ RŌDŌ CHŌSAJO. *Kyūshū musan undō nenkan* (九州無産運動年鑑). Fukuoka. Kyūshū Rōdō Chōsajo. 1932 ed. various pagings.
DLC

Annual report on the activities of proletarian political parties in Kyūshū area.

III-231. SHIGA NICHU-NICHI TSŪSHIN-SHA. *Shiga shakai undō-shi* (滋賀社会運動史). Otsu. 1934. 187 p.
DLC

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History of the various aspects of the social movements in Shiga prefecture from 1926-1934; the inauguration and activities of various organizations, including the right and the left wings, the labor movement, the farmers movements, May Day celebrations, the movement to lower electric light expenses, student movements, fishermen's movements and water utilization and sewage problems.

- III-232. WATANABE, Sōzō. *Hokkaidō shakai undō-shi* (北海道社会運動史). Sapporo. Hakuto Shobō. 1949. 3 v. CSt-H (v. 1)

History of the leftwing social movements in Hokkaido. In the compilation of this history (the first of its kind) the author interviewed 40 persons who were once connected with the earlier movement, and studied some 60 books. This volume is the first in a trilogy. Volume I is on the Meiji-Taishō periods; volume II, the Shōwa period; Volume III, the postwar period. The latter two have not been published.

CHAPTER IV

STRATEGIES, INTERPRETATIONS
AND POLICIES

A. Strategy and Tactics

The propriety of forming a proletarian party, the nature and character to be adopted by this party, the type, conditions and timing of the revolution to be carried out, are only a few of the problems with which this section is concerned. "Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution, the elaboration of a corresponding plan for the disposition of the revolutionary forces (the main and secondary reserves), the fight to carry out this plan throughout the given stage of the revolution." (Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*) A significant controversy has raged in the leftwing movement since the end of World War I concerning the strategy and tactics to be adopted by the leftwing, particularly the Marxists, to achieve their political goals, based upon an analysis of the situation in Japan. Stalin's definition of strategy, suggestive of the broad scope of this concept, is indicative of the way in which this complicated problem was interpreted by Japanese Marxists.

The main part of this section is divided into the prewar and postwar periods. This is not only a matter of convenience but also stems from the different character of the controversy in the two periods. The prewar period is subdivided on a temporal basis. The prewar debate was principally limited to two competing Marxist groups and their interpretations of various Communist Party theses. The non-Marxist leftwing leaders did not participate to any appreciable extent in this controversy, nor create, arouse, or generate a corresponding polemic among themselves or their adherents. In the postwar period, the Rōnō faction, one of the competing prewar Marxist groups, has clearly refused to join the Communist Party, even though this party has been reborn as a legal mass party, and instead has attempted to give theoretical guidance to the Social Democratic Party, mainly its leftwing. Since the postwar controversies have continued with unabated energy *within* each camp, it seems more appropriate to divide this period on a party basis, the SDP and the JCP.

All the histories of the strategy and tactics controversy are biased in favor of one or another of the Marxist groups. Notwithstanding their bias these histories should not be totally disregarded for they definitely constitute a useful synthesis, a running commentary, and a particular—though one-sided—historical review of one of the core problems in the Marxist

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political movement. Since this bibliography has stressed books, documents and some pamphlets, to the exclusion of periodical articles, the bibliographies mentioned in this section will comprise an important additional source of references for the student who wishes to delve more thoroughly into this problem.

A cursory glance at "2. Basic documents" will reveal a relative abundance of material for the JCP in comparison to the SDP. This is partly due to the longer history of this controversy within the JCP and the relatively systematic publication of important party documents. The SDP is singularly unmethodical and haphazard in this regard. As the sub-topic title, "Social Democratic Party" indicates, the emphasis is on the postwar period with only one item on the prewar proletarian political parties.

Emerging from the "dark ages" just before and during World War I, the theoretical radicals and the practical labor leaders came together to form a common organization. Gradually, the problem of organized political expression for leftwing movements was raised, debated and ultimately split the competing groups in the movement. Yamakawa Hitoshi in a now famous essay published in an obscure leftwing periodical, *Zen'ei* (vanguard), in 1922 (IV-48) criticized his contemporaries for carrying on a highly theoretical debate with little relation to prevailing political, economic and social actualities in Japan and exhorted them to return to the masses whom they should be leading to a better future. This essay on the "change of direction" was a milestone in the leftwing strategy and tactics controversy. This was later reflected in the Sōdōmei convention resolution in 1924.

With the possibility that the franchise might be broadened to those who had hitherto been barred from political participation because of property qualifications, the tactics of mass organization and the strategy of political struggle under changed circumstances, and the decision to form or not to form a proletarian political party in the middle 'twenties became urgent problems.

During the early period from 1922 to 1927 the controversy was largely an internal communist affair.* The JCP was formed in 1922 and a draft program—the 1922 Thesis—was written. Like the subsequent theses this program advocated a two-stage revolution, a bourgeois-democratic revolution followed by a socialist revolution, and contended that state power was held by the monopoly capitalists, the big bourgeoisie, the landlords, and the bureaucracy organized in the Emperor system. Unlike the later theses, however, the 1922 program advocated a broad popular front including even the liberal bourgeoisie. While the leaders of the early JCP were imprisoned, a young professor, Fukumoto Kazuo, whose pseudonym was Hōjō Kazuo, became the theoretical leader of the recreated JCP in the middle 'twenties.

* The strategy and tactics of both the pre- and post-war JCP are described in *Red Flag in Japan* by Rodger Swearingen and Paul Langer, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1952, 276 p.

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He stood for a highly indoctrinated and professional revolutionary party, a vanguard party (IV-43—IV-45). He was taken to task when the other Communist leaders were released from prison. His ideas were regarded as resulting in the isolation of the JCP from the masses. He was eventually branded as a leftwing deviationist by the 1927 Thesis. This thesis also criticized Yamakawa as a rightwing opportunist for not accepting the obvious need for an independent JCP. Yamakawa and his followers refused to accept this Comintern sponsored criticism and thereupon established their own periodical, *Rōnō*, and from its title were thereafter known as the *Rōnō*, or Labor-Farmer faction.

At the inception of the main period, Yamakawa was joined by Inomata Tsunao as a chief protagonist against the supporters of the 1927 Thesis, such as Sano Manabu, Watanabe Masanosuke and Noro Eitarō. The principal vehicle of expression for these opposing groups were the magazines, *Rōnō*, and *Marukusu-shugi*. Occasionally, important essays were published by both camps in the general magazines (*sōgō zasshi*), *Chūō Kōron Kaizō*, and others. The Labor-Farmer faction criticized Fukumoto and the other Comintern supporters for dividing the revolutionary process into two parts: bourgeois democratic and proletarian socialist. While the Labor-Farmer faction admitted that the struggle for democracy was important, they claimed that it should be subordinated to the struggle for the coming revolution which would realize democracy as part of the whole process of the socialist revolution. Important essays by Inomata defending the *Rōnō* School are included in IV-52, with others in IV-53—IV-55.

The Communists criticized the Labor-Farmer faction for evading one of the most important problems, that of the Emperor system. The essays by Sano Manabu (IV-67), Watanabe Masanosuke (IV-76) and Ichikawa Shōichi (IV-67) were among the most important in this period. In the systematic suppression of the Communist movement by the prewar Japanese government, Communist ranks were gradually thinned by repeated mass arrests, such as those in March 1928 and April 1929. But new people kept appearing to take up the baton from their predecessors. One such leader was Takahashi Sadaki (IV-73).

When the legal mouthpiece of the illegal JCP, *Marukusu-shugi*, was banned in 1929, the *Puroretaria-kagaku* began publication in the latter part of 1929.

As far as the Communists were concerned the strategy and tactics controversy was largely "settled" by the 1932 Thesis which reaffirmed the need for the existence of a Communist Party at all costs. For a short time the *Rōnō* faction found that its position was vindicated by the 1931 Draft Thesis but for the Communists this was soon superceded by the 1932 Thesis.

By the mid-'thirties the Communist movement had all but collapsed—its leaders had been imprisoned or forced into exile, still others had renounced communism from their prison cells. Except for isolated pockets of Communists and their sympathizers, the Communist movement had been effec-

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tively smothered by the government and public hostility. Thereafter, the controversy was limited to clandestine writings some of which have been made public in postwar Japan. Perhaps the most important of these were written by Kamiyama Shigeo (IV-56—IV-59) who became a controversial figure in postwar Japanese communism. Some of his works were written as late as 1940.

A large proportion of the books included in the main period, 1927-40, consist of collections of magazine articles. It can be fairly safely stated that for the prewar period, a study of the controversy could be conducted by reference to these article collections in book form without much recourse to the varied magazines used at the time and which may now prove to be difficult to locate. If this bibliography had originally been conceived to include individual articles as well as books and documents, further chronological and topical subdivision would have been appropriate. Since it is recognized by this compiler that a through study of this controversy might have to take cognizance of the finer points of strategy and tactics included in some of the articles not included in these books, most of the sectarian periodicals are mentioned in the last section of this chapter. Because many of the general magazines (such as *Chūō Kōron*, *Kaizō*) are found in most library collections of Japanese materials they are not included in this listing.

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The postwar JCP initially regarded the Allied Occupation as an army of liberation, and sided with them in their demilitarization and democratization programs. The immediate postwar JCP program followed the strategy and tactics stipulated by the 1932 Thesis.* In early 1946, it adopted the "peaceful revolution" strategy after Nozaka returned from China advocating a "lovable Communist Party" (IV-128). This strategy was reinforced with the unexpected Communist electoral advances in 1949. The JCP fully realized that although it had suddenly become a legal party whose influence and strength was rapidly increasing, it could not expect to form a cabinet in the immediate future. So it repeatedly called upon the SDP to form a "democratic people's front" in 1946 and 1947, but was rejected each time. As a result of the abortive February 1, 1947 general strike, and the declaration of disassociation with the JCP by Suzuki Mosaburō and Katō Kanjū,

* Toshio G. Tsukahira made a special study of this problem entitled *The Postwar Evolution of Communist Strategy in Japan*, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1954, 89 p. A number of useful translations of JCP documents have been made by A. R. Swearingen and T. C. Tsukahira as part of the Research Project on Japanese Communism at the Harvard University Russian Research Center. "Program of action of the Japan Communist Party (adopted at the 6th Congress, Dec. 1947)" *Nippon Kyōsantō* (Japan Communist Party), *Nippon Kyōsantō Kettei Hōkokushō* (Reports and Resolution of the Japan Communist Party). Tokyo. 1949. pp. 50-52. Documents no. 1, April 14, 1951. 6 p. "The Fundamental tasks of the Japan Communist Party in the coming revolution (Draft)," *Nippon Kyōsantō*, Tokyo, May 18, 1950. Documents no. 5, Oct. 29, 1951. 23 p.

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leading leftwing members of the SDP, the JCP switched to a call for a "democratic national front" in December 1947 to avert its own isolation.

Internally, the JCP is not without its share of disputes. Two cases are well known: the Shiga-Kamiyama controversy and the Nakanishi Kō case. The former was waged by the antagonists, both leading members of the JCP, through articles in official party organs and in high level party meetings in 1947. Although the controversy appeared to be a theoretical dispute over the interpretation of the nature of state authority in Japan, the role and character of the Emperor system, it gradually turned into a challenge to the top party leadership. Some of Kamiyama's writings on this subject are included in this section (IV-108—IV-113) and in the following section (IV-212—IV-216); pertinent works by Shiga are included as IV-130 and IV-131. Nakanishi Kō advocated a much more radical policy than the peaceful revolution formula called for by the early party program. When the Cominform criticized the JCP, the latter, fearing a concentration of opposition in Nakanishi expelled him from the party. His views on the controversy are included in a well-known book called, in brief, *Nakanishi ikensho* (IV-121).

The program of peaceful revolution was brought to an abrupt end when the JCP accepted the criticism hurled at it by the Cominform in January 1950, urging a more stringent and forceful policy toward the Allied Occupation. This in turn touched off the so-called "Main Stream versus Internationalist faction" controversy. After more than a year the New Program of 1951 was hammered out calling for a "national liberation democratic revolution" which after a period of violence in 1952 has concentrated on winning the largest possible backing for a program of "independence" for Japan and liberation from international monopoly capital represented by the United States and from internal reaction exemplified in the conservative government. In 1955, the JCP adopted certain policy changes which were critical of their violent tactics based on the 1951 platform. The criticism of Stalin at the 20th Party Congress of the Soviet Union in 1956 has generated a fundamental re-evaluation of Marxism-Lenism that will most probably go far beyond mere questions of strategy and tactics.

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Soon after the Pacific War ended the Social Democratic Party was formed through a "grand combination" of a variety of political groups from just left of center to right of the Communists. The Labor-Farmer faction gradually came to support the leftwing in the SDP. They no longer carried on a controversy with the Communists concerning the interpretation of their theses. The major SDP controversies were concentrated within the party, between the contending left and rightwing factions. The seeds of dissension in the SDP were evident from the time of the party's inauguration. The Japanese Communists liberated by the Allied Occupation often suggested the formation of a common front with the socialists. Each overture exacerbated the latent tension between the socialist factions. Yamakawa

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Hitoshi advocated a "democratic people's front" in 1946 (IV-99), representing the thinking of the Labor-Farmer faction viewpoint. On the other hand, Morito Tatsuo, a leading theoretician of the rightwing in the early postwar years, advocated a "Democratic League to Save Japan" (Kyūoku Minshu Remmei) (IV-85).

The first significant controversy within the SDP occurred after the abysmal electoral defeat of 1949 when the party was forced to conduct a fundamental re-evaluation of party strategy and tactics. This bitter intra-party fight ultimately led to the organizational split two years later. This controversy was highlighted by the 1949 party convention, and personified in Morito Tatsuo for the rightwing and Inamura Junzō for the leftwing. Morito has expounded his ideas in a book (IV-84); but the advocacies of Inamura and his associates must be found in scattered magazines (such as the *Shakai shichō*), rare party documents, and incomplete newspaper files. The outcome was an inconclusive compromise.

Before this "reconstruction controversy" could show effective results the party was torn asunder by the controversy over the merits and demerits of ratifying the peace treaty in 1951. Although this was the most bitter controversy in the postwar SDP, there is no comprehensive study of this problem. The important documents on this foreign policy debate may be found in sub-section "C" under foreign policy, party documents such as *Jōhō tsūshin* and numerous magazines articles. A few documentary items are also available concerning the adoption of a new party platform by the Left SDP in 1954. The stenographic record of the convention sub-committee which considered the new platform (IV-12), the record of the Sohyo labor federation conventions which influence Left SDP thinking (IV-11), and a collection of the various proposed drafts (IV-13) are available, but again a complete study of the issue would require a thorough survey of the many pertinent magazine articles by party leaders and sympathizers.

The rightwing SDP has found itself divided over the problem of Japanese self-defense but this has never become an uncontrollable issue and remained more or less within party councils.

After four years of separate existence and months of tedious negotiations the Right and Left SDP were united in the fall of 1956. Each party has published its version of the negotiations (IV-89, and IV-96). Here again, there are many articles on the timing and compromises involved in the unification process. Any study of the SDP might also refer to the convention documents mentioned in IV-358.

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Finally the reader is advised not to overlook works of relevance in the following section on the controversy over the development of capitalism in Japan, since it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between the inter-related problems of strategy and tactics and interpretations of conditions. In compiling the bibliography a certain number of arbitrary decisions were inevitable.

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1. Histories, Bibliographies and Chronologies

a. Histories

IV-1. SHAKAI KEIZAI RÖDÖ KENKYÜJO. *Nihon minshu kakumei ronsō-shi* (日本民主革命論争史). Itō Shoten. 1947. 128 p. 社会経済労仲叢書 1

CSt-H; DLC; IEN; MH

History of the controversy, from a communist standpoint, concerning the "democratic revolution" in Japan, 1927-32. The last chapter is on what the author claims to be "historical finale." The real author of this volume was Koyama Hirotake. For a brief account of the period before 1927 see *Nihon marukusu-shugi-shi* (IV-3) by Koyama.

IV-2. KOYAMA, Hirotake. *Sengo jimmin kakumei ronsō-shi* (戦後人民革命論争史). Iwasaki Shoten. 1950. 204 p. 岩崎真理叢書 1 CSt-H; DLC; MH

History of the controversy on the strategy and tactics of the democratic revolution to be followed by the leftwing social movements in the postwar years, 1945-50, from the communist point of view.

IV-3. KOYAMA, Hirotake. *Nihon Marukusu-shugi-shi* (日本マルクス主義史). Aoki Shoten. 1956. 232 p. 青木新書 44 PC

A popular history of Marxism in Japan divided into two parts: the prewar and the postwar. The first part begins with the introduction of Marxism through Katakura, Kōtoku, and Sakai and traces its development through the theoretical controversy between anarchism and bolshevism, Fukumoto-ism, Yamakawa-ism, and the controversy between Takahashi Kamekichi and Inomata Tsunao as to whether Japan should help "liberate" other Asian nations or whether Japan was imperialistic herself. The next section is on the controversy on strategy and tactics which was "settled" by the 1932 Thesis. The last section of the first part is devoted to the controversy between 1932 and the late 1930's concerning the interpretation of capitalism.

The second part on the postwar years deals with the "peaceful revolution method" of the JCP, the revival of various communist research organizations, the Kamiyama-Shiga controversy within the JCP, and the platform debates within the Left SDP. It is a useful book for a quick review of Marxism in Japan but note should be taken that the author is a strong supporter of Kamiyama in the JCP. The bibliography with commentary should be read with equal care. Another appendix is a chronology of the development of Marxism in Japan.

b. Bibliographies

IV-4. SHAKAI KEIZAI RÖDÖ KENKYÜJO. *Nihon minshu kakumei ronsō-shi* (日本民主革命論争史). Itō Shoten. 1947. 128 p. 社会経済労仲叢書 1

CSt-H; DLC; IEN; MH

Appended (p. 121-128) is a bibliography relying principally upon articles from 1927 to 1932, with a few books and basic documents in addition. The list was compiled by Koyama Hirotake who wrote the main text.

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IV-5. KOYAMA, Hirotake. *Sengo jimmin kakumei ronsō-shi* (戦後人民革命論争史). Iwasaki Shoten. 1950. 204 p. 岩崎真理叢書 1 CSt-H; DLC; MH

On p. 199-204 is appended a bibliography on the postwar controversy on the "people's revolution" (*jinmin kakumei*). The bibliography purports to present a record of the polemics of the theoretical basis of the "democratic revolution." Periodical articles are the principal sources for the bibliography.

c. Chronologies

IV-6. KOYAMA, Hirotake. *Nihon marukusu-shugi-shi*. See no. IV-3.

2. Basic Documents

a. Social Democratic Party

IV-7. FUSE, Tōichi. *Nihon Shakai-tō no shinro: Undō hōshin to seisaku no kaisetsu* (日本社会党の進路—運動方針と政策の解説). Itagaki Shoten. 1948. 287 p. CSt-H; DLC

A statement of postwar SDP policy by the former head of the policy department of the political affairs committee of the SDP. The political affairs committee was nominally the party office where party policy was created.

IV-8. KATAYAMA, Tetsu. *Nihon shakai-shugi no tenkai* (日本社会主義の展開). Shin-shichō-sha. 1946. 208 p. CSt-H

An early postwar exposition of the rightwing socialist standpoint by the leader of the SDP at the time and later first Socialist Premier of Japan in 1947.

IV-9. MINSHU SHAKAI-SHUGI REMMEI. *Tōitsu Shakai-tō kōryō sōan to sono kaisetsu* (統一社会党綱領草案とその解説). Shakai Shichō-sha. 1955. 183 p. PC

"The Draft Platform of the unified SDP and commentary" is in reality a statement of rightwing SDP philosophy. This draft was written by the rightwing SDP in 1955 with the unification negotiations of the left and rightwing in mind. The first part of the book consists of the draft. Part II is an account of the drafting of this platform by one of its principal drafters, the deputy director of the then policy planning board of the Right SDP. Part III is a series of essays by professors, rightwing labor leaders of the Minshu Shakai-shugi Remmei (Democratic Socialism League)—an organization devoted to supplying rightwing socialist philosophy—on the draft platform, its historical significance and Marxism, the Left SDP platform, the international socialist movement, peace and labor unions. Part IV consists of four short essays by veteran sympathizers from the large Tokyo newspapers and one scholar. The three appendices are on the Right SDP's basic conception of the platform problem, the platform of the Democratic Socialism League on democratic socialism, and part I of the Left SDP platform. This is a useful book as a presentation and justification of the Right SDP philosophy, methodology and action program.

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- IV-10. MIZUTANI, Chōzaburō. *Nihon Shakai-tō kōryō* (日本社会党綱領). Sansui-sha. 1946. 31 p. 社会新書 CSt-H; DLC

Brief explanation of the general principles of the postwar SDP by a member of the rightwing of that party. This short statement is of interest as it was printed in the early postwar years. Another prominent SDP member explains the party stand on the problem of the constitution and the Emperor system.

- IV-11. NIHON RŌDŌ KUMIAI SŌ-HYŌGIKAI. *Dai...kai taikai gijiroku* (才...回大会議事録). 1950t. DLC (1954-55)

Record of the national conventions of the largest labor federation in Japan, Sōhyō. The proceedings of the fifth and sixth conventions are printed in pocket book size, but for earlier conventions only mimeographed copies were made and they are difficult to obtain. Since Sōhyō and the Left SDP have maintained intimate relations with each other over the years, certain Sōhyō conventions, such as those held in 1953 and 1954 are of particular significance in connection with the general plan of strategy and tactics and world outlook developed by the labor federation together with the Left SDP. The Left SDP decided upon a lengthy party platform in 1954 and the interactions between the party and the labor unions in the formulation of this policy statement were not inconsiderable.

- IV-12. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Left). Kyōiku Senden-kyoku. *Dai 12-kai zen-koku taikai kōryō shō-iinkai sokkiroku* (才十二回全国大会綱領小委員会速記録). 1954. 244 p. Mimeographed. PC

A mimeographed record of the proceedings of the platform sub-committee of the 12th national convention of the Left SDP in 1954. It was at this convention that the lengthy leftwing SDP platform was heatedly debated and adopted after revision. Though the stenographic record may have been "appropriately" deleted, revised, and added to this is an important document in understanding the various forces that were and still are at work in the Left SDP and how and through whom these elements find expression.

- IV-13. *Sasha kōryō to ronsō-ten* (左社綱領と論争点). Rōnō Mondai Kenkyū-jo. 1954. 100 p. DLC

A useful collection of documents on the heatedly debated Left SDP party platform. It is unusual to find such items as these brought together in one volume. Part I purports to be a record of the plenary session of the special committee for drafting the Left SDP platform and of the national convention that considered this platform. (For a more detailed report of the committee hearings see no. IV-12). Part II is a copy of the party headquarters draft of the proposed party platform, the private draft written by Shimizu Shinzō, the platform draft as proposed in the organ, *Teikō* (抵抗—Resistance), of the Kinki block conference of the Left SDP Youth Section, various opinions about the headquarters draft and a criticism of the draft platform by the Rōnō-tō. It seems from the location of the publishing organization that this pamphlet was compiled by the extreme leftwing of the Left SDP, such as Kinoshita Gengo of the House of Councillors.

- IV-14. SHAKAI TAISHŪ-TŌ. *Musan kaikyū no shin-Nihon kensetsu taikō—Shakai Taishū-tō no kōryō kensetsu taikō seisaku* (無産階級の新日本建設大綱—社会大衆党の綱領建設大綱政策). 1933. 81 p. 社会大衆党パンフレット 1 DLC; NNC

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Party explanation of the platform and organization of the prewar Shakai Taishū-tō.

b. Japanese Communist Party

- IV-15. AKAHATA. KOKUSAI-BU. *Kokusai-shugi to minzoku-shugi* (国際主義と民族主義). Gyōmei-sha. 1950. 109 p. CSSt-H; DLC

A communist interpretation of internationalism and nationalism.

- IV-16. *Dai 5-kai chūō iinkai sōkai kettei hōkoku shū* (才五回中央委員会総会決定報告集). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1949. 66 p. CSSt-H; MH

Reports and resolutions of the fifth plenum of the JCP central committee held in Feb. 1949. It contains five items 1) a general report by Tokuda, 2) report on the common front between the SDP and the JCP by Itō Ritsu; 3) Diet strategy by Nozaka, 4) control commission report by its chairman, Miyamoto Kenji, and 5) election statistics of the 1949 elections.

- IV-17. *Dai 15-kai kakudai chūō iinkai hōkoku kettei-shū* (才十五回拡大中央委員会報告決定集). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1949. 43 p. CSSt-H; MH

Reports and resolutions of the 15th enlarged Central Committee meeting of the JCP held on June 18-19, 1949. The pamphlet contains four reports: a general report by Tokuda, a Diet activities report by Nozaka, a control commission report on deviations by its chairman, Miyamoto, and a party statement on the peace settlement.

According to Langer and Swearingen, "it is from this date that all Central Committee sessions (Central Committee sessions, plenary sessions, enlarged plenary sessions) were put into one single category insofar as numbering of these meetings is concerned. (The new system renumbered all previous postwar CC sessions assigning them consecutive numbers)."

- IV-18. *Dai 16-kai chūō iinkai sōkai hōkoku kettei-shū* (才十六回中央委員会総会報告決定集). Nihon Kyōsan-tō Senden Kyōiku-bu. 1949. 27 p. CSSt-H; NNC

Two speeches by leading JCP officers to the 16th plenum of the central committee.

- IV-19. *Dai 18-kai kakudai chūō iinkai hōkoku kettei-shū* (才十八回拡大中央委員会報告決定集). Nihon Kyōsan-tō Senden Kyōiku-bu. 1950. 72 p. CLSU; CSSt-H; MH; NNC

Collection of reports and resolutions of the 18th enlarged central committee meeting of the JCP held in Jan. 1950 after the historic Comintern criticism of Nozaka.

- IV-20. *Dai 19-kai chūō iinkai sōkai ni okeru hōkoku* (才十九回中央委員会総会に於ける報告). Nihon Kyōsan-tō Shuppan-kyoku. 1950. 64 p. CSSt-H

Reports made at the 19th plenum of the JCP central committee.

- IV-21. *Dai 22-kai chūō iinkai sōkai kettei-shū* (才二十二回中央委員会総会決定集). Seisaku Kenkyū-kai. [1953?] rev. ed. 55 p. CSSt-H

Decisions of the 22nd plenum of the JCP central committee following Communist defeat at the 1953 House of Representatives election.

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IV-22. *Heiwa, minshu dokuritsu bunken* (平和民主独立文献). Sundai-sha. 1953. 315 p. CSt-O

Though entitled "documents on peace, democracy, and independence," actually this is a collection of JCP decisions on the Japanese situation by the 4th and 5th Zenkoku Kyōgikai, the 22nd plenum of the central committee, and others.

IV-23. HINO, Jirō, comp. *Kyōsan-tō no himitsu shirei* (共産党の秘密指令). Rōdō Tembō-sha. 1949. 124 p. CSt-H; CU; DLC; MH; NNC

Supposedly a collection of "secret" directives issued by the JCP during 1949.

IV-24. *Kaihō o mezasu Nihon no tomo e* (解放を目ざす日本の友へ). Satsuki Shobō. 1952. 350 p. Compiled by Akahata. CLSU

Collection of statements on a variety of topics by the Chinese Communist Party press, Moscow radio, General Derevianko, Tokuda, Gromyko from congratulatory messages to peace treaty proposals and an explanation of party policy. The book was issued on the 30th anniversary of the founding of the JCP.

IV-25. *Kokumin no yōkyū - Nihon Kyōsan-tō no shin-kōryō* (国民の要求—日本共産党の新綱領). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1951. 32 p. CLSU; CSt-H

A new statement of party policy after the outbreak of the Korean war. It is widely known as the "New Program" or the "1951 Thesis" of the JCP.

IV-26. *Kominterun oyobi Purofinterun no Nihon mondai ni kansuru ketsugi rombun-shū* (コミンテルン及びプロフインターンの日本問題に関する決議論文集) Moscow. Gaikoku Rōdōsha Shuppanjo. 1934. 204 p. CLU

Collection of eight important Profintern and Comintern resolutions and theses on the Japanese question based on the texts which appeared in the JCP party organ, *Sekki* (Akahata) on July 10, 1932.

IV-27. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. CHŪŌ IINKAI. *Kokusai kyōsan-tō dai 6-kai taikai no han-teikoku-shugi sensō tēze* (国際共産党第十六回大会の反帝国主義戦争テーゼ). n.p. n.d. 66 p. 赤旗パンフレット 26 CSt-H; DLC

Theses of the international communist party [Comintern] concerning the mission of the communist in the struggle against imperialistic wars as decided at the 6th world meeting held in 1928.

IV-28. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. CHŪŌ IINKAI. *Manshū senryō sensō to Nihon Kyōsanto tōmen no nimmu* (満州占領戦争と日本共産党当面の任務). Daini Munsansha Shimbun-sha. 1931. 106 p. DLC

The communist interpretation of the Manchurian Incident, and related Mongolian problem, and mission of the JCP under these circumstances. The pamphlet was written and published in the name of the central committee of the JCP.

IV-29. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. CHŪŌ IINKAI. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō dai 6-kai Zenkoku Kyōgikai ketsugi-shū* (日本共産党第六回全国協議会決議集). 1955. 117 p. TUK

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Collection of resolutions of the 6th Zenkoku Kyōgikai (National Conference) on party activities, party unification, suppression of the JCP through the Organizations Control Act, the expulsion of Itō Ritsu, and party regulations. Appended is the JCP platform.

- IV-30. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō kettei hōkoku-shū* (日本共産党決定報告集). Jimmin Kagaku-sha. 1948. 182 p. Compiled by Nihon Kyōsan-tō Senden Kyōiku-bu.
CSt-H; NNC

Collection of reports and decisions reached at the 6th Party congress and at Central Committee meetings and plenum of the same. Specifically it includes reports by Tokuda to the March 1948 Central Committee meeting and plenum of same committee, reports and decisions reached at the May 1948 Central Committee meeting, Tokuda's report to the June 1948 Organization Conference, Tokuda's report to the August 1948 plenum of the Central Committee, decisions of the August 1949 Plenum of the Central Committee, August 1948 decisions of the Poliburo of the Central Committee, August 1948 decision of the Control Commission, Tokuda's report to the October 1948 plenum of the Central Committee.

- IV-31. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō tēze, 1922, 1927, seiji tēze, 1932, 1950 tēze* (日本共産党テーゼ, 22 年, 27 年, 政治テーゼ, 32 年, 50 年テーゼ). Seiki Shobō. 1951. 319 p.
CLSU; MH; NNC

The 1922 Draft Platform, 1927, 1932 and 1950 theses, and the political thesis of 1931 of the JCP.

- IV-32. *Nihon mondai bunken-shū* (日本問題文献集). Otsuki Shoten. 1955. 319 p. Compiled by Chūgoku Sekai Chishiki-sha and translated by Kokumin Bunko Henshū-bu.
TUK

Collection of statements, declarations, reports, communiques, and newspaper articles on the "Japanese problem" by Chinese communists, the U.S.S.R., and international meetings. The original book was compiled by a communist organization in Peking.

- IV-33. *Nihon mondai ni kansuru hōshin-sho—ketsugi-shū* (日本問題に関する方針書—決議集). Satsuki Shobō. 1950. 262 p. Compiled and translated by Nihon Kyōsan-tō Tōshi Shiryō Iinkai.
IEN; MH; NNC (1947 ed.)

A postwar reprint of Comintern documents concerning Japan (including the 1922 Draft Platform, the 1927 and 1932 Theses), conveniently assembled in one volume. Apparently published under the auspices of the JCP. "For scholarly purposes this collection should only be used when the original source material is not available." (Langer and Swearingen).

- IV-34. *Nihon no jōsei to kyōsan-tō no nimmu* (日本の情勢と共産党の任務). Kaihō-sha. 1946. 53 p. 解放叢書 2
DLC; MH

Contains two important documents in the history of the JCP: the situation in Japan and the tasks of the JCP which appeared in nos. 8 and 9 of *Communist International* in 1932; and the so-called 1932 Thesis announced by the Western European Bureau of the Comintern in April 1932. Appended is the (now superseded) declaration of the 5th Congress of the JCP held in Feb. 1946.

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IV-35. *Nihon no jōsei to Nihon Kyōsan-tō no nimmu ni kansuru hōshin-sho 32-nen tēze* (日本の情勢と日本共産党の任務に関する方針書 32 年テーゼ). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. June 1950. 82 p. CSt-H; MH; NNC

Same as the above except there is an additional report by an official of the Comintern to the Presidium of the Comintern in March 1932 in this pamphlet.

IV-36. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō bunken-shū* (日本共産党文献集). 1951-1953. 4 v. Compiled and published by Nikkan Rōdō Tsūshin-sha.

CLSU (v. 2); CSt-H (v. 1-2); DLC (v. 2-3); NNC (v. 1); MH (v. 1)

A useful collection of statements and articles by JCP leaders, JCP committees of different levels, communist newspapers, etc., on policy matters of the Japanese communist movement.

v. 1. 606 p. *Kominfuorumu ni kuppuku shita...*(コミンフォルムに服した...). Collection of directives issued by the JCP up to its capitulation to the Comintern, including the first nine months of 1950 and opinions of JCP leaders on 1950 draft theses.

v. 2. 1951. 743 p. *Chika sennyū no taisei o totonoeta...*(地下潜入の態勢を整えた...). Collection of directives issued by the JCP while building its underground network.

v. 3. 1952. 834 p. Begins with the JCP's self-criticism in early 1951, the overall peace settlement, the 1951 local elections, the peace movement, the Helsinki Conference and the JCP, U.S.-Soviet relations, military policy, and the new party program adopted at the fifth national conference (Zenkoku kyōgikai).

v. 4. 1953. 771 p. Principal JCP documents issued between Apr. and Nov. 1952 in *Kokumin hyōron*, *Soshikisha Gunji nōto*, and others on their policies toward labor (especially Sōhyō), revolutionization of the farms, military policy, the peace offensive, Tokuda's statement on the 30th anniversary of the JCP, factions, the defects of the JCP in the general elections of 1952, and the decisions of the 22nd session of the Central Committee. Each section is prefaced by a commentary.

IV-37. OKANO, Susumu (Nozaka Sanzō). *Nihon kokumin ni uttau—Shina Jihen rokushūnen ni saishite* (日本国民に訴う一支部事変六周年に際して). Yen-an. 1943. 32 p. CSt-H

An appeal to the Japanese people by Nozaka (exiled in China at the time) upon the sixth anniversary of the China Incident.

IV-38. OKANO, Susumu (Nozaka Sanzō). *Nihon Kyōsan-tō no nimmu ni tsuite* (日本共産党の任務について). Yen-an. Zai-Ka Nihon Kyōsan-shugisha Dōmei. 1943. 10 p. CSt-H

On the mission of the JCP by Nozaka when he was in exile in Yen-an, China.

IV-39. RōDŌ BUNKA KENKYŪJO. *Kyōsan-tō no himitsu shirei to senjitsu* (共産党の秘密指令と戦術). Kōhōdō. 1948. 97 p. DLC; MH; NNC

Strategy and secret directives allegedly issued by the JCP during the first three postwar years from the abortive Feb. 1, 1947 general strike to the dispute at the Tōhō Motion Picture Co., which the compiling organization regarded as preliminary maneuvers for revolution.

IV-40. *Saikin ni okeru Nikkyō no kihon-teki senryaku senjutsu* (最近に於ける日共の基本的戦略戦術). 1954-1956. 3 v. Compiled and published by Nikkan Rōdō Tsūshin-sha. NDLM (v. 2)

STRATEGIES, INTERPRETATIONS AND POLICIES

This series is especially useful for its collection of materials from a variety of communist sources both in and out of the party on the basic strategy and tactics of the JCP. Like other compilations published by this organization they were assembled with the full cooperation of the police and the Public Security Investigation Agency. Each volume is divided into party platforms, organization and tactics, military affairs, mass organizations, and Koreans in Japan. The essays, party directives, etc., are assembled from a wide range of sources from legally distributed magazines, clandestine literature, and camouflaged pamphlets. Vol. 1 includes materials from the adoption of the 5th Zenkyō (national conference) in 1951 to early 1953 with a chronology of the Japanese and world communist movements from 1918 to 1953; vol. 2 is from early 1953 to 1955 with a 60 page commentary on JCP activities; vol. 3 centers around the 5th Zenkyō at which time the JCP made an outstanding policy change critical of their violent tactics adopted in 1951. Vol. 3 also has a short commentary on this conference and has added a new section on international guidance.

- IV-41. *Tōsei kōyō bunken* (党性高揚文献). Sundai-sha. 1952. 325 p. Compiled by the Nihon Kyōsan-tō. CSt-H; CLSU

Explanation of the party platform by Tokuda, decisions of the 4th Zenkoku Kyōgikai (national conference) on struggles, peace, military affairs, and organization. Also included are the interpretations of national and international situations and the present responsibility of the JCP as expressed by the 5th Zenkoku Kyōgikai.

- IV-42. *Tōsei kōyō bunken—zoku* (党性高揚文献続). Sundai-sha. 2952. 160 p. CSt-H

JCP policy statement on present tactical and organizational problems, financial responsibility, and the party's mission in the cultural struggle and the cultural front.

3. Strategy and Tactics Controversy

a. *Prewar Period*

i. Early History, 1922-1927

- IV-43. Hōjō, Kazuo. *Hōkō tenkan* (方向転換). Hakuyō-sha. 1927. 162 p. DLC; NNC

An evaluation of the "change of direction" theory advocated by Yamakawa, then a leading communist theoretician. Hōjō was the pseudonym of Fukumoto Kazuo, the originator of Fukumoto-ism, which stood for a highly indoctrinated and professional revolutionary party, a vanguard group isolated from the masses but with an appreciation of Marxism. Fukumoto thought that Japanese capitalistic society had entered the final stages of decline and disintegration. His thesis was rejected by the 1927 Thesis and he was branded a leftwing deviationist.

- IV-44. Hōjō, Kazuo. *Musan kaikyū no hōkō tenkan* (無産階級の方角転換). Kibōkaku. 1926. 214 p. DLC

The organization of European proletarian parties is discussed as an introduction, followed by an analysis of the process of the change of direction in the Japanese

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proletarian movement. The Labor-Farmer party and the labor unions are described, and finally the change of direction theory (*hōkō tenkan*) of Kōno Mitsu is analyzed and criticized.

- IV-45. Hōjō, Kazuo. *Riron tōsō* (理論闘争). Hakuyō-sha. 1926. 226 p. Title in German: *Der theoretische Kampf*. CLSU; CSt-H; CU; DLC

Comprising seven inter-related essays, it analyzes and criticizes trade unionism and the "theory of compromise." The chapter headings are: criticism of the theory of compromise; so-called economic action, and political action; the reality of empirical realism, the present opposition of the left and right wings; political exposes (*seiji-teki bakuro*); theoretical struggle; a newspaper for all the proletariat; the social basis for the development of a theoretical struggle. These essays constitute the theoretical basis of the formation of the second JCP in 1926.

- IV-46. KITAURA, Sentarō. *Marukishizumu no henkaku—Fukumoto-izumu* (マルキンズムの変革—福本イズム). Dōjinsha. 1927. 160 p. CSt-H

A critique of Marxism from the Rōnō standpoint—the metamorphosis of Marxism as it is called by the author—as manifested in Fukumoto-ism. Kitaura was once a member of the staff of the proletarian newspaper, *Musansha shimbun*, and also of the first JCP formed in 1922.

- IV-47. MUSAN-SHA SHIMBUN-SHA. *Shimpan—Musansha shimbun ronsetsu-shū* (新版—無産者新聞論説集). Ueno Shoten. 1929. 374 p.

CSt-H; DLC; MH

Collection of editorials appearing in the first 121 issues of the *Musansha shimbun* (Sept. 10, 1925—Dec. 25, 1927), the legal mouthpiece of the illegal JCP during the mid-'twenties. A chronology of the same period is appended. The same editorials were printed twice in two separate editions in 1928 and 1929.

- IV-48. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi. *Musan kaikyū no sei-ji undō* (無産階級の政治運動). Kōseikaku. 1924. 359 p. CSt-H

Also reproduced in full in *Shisō kenkyū shiryō tokushū 42* (思想研究資料特輯). July 1938. 229 p. JJ

On the problems of "change of direction," the basis for proletarian strategy, and the political party for the proletariat. The first section is the now famous essay entitled "Musan kaikyū undō no hōkō tenkan" (The change of direction in the proletarian movement) which appeared in the *Zen'ei*, Aug. 1922 advocating that the leftwing become a movement with a broad base and the support of the working people instead of a movement consisting of a select group of radical revolutionaries. There are, in addition to this essay four others on other aspects of the same problem. The basis of proletarian strategy analyses universal manhood suffrage and strategy and the proletarian political movement and democracy in Japan.

The last part is an analysis of the possibility of a proletarian political party, its relation to the other conservative political parties, the policies, tasks, organizations of a proletarian political party. The Japanese government regarded this book sufficiently important to reproduce it for limited distribution 14 years after it was originally published.

- IV-49. YAMAKAWA, Hitōshi. *Musan seitō no kenkyū* (無産政党的研究). Sōbunkaku. 1925. 244 p. CSt-H; DLC; MH

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Early discussions of the problems of forming a proletarian political party in Japan, the type of organization it should have, and the type of principles and platforms it should advocate from the Rōnōha standpoint.

- IV-50. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi. *Sayoku no tōsō* (左翼の斗争). Hakuyō-sha. 1927. 217 p. DLC

Devoted to the problem of the unification of the proletarian political parties, especially the Rōdō Nōmin-tō.

ii. Main period, 1927-1940

- IV-51. ICHIKAWA, Shōichi. *Kaikyū-teki taishū-teki tan'itsu seitō to wa nani ka* (階級的大衆の単一政党とは何か). Kibōkaku. 1952. 214 p. K.B.K.B. 2
CSt-H; DLC

Anthology of essays which appeared in *Marukusu-shugi* (1924-28) on what is a class and mass political party and criticizing the Rōnō faction from the standpoint of the 1927 JCP thesis. A complete index of *Marukusu-shugi* is also included.

- IV-52. INOMATA, Tsunao. *Gendai Nihon burujoaji no seiji-teki chii* (現代日本ブルジョアジーの政治的地位). Nansō Shoin. 1927. 146 p. CSt-H; DLC

Three classic articles on the political position of the modern bourgeoisie in Japan. They were originally published in the periodicals, *Taiyō* and *Chūō Kōron*. The general theme of the articles is the political strategy and tactics of the proletarian movement in Japan from the point of view of the Rōnō faction, of which Inomata was a leader, and critical of the theoretical basis of the second JCP in 1926.

- IV-53. INOMATA, Tsunao. *Gendai Nihon kenkyū—Marukishizumu no tachiba yori* (現代日本研究—マルキシズムの立場より). Kaizō-sha. 1928. 608 p.
CSt-H; DLC

A number of essays written between April 1927 and Aug. 1928 from the Rōnō faction standpoint on: the modern Japanese economy: the stabilization and downfall of Japanese capitalism, overcoming the economic crisis, and the Chinese revolution and Japanese imperialism. The political situation: the political situation before the financial panic, the political position of the bourgeoisie, the political situation at the time of the first general election under universal manhood suffrage, the political significance of the suppression of the JCP. Strategy of the proletariat: general strategy, opportunism, agricultural strategy. Present problems: the chaotic proletarian parties, a criticism of these parties, amalgamation of the parties, mission of the political class newspaper.

- IV-54. INOMATA, Tsunao. *Nihon musan kaikyū no senryaku* (日本無産階級の戦略). Bungei Sensen Shuppan-bu. 1930. 188 p. CSt-H; DLC; NH

Five essays on proletarian political strategy that appeared at different times from 1927 to 1930 in the magazines, *Rōdō* and *Kaizō*.

- IV-55. INOMATA, Tsunao. *Nihon musan kaikyū undō no hihan—Kominterun no hihan o yomite* (日本無産階級運動の批判——コミンテルンの批判を読みて). Musan-sha. 1928. 37 p. 無産社パンフレット 16. CSt-H

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Inomata's reply to the Comintern criticism of the Japanese proletarian movement, a translation of which appeared in *Bungei sensen* (Oct. 1928). This article was originally published in the *Bungei sensen* Dec. 1928 issue.

- IV-56. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Gekiryū ni kōshite* (激流に抗して). Chōryūsha. 1949. 209 p.
CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

A series of essays written before World War II. Chronologically there are three essays published legally in the *Ikita shimbun* (The living newspaper) on the proletarian cultural movement in 1933 but re-written again in 1935: the second group constitute the main part of this book, five essays on the revolutionary movement written in Dec. 1940 for illegal purposes, and a critique entitled "Defying the current" (the translated title of the book) published in *Chōryū*. The last item tries to show that the "dark age" in the Japanese revolutionary movement was with the coming of the Tōjō regime rather than spreading over a longer period from 1931 as so many of his fellow JCP members assert.

- IV-57. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Nihon ni okeru kakumei undō no kihon mondai* (日本に於ける革命運動の基本問題). Minshu Hyōron-sha. 327 p.
CSt-H; DLC; MH; MiU

Series of essays published legally and illegally mostly under pseudonyms from 1931 to 1935 on strikes (the subway and Tokyo electricity strikes, political-ization of economic strikes, and struggles to enlarge struggles), the revolutionary labor union (anti-parliamentarism, action programs and organization of these unions) and various problems concerning the united front. "Contains a good deal of valuable information and excerpts from communist publications of the period covered." (Langer and Swearingen).

- IV-58. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Tennō-sei ni kansuru riron-teki sho-mondai* (天皇制に関する理論的諸問題). Minshu Hyōron-sha. 1947. 246 p.
CtY; MH; NNC

Series of essays written illegally between May 1939 and Dec. 1940. The author claims that despite strict surveillance and mass arrests the police never obtained a copy of these illegally mimeographed essays. This book is based on a pamphlet on the theoretical problems of a monarchy. Specifically it deals with imperialism and war, absolutism, and Bonapartism and fascism, the 1932 Thesis and the world significance of a people's revolution in Japan and a report on the political situation in Japan to be submitted to the spring 1941 JCP reconstruction conference.

- IV-59. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Tōitsu sensen senjitsu no sho-mondai* (統一戦線戦術の諸問題). Shinkō Kagaku-sha. 1953. 382p.
TUK

Collection of essays on the problem of the united front both before and after World War II by a prominent member of the JCP who was the center of an outstanding controversy on strategy and tactics and on the interpretation of capitalism in Japan in the JCP. According to the author all essays included have never been published previously and are divided into three distinct parts: prewar and postwar essays and those written especially for this book.

The first part—the prewar essays—is on the various problems of the people's front during the 'thirties, its historical background, basic characteristics, its theoretical problems, cooperation between the JCP and the socialist parties, the international

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movement and finally on the united front in Japan, its historical development, political slogans. The second part—on the “united people’s front” and World War II—is on the attitude of the communists toward the War, the anti-fascist front, its tactics, cooperation, and the Japanese communists and united front tactics at that time.

Part III—on the post World War II united front—is a historical review of the development of the “democratic people’s front,” unification in the labor movement, the “Racial Liberation Democratic United Front (Minzoku Kaihō Tōitsu Sensen’)

 and the peace movement, and finally Kamiyama’s outlook on the postwar united front.

- IV-60. MURAYAMA, Tōshirō. *Seiji-teki senryaku senjutsu ni tsuite no ni danshō* (政治的戦略戦術に就いての二断章). Kibōkaku. 1930. 115 p. DLC

Two chapters on political strategy and tactics by a leading member of the second JCP in the Osaka area. He was a prominent theoretician of the JCP and was well acquainted with such figures as Fukumoto Kazuo. He later withdrew from the party.

- IV-61. *Marukusu-shugi kōza* (マルクス主義講座). See no IV-158.

- IV-62. NABEYAMA Sadachika. *Shakai minshu-shugi to no tōsō* (社会民主主義との斗争). Kibōkaku. 1931. 392 p. CSt-H

Collection of articles written under various pen-names by Nabeyama from 1927 until his arrest in April 1929 when he was a leader of the clandestine JCP: these articles appeared in *Marukusu-shugi*, *Rōdōsha* and organs of the Profintern and Pacific Labor Union (Taiheiyō Rōdō Kaigi). Although the book is entitled “struggle with social democracy” the three principal articles concern the re-establishment of the Hyōgikai and the formation of a labor-farmer league.

- IV-63. NAMIKAWA, Saburō. *Nihon no kakumei-teki puroretariāto tōmen no kyūmu* (日本の革命的プロレタリアート当面の急務). [n. p. 1940]. 20 p. DLC

“The urgent mission confronting the revolutionary proletariat in Japan” was originally published in a communist publication in the United States sometime in early 1940. It is now included in *Nihon minshuka no tame ni* by Nozaka (See no IV-127).

- IV-64. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. *Katayama Sen senshū* (片山潜選集). Shinrisha 1949. Number of volumes unknown. Compiled by *Nihon Kyōsan-to Tōshi Shiryō Iinkai*. MH (v. 1)

Autobiography, letters, a chronology of Katayama’s life and several eulogies.

- IV-65. NOZAKA, Sanzo. *Minshu-teki Nihon no kensetsu* (民主的日本の建設). Yen-an. Zai-Ka Nihon Kyōsan-shugisha Dōmei Hombu. 1945. 72 p. Copy in NNC was published in Japan in 1946 by Akatsuki Shobō (58 p.)

CLSU; DLC; NNC

Speech made by Nozaka on the establishment of a “democratic Japan” to the 7th national convention of the Chinese Communist Party in May 1945. Included in *Nihon Minshuka no tame ni* (See no IV-127).

- IV-66. SANO, Manabu and NABEYAMA, Sadachika. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō oyobi Komintān hihan* (日本共産党及コミターン批判). Musan-sha. 1934. 253 p. Compiled by Kinoshita Iku. DLC

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The political principles for the establishment of socialism in one country and political strategy as told by Sano and Nabeyama to Kinoshita, one of the defense lawyers in their court trial. Sano explains the general outline, race and class, the Japanese race, the agricultural problem, the present mission, the new political party for the working class, while Nabeyama expounds on a criticism of the Comintern and the JCP, the next war and social changes. This book also reflects the changing philosophy of two prewar leaders of the JCP, who later recanted their positions while in prison.

- IV-67. SANO, Manabu. *Seiji-ron* (政治論). Kibōkaku. 1930. 佐野学集 4.
CSt-H; CU; DLC; WaU

Collection of articles by the author during 1927-1929 in *Marukusu-shugi*, *Shakai kagaku*, the *Musansha shimbun* and others on the political strategy to be followed by the communist movement.

- IV-68. SANO, Manabu. *Tōsō ni yorite kaihō e* (斗争によりて解放へ). Taibun-sha. 1923. 536 p.
CSt-H; DLC

Miscellaneous essays written between 1920 and 1923 on the social revolution, the agrarian movement, the intelligentsia and the proletarian movement, the Suihei movement, women and capitalism, socialism and a 100 page essay on the British coal miners.

- VI-69. SANGYŌ RŌDŌ CHŌSAJO. *Musansha hōritsu hikkei* (無産者法律必携). Dōjin-sha. 1927. 487p.
CSt-H

A legal handbook compiled by a pro-communist research organization for the "proletarian layman." Divided into criminal laws, agricultural laws, labor laws and appendix, it claims a Marxian interpretation of these laws.

- IV-70. SANGYŌ RŌDŌ CHŌSAJO. *Musansha seiiji hikkei* (無産者政治必携). Dōjin-sha. 1928. 777 p.
DLC

A partisan political handbook for the proletarian layman covering many fields including elections, the bourgeois political parties, finance, labor, etc. Often the sections contain analyses of previous tactics and instructions concerning tactics to be followed in the future. The book was banned by the government.

- IV-71. SHAKAI KEIZAI RŌDŌ KENKYŪJO. *Nihon ni okeru kaikyū tōsō* (日本における階級斗争). Itō Shoten. 1948. 172 p. 社会経済労仲書5 5 輯 1
CLSU; CSt-H; DLC; MH; MiU; NNC

Collection of Katayama's writings on the post-World War I rice riots, the economic depression and class struggle in Japan, the proletarian movement in Japan and international problems. These essays were written in the later years of his life when he was in Moscow. They appeared in a variety of leftist magazines such as *International Press Correspondence*, *Marukusu-shugi*, and others.

- IV-72. *Shakai mondai kōza* (社会問題講座). Shinchō-sha. 1926-1927. 13 v.
Edited by Oya Sōichi

CSt-H (v. 1-13); CtY (v. 1-6, 8-13);
DLC (v. 1-7, 9-12); MiU (v. 8); NNC (v. 1-12)

STRATEGIES, INTERPRETATIONS AND POLICIES

A series of essays on a wide variety of socio-political and economic problems by writers of both extremes of the leftwing movement. Only a few of the subjects can be mentioned: political and economic theory of Marx, syndicalism, unemployment, the leftwing political parties, the proletarian literary movement, labor unions and worker education, co-operative unions, the agrarian problem, labor legislation.

There are also many essays in this series that pertain to the controversy concerning capitalism in Japan.

- IV-73. TAKAHASHI, Sadaki. *Nihon puroretariāto no mondai* (日本プロレタリアートの問題). Kibōkaku. 1931. 386 p. DLC; MH; NNC

Collection of 14 short essays contributed to *Musansha shimbun* and *Marukusu-shugi* after Takahashi's return from abroad, and articles he wrote for *Pravda*. Also, are included two speeches he made to the 6th world meeting of the Comintern on colonization. The subjects are varied, from colonialism to women, but are principally concerned with proletarian political strategy.

- IV-74. TOKYO KEIJI CHIHŌ SAIBANSHO. KENJI-KYOKU. SHISŌ-BU. *Musan seitō ni kansuru seitō-ha narabini Rōnō-ha no kenkai ni kansuru shiryō* (無産政党に関する正統派並に労農派の見解に関する資料). n.d. 54 leaves. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. CSt-H

Excerpts from *Marukushu-shugi* (no. 47, 1928) and the history of the JCP as told by Ichikawa Shōichi explaining the orthodox theory, and from *Rōnō* factions's theory of the leftwing movement in Japan. The title on the inside title page limits the above analyses to the "legal" leftwing parties.

- IV-75. TOKYO KEIJI CHIHŌ SAIBANSHO. KENJI-KYOKU. SHISŌ-BU. *Nihon musan kaikyū no senryaku-ron shi* (日本無産階級の戦略論史). n.d. 65 leaves. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. CSt-H

History of the strategy of the Japanese proletarian movement as reported in *Rōnō* by Ito Yoshimichi. (Vol. 4, nos. 7-10, 1933).

- IV-76. WATANABE, Masanosuke. *Senryaku mondai no yōkō* (戦略問題の要項). Kibōkaku. 1952. 219 p. K.B.K.B. 3. CSt-H; DLC

Reproduction of eleven essays by Watanabe on the general subject of strategy published in *Marukusu-shugi* (1928). Watanabe was one of the leaders of the early JCP. Two parts of his book *Sayoku rōdō kuniai undō no soshiki to seisaku* are quoted at the end of the book.

- IV-77. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi. *Musan seitō no hanashi* (無産政党の話). Chigura Shobō. 1931. 361 p. CSt-H

"The proletarian party" is divided into three parts: the western proletarian political party, the development of the Japanese proletarian political party and a theoretical analysis of the proletarian political party, its relations with the political movement of the proletariat, bourgeois political influence and anti-bourgeois political influence, its leadership, constituent elements, platform, and the united front.

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- IV-78. YAMAKAWA, HITASHI. *Shin-hōkō tenkan—kumiai undō ni okeru* (新方向転換——組合運動に於ける). Musan-sha. 1928. 118 p. DLC

The evaluation of the "new" direction in the labor union movement as adopted by the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Hyōgikai at its third national convention in 1927.

- IV-79. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi. *Tan'itsu musan seitō-ron* (単一無産政党論). 1930. 126 p. Bungei Sensen Shuppan-bu. CLSU; CST-H; DLC

An important essay on the theory of a unified proletarian political party. The leader of the Rōnō faction advocated a legal political party as contrasted to the then illegal existence of the JCP.

b. *Postwar Period*i. *Social Democratic Party*

- IV-80. *Dai-san seiryoku* (才三勢力). Dai-san Seiryoku Kenkyū-kai. 1954t. PC (nos. 6-15)

A series of pamphlets published irregularly by the leadership group of the Shin-Sambetsu labor federation. It began publication at a time when the Left SDP was drafting its platform and this series constantly took a critical attitude toward its main thesis. As the name of the series would indicate—translated it means "The Third Force"—its basic philosophy was the creation of a third force independent of both the Free World and the Communist Camp claiming that the United States and the Soviet Union are both guilty of imperialism.

- IV-81. HOSATANI MATSUTA. *Rōdō sensen no bunretsu to tōitsu* (労働戦線の分裂と統一). Maki Shobō. 1949. 261 p. CST-H; DLC; MH; MiU

Essays on the splits and unifications on the labor front by a former member of the postwar JCP and high ranking official in the Sambetsu Kaigi. He left the JCP in Dec. 1947 and joined the Sambetsu Kaigi Minshuka Dōmei, a group which worked for the democratization of the Sambetsu labor federation. The author was an active participant in the prewar labor movement and political parties and was once a member of the JCP.

- IV-82. KATAYAMA, TETSU. *Shakai-tō* (社会党). Nihon-sha. 1947. 62 p. MH

Policy statement by the chairman of the central executive committee of the SDP at the time on the stabilization of national livelihood, inflation, farm villages, industry and trade, a controlled or free economy, the mission of the SDP and the policies which the SDP would initially inaugurate. This pamphlet was published in May 1947 when political negotiations were under way for the author to head the first Socialist-Conservative coalition government in Japan.

- IV-83. *Minsharen bunko* (民社連文庫). Minshu Shakai-shugi Remmei. 1952. 7 v. "DLC"

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A series of seven pamphlets compiled by the Democratic Socialism League on the democratic socialist conception of politics, agricultural policy, culture, the labor movement, and a debate as to whether democratic socialism has a philosophic system. The pamphlets do not purport to be scholastic but are simply written so that they can be easily understood by the layman.

Vol. 1 by Yabe Teiji is a democratic socialist interpretation of politics, international and national, including an evaluation of the Japanese situation, rearmament, and independence.

Vol. 2 by Hatano Kanae and Wagatsuma Tōsaku is on agricultural economics, agricultural organizations, feudalism in agriculture, the objective of agricultural administration, the enactment of the farmers union law.

Vol. 3 by Rōyama Masamichi is on the philosophical justification, origin, and development of democratic socialism in the world.

Vol. 4 by Kada Tatsuji and Asō Yoshikata is on the vague subject of culture. Kada writes on "ways of thinking"; and Asō on the tradition of the racial spirit and cultural development.

Vol. 5 not published.

Vol. 6 Tateyama Toshitada's report is an official interpretation and stringent criticism of the platform of Sōhyō which has always been regarded by this group as pro-communist. This essay would more or less reflect the general attitude of the Right SDP toward the Left SDP and its supporting organizations.

Vol. 7 is a debate to find a "philosophic system" concerning democratic socialism. Appended is an annotated bibliography of books acceptable to the "democratic socialist".

The Supplement is a collection of committee reports of the League on Rearmament, security, the control of staple foods, wage policies, and the economic basis of Soviet foreign policy.

- IV-84. MORITA, Tatuō. *Heiwa kakumei no jōken* (平和革命の条件). Tokyo Shuppan-sha. 1950. 172 p. CSt-H; DLC

"The conditions for a peaceful revolution" is an exposition by a prominent former member of the rightwing of the SDP. In 1949 the SDP debated the merits of becoming a Marxist class party, or that of a broadly based social democratic party advocated by the rightwing. This is one of the few books on this important postwar controversy within the SDP. The author has appended those chapters of the rightwing plan which he wrote on "basic standpoint," "the methodology of a peaceful revolution," and "organization and activities." Morito was Minister of Education in the 1947 Katayama Cabinet.

- IV-85. MORITO, Tatuō. *Kyūkoku minshu remmei no teishō* (救国民主連盟の提唱). Masu Shobō. 1946. 153 p. HM

Account of the advocacy by the SDP in early postwar years of a Democratic League to Save Japan (Kyūkoku Minshu Remmei). The author, formerly a central executive committee member and member of the rightwing of the SDP describes this advocacy, the SDP and the democratic front, the League's basic problems and furtherance of democracy, SDP relations with labor unions, the significance of the SDP's severance of negotiations with the JCP concerning the League, and the League as a plan to overcome the political impasse at that time. This is one of the few books on the League by a prominent figure who later become Minister of Education in the Socialist Government. He later withdrew from active political life and became president of a national university.

- IV-86. MORITA, Tatuō. *Shakai minshu-shugi no tame ni* (社会民主主義のために). Daiichi Shuppan K.K. 1947. 168 p. NDLM

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Eight essays either published in magazines, newspapers, or broadcast over the radio from Oct. 11, 1945 to Mar. 10, 1946 on democracy, establishment of the social state, the "peace state," the SDP, and a criticism of the proposed revision of the prewar Meiji constitution. This is an interesting document of how the SDP leadership—in this case the rightwing—thought about various problems immediately after World War II and the manner in which they should be solved.

- IV-87. NAKAMURA, Kikuo. *Minshu shakai-shugi no riron* (民主社会主義の理論). Aoyama Shoin. 1952. 198 p. DLC

"The theory of democratic socialism" is one of the few books explaining the political philosophy advocated by the SDP. The book is written from the political behavior standpoint concerning democratic socialism, its stand regarding peace and war, the present situation and democratic socialism, a political behavior analysis of the SDP, the left and rightwings of the SDP, and the resurgence of the reactionary movement, and the psychology of the rightwing.

- IV-88. *Nihon shakai-shugi undō-shi* (日本社会主義運動史). Muromachi Shobō. 1955. 261 p. Edited by Sakisaka Itsurō. 室町新書 DLC

History of the socialist movement is a symposium of seven essays by seven Left SDP party members and followers of the Rōnō-ha theory. It is useful as an interpretation of history by an influential group in the Left SDP although there are some discrepancies in the various essays as to fact and interpretation. The topics discussed are the establishment of modern Japan and socialism, the prewar socialist movement, the formation of the postwar SDP, the socialist movement and the labor and farmers movement, history of the conflict with the philosophy and action of conciliation in Japan, and the postwar controversy over capitalism in Japan.

- IV-89. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Right). HOMBŪ. *Yakushin-suru Nihon Shakai-tō* (躍進する日本社会党). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1955. 249 p. PC

The rightwing SDP version of the unification negotiations. The contents of this report complement, in general, the leftwing report (see no. IV-96) on the same subject. The rightwing report is more documentary than polemic. After three short introductory statements by party leaders connected with the negotiations, there is a chronological statement with commentary of the entire unification movement beginning with the causes of the split in 1951. This is followed by the platform of the unified SDP and the controversial basic policies, party constitution and brief chronology of the postwar SDP.

The appendices, constituting half the book, include two reports on the proceedings of the platform and policy sub-committee which discussed eight agreed upon topics concerning SDP philosophy and policy. This is not a joint report but a rightwing summary of the negotiations. The second report is on the organization and operations sub-committee. The next items quote the rightwing platform and first part of the Left SDP platform. Since the newspaper editorials were generally more critical of the leftwing platform and favorable to the rightwing many editorials of the large Tokyo newspapers are quoted verbatim as representative of public opinion. The last item is a detailed list of officers of the party, Diet members, their assignments on party committees, staff members of the party headquarters, and location of party branches of the Right SDP just before unification.

- IV-90. *Nihon Shakai-tō no ayumi* (日本社会党のあゆみ). Sōju-sha. 1955. 230 p. Edited by Sakisaka Itsurō. DLC

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This book is the direct result of an article written by this group in the *Keizai hyōron* in October 1953. This was in reply to a criticism of social democracy appearing in this magazine in June 1953. The several essays were written by party members of the Left SDP under the editorial guidance of Sakisaka, the leading theoretician of the Left SDP. Although as their preface states the ideas, opinions, and theories advocated do not necessarily reflect those of the Left SDP, they are representative of an influential segment of the party.

The first chapter is on the controversy on capitalism in Japan and the ideas of the Rōnō-ha. Chapter two is a brief review of the history of the Left SDP from prewar days. The last chapter and the longest is the most important for it gives an explanation of their system of thought on the outlook for revolution in Japan, the theory of of the state, the racial problem and the class struggle, neutralism, the peace economy plan, relations with labor unions, and the farmers unions. A short chronology is appended.

- IV-91. NUMATA, Masatsugu. *Minshu shakai-shugi to shakai minshu-shugi* (民主社会主義と社会民主主義). Minshu Shakai Kyōkai. 1954. 48 p. DLC

A simple exposition of the differences between "social democracy" and "democratic socialism" according to theory—on world outlook, conception of the state, democracy, political activity, organization—and according to policy—diplomacy, defense, economics, labor, agriculture, the JCP and revolution.

- IV-92. OHASHI, Seiichi. *Heiwa kakumei to rōdō kumiai*. See no. III-86.

- IV-93. *Shakai-tō Kyōsan-tō no seikaku to senryaku no kaibō* (社会党共産党の性格と戦略の解剖). 1947. 113 p. Compiled by Jikyoku Geppō-sha. 自由国民 6. MH; NNC

Essays on the SDP and JCP, their character, and strategy, the "peaceful revolution" concept of the JCP. The JCP is reviewed by the former communist Nabeyama; the SDP is evaluated by newspaper reporters.

- IV-94. SUZUKI, Mosaburō, *et. al.* *Shakai-shugi-teki seifu ga dekitara* (社会主義的政府が出来たら). Rōdō Bunka-sha. 1947. 129 p. TUS

A panel discussion among certain members of the SDP generally associated with the leftwing and the Rōdōsha Nōmin-tō. The discussion was led by Itō Kōdō, the chairman of the SDP Policy Planning Board in 1955-56 and a member of the Suzuki group in the SDP. The topics range from a definition of the then changing circumstances in early postwar years, referred to as a revolution, the democratic people's republic which they claim should be established, food policy, unemployment problems, the revision of the Meiji Constitution, a planned economy, the land reform program, and the improvement of science. This is one of the few pamphlets containing the early postwar opinions of the leaders of the SDP.

- IV-95. TAKANA, Minoru. For several books on the strategy of the labor movement see nos. VI-98-VI-103.

- IV-96. *Tōitsu e no ayumi* (統一への歩み). Nihon Shakai-tō (Left). Kyōiku Senden-kyoku. [1955]. 182 p. Compiled by Nihon Shakai-tō Tōitsu Jumbi Inkai. PC

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"Steps toward unification" is the record of the unification process from the Left SDP point of view. Rather than a mere chronological statement each chapter takes up a specific topic: the unification policies of both the left and rightwing SDP, a chronological statement of unification negotiations, the problem of including the pro-Communist Rōnō-tō in the unified party, the platform and policy sub-committee deliberations, the theory of organization of the SDP, the controversy as to the merits of the unification by both left and rightwing SDP leaders such as Nishio, Kōno, and Yamabana through periodical articles, newspaper comments, and essays published in internal party circulars, and the opinions of scholars and labor leaders toward unification.

The platform and policies sub-committee deliberations give the right and leftwing stands separately on selected topics. This is a useful summary.

Appended is a chronology of the postwar SDP and a summary of platform and policy sub-committee problems.

This book should be read in conjunction with the rightwing version of the unification negotiations. (See no. IV-89).

- IV-97. TSUSHIMA, Tadayuki. *Minshu-shugi kakumei-ron* (民主主義革命論). Kadokawa Shoten. 1949. 243 p. DLC; IEN

"On the democratic revolution" is a study of strategy. More or less a theoretical analysis of the entire Marxist approach. While stating that under certain conditions Marxism envisions the possibility of a peaceful revolution, the author doubts that these conditions prevail in Japan.

- IV-98. TSUSHIMA, Tadayuki. *Nihon ni okeru Marukusu-shugi* (日本に於けるマルクス主義). Sangen-sha. 1949. 294 p. 三元選書 2.

CSt-H; DLC; MH; MiU

"Marxism in Japan" consists of two main parts: a criticism of the strategy and tactics of the SDP, JCP, and the Rōnō-tō in the postwar period; and a criticism of the postwar New Rōnō faction (Shin-Rōnō-ha) concerning the interpretation of capitalism in Japan. Tsushima accepts the theories of Marx and Lenin but appears to differ with the JCP in their application. The first part on the criticism of parties is, according to Tsushima, a continuation of an earlier work, *Minshu-shugi kakumei-ron —senryaku-ron-teki kenkyū* (See no. IV-97), while the second part is an extension of *Nihon shihon-shugi ronsō shiron*. See no. IV-137)

- IV-99. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi. *Nihon minshu kakumei-ron* (日本民主革命論). Kōdo-sha. 1947. 311 p. CSt-H; MH; NNC

Fifteen essays published by the author during the first two years after 1945 on the democratic revolution and the democratic front, political parties and the labor unions. It includes a number of essays on the abortive "democratic front" advocated by Yamakawa in 1946.

- IV-100. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi and others. *Nihon no kakumei o kataru* (日本の革命を語る). Itagaki Shoten. 1948. 374 p. CSt-H; CtY; DLC; MH; NNC

A panel discussion on revolution in general and of its application to postwar Japan from the Marxist labor-farmer faction standpoint. Yamakawa is a leading figure in this group. The discussion includes the revolutionary theories of both the JCP and SDP and the Marxist labor-farmer faction.

- IV-101. YAMAUCHI, Fusakichi. *Marukusu-shugi seiji-gaku* (マルクス主義政治学). Sangen-sha. 1949. 229 p. 三元選書 1 DLC

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“The political science of Marxism” is a systematization of the political theory of Marxism from a leftwing standpoint. The book is divided into three main sections: theory of the state; revolution (including the democratic and socialist revolutions, and strategy and tactics); political parties (including the definition of a “workers” party), relations with the SDP and party activities. The appendices are three essays on fascism, democracy and dictatorship, education of the worker, and history of the labor movement.

ii. Japanese Communist Party

IV-102. HAYASHI, Hisao. *Tō tōitsu no dōhyō* (党統一の道標). n.p. [1951]. 66 p. PC

An analysis of the factional strife in the JCP since the 1950 criticism of the JCP by the Cominform ending with an appeal for the real unification of the JCP upon the 29th anniversary of the founding of the JCP. It appears this pamphlet was a privately sponsored publication for it does not have the usual identification label at the end of the pamphlet. It was used most probably for private distribution in the JCP for individual political purposes.

IV-103. HIRASAWA, Saburō. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō wa nani o yōkyū-suru ka-tō kōdō kōryō kaisetsu* (日本共産党は何を要求するか—党行動綱領解説). Nihon Kyōsan-tō Shuppan-bu. 1946. 63 p. CSt-H; MH

An explanation of the JCP's “action policy.” It is one of the earlier postwar expositions of the party's stand on the Emperor system, its international position, the land problem, etc. Although the author is mentioned as a JCP member he is not further identifiable; Hirasawa is most probably a pseudonym. It is significant that this pamphlet has the approval of and was published by the JCP.

IV-104. ITO, Ritsu. *Heiwa to minzoku dokuritsu to minshu-shugi no tame ni* (平和と民族独立と民主主義のために—For peace, national independence and democracy). Tama Shobō. 1948. 40 p. NNC

IV-105. ITO, Ritsu. *Nihon ni okeru jimin minshu-shugi no tembō* (日本における人民民主主義の展望). Nakamori Shoten. 1949. 149 p. CSt-H; MH

“The development of democracy in Japan” is an interpretation by a ranking JCP member of domestic and international trends, JCP-SDP cooperation in working for a common objective, rural democracy, and the revolutionary alliance between the workers and farmers.

IV-106. ITO, Ritsu. *Nōgyō kakumei no kihon mondai* (農業革命の基本問題). Kenshin-sha. 1948. 232 p. MH

“The basic problem of the agricultural revolution” is principally a postwar analysis and communist interpretation of the problem in Japan.

IV-107. KADA, Tetsuji. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō no senryaku senjutsu* (日本共産党の戦略戦術). Minshu Nihon Kyōkai. 1952. 173 p. CSt-H

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A critical treatise on the strategy and tactics of the JCP by a social philosopher of Keiō University and editorial writer for the *Yomiuri shimbun*.

- IV-108. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Jinmin-teki minshu-shugi no sho-mondai* (人民の民主主義の諸問題). Dōyū-sha. 1947. 104 p. DLC; NNC

Collection of essays on the people's democracy and new democracy and strategy, peaceful revolution, and the "new state," written during the postwar years.

- IV-109. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Kakumei riron no shinka no tame ni* (革命理論の深化のために). Gyōmei-sha. 1950. 293 p. CSt-H; DLC; MH; MiU

A collection of articles written before, during, and after the war on "the deepening of the revolutionary theory." Some of the chapters are: a fundamental problem concerning a revolution, the lessons of the Russian revolution, the characteristics of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, characteristics of a socialist revolution, strategy and tactics and the Stalinist method, the peaceful revolution and the general strike, the new forms of struggle in the labor movement, armed uprisings, a new era and a new struggle. It is critical of the Shiga theory which had been steadfastly opposed by Kamiyama during the postwar years.

- IV-110. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Kokka riron* (国家理論). Iwasaki Shoten. 1950. 160 p. 岩崎真理叢書 CSt-H; DLC

"Theory of the state" is a refutation of the labor-farmer group and Kōza faction by a prominent member of the JCP. All the essays were written prior to the Comintern criticism of the JCP in early 1950.

- IV-111. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Nihon-teki higeiki no kokufuku no tame ni* (日本の悲劇の克服の為に). San'ichi Shobō. 1949. 180 p. CSt-H; DLC; MH

"To overcome the 'Japanese' tragedy" is composed of two parts: the first, according to Kamiyama, is the greater part of a statement he made to the Japanese court on Aug. 17, 1945 entitled "the termination of the war and the mission of the Japanese working classes"; the second, a series of essays on the solution of the tragedy written at various times during the postwar years. Appended are the author's views on "internationalism and nationalism."

- IV-112. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Sengo Nihon kokka no sho-mondai* (戦後日本国家の諸問題). Aoki Shoten. 1954. 412 p. 社会科選書 CtY

The strategy and tactics to be followed by the JCP as advocated by Kamiyama. In general he covers three main subjects: the postwar Japanese state, the agricultural problem, and the problem concerning the people's democracy. Under the chapter on the Japanese state, the Emperor system, the national problem (*minzoku mondai*), changes in the structure of the state, and MSA assistance and the Japanese state are analyzed. Under agriculture the relation between capitalism and agriculture is discussed, the JCP position explained, the fundamental demands of the peasants and the land reform reviewed, and a strengthening of worker-peasant cooperation urged. Half of the chapter on the people's democracy is devoted to criticism of the JCP in 1950, the opinion voiced at the 19th Plenum of the JCP Central Committee while the latter describes the situation in Eastern Europe, colonies, and the capitalist countries. Appended is Kamiyama's criticism of the draft thesis of the JCP (*tēze sōan*) and the opinions expressed at the 19th Plenum of the Central Committee on the nature of present state authority in Japan and revolutionary strategy.

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IV-113. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Tōitsu senjutsu no sho-mondoi*. See no. IV-59.

IV-114. KAZAHAYA, Yasoji. *Heiwa-teki keitai ni okeru kakumei to han-kakumei* (平和的形態に於る革命と反革命). Sovueto Bunka-sha. 1948. 338 p.
CSt-H; MH; NNC

"Revolution and counter-revolution" is a series of articles written between Nov. 1945 and Sept. 1946. They concern principally the period after May 1946 when the "reactionary forces began to utilize the objective conditions to strengthen their position." Kazahaya regards this as the second historical period after the 1945 surrender. Specifically, the articles deal with the nature of the democratic revolution, labor, bureaucracy, financial, agrarian, and cultural problems.

IV-115. *Kokka kenryoku ni kansuru Tokuda-shi no gobyū* (国家権力に関する徳田氏の誤謬). n.p. [1951?]. 31 p. PC

A critical analysis of Tokuda's ideas on the nature of state authority as expressed in the 1950 JCP Draft Thesis. This is also a pamphlet printed presumably for private circulation and for political purposes.

IV-116. MAKINO, Kenji. *Teikoku-shugi bika-ron no keifu* (帝国主義美化論の系譜). Taiichi Shobō. 1951. 167 p. PC

A critical analysis of Nozaka's postwar "peaceful revolution" theory.

IV-117. MIYAMOTO, Kenji. *Kakumei no tembō—Jimmin-teki minshu-shugi kakumei no tembō* (革命の展望—人民的民主主義革命の展望). Shinri-sha. 2948. 158 p. Enlarged edition. DLC; MH

"Outlook on a democratic people's revolution" is an exposition of communist strategy and tactics in postwar Japan, by the then chairman of the JCP Control Commission.

IV-118. MIYAMOTO, Kenji. *Minshu kakumei no sho-mondai* (民主革命の諸問題). Shinri-sha. 1948. 258 p. DLC; MH

A series of articles by a leading Japanese Communist on the strategy and tactics of the Japanese revolution; a criticism of the Emperor system, the new constitution, lèse majeste, the SDP, democratic fronts, the general elections, the Katayama Cabinet, and basic policy of the JCP toward the SDP, the partisanship (*tōha-sei*) of newspapers and the cultural revolution. These articles originally appeared in the JCP party organ *Akahata*, *Zen'ei*, *Shinjin*, *Tokyo shimbun*, and *Kaihō*.

IV-119. NAKANISHI, Kō. *Minshu-shugi Nihon no dōhyō* (民主主義日本の道標). Kawaguchi Shoten. 1946. 187 p. MH

A series of articles written between Oct. 10, 1945 and March 1946 on the democratic revolution, the democratic united front, the basic nature of the present revolution, the characteristics of the prevailing political situation, the significance of the April 1946 general elections and the new offensive of the new reactionary forces. Nakanishi, once a prominent member of the JCP during the postwar years but later expelled from the JCP, participated in anti-war and JCP activities, worked for the South Manchurian Railway and the Ohara Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjo before the war.

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- IV-120. NAKANISHI, Kō. *Minshu-shugi to shakai-shugi no tame ni* (民主主義と社会主義のために). Miyahara Shoin. 1949. 273 p. MH

Record of speeches given by the author during 1949: an evaluation of the results of the third postwar election at which time the JCP considerably increased its Diet membership; a critical essay on national unity coalition governments; the Japanese peace conference and world peace; postwar monopoly capitalism, the social basis of the reactionary offensive; the economic policies of the Katayama Cabinet; and the two choices facing the Japanese people.

- IV-121. NAKANISHI, Kō. *Sengo Nihon kakumei no seishitsu to Nihon Kyōsan-tō no kōryō senjutsu senryaku ni tsuite—Nakanishi ikensho* (戦後日本革命の性質と日本共産党の綱領戦術戦略について—中西意見書). Takada Shoten. 1950. 392 p. CLSU, CSt-H; MH; NNC

On the nature of the postwar revolution in Japan and on the program, tactics, and strategy of the JCP by a former member of the JCP and House of Councillors. It is a compilation of the author's views in his extended policy controversy with the Tokuda-Nozaka leadership group since immediately after World War II. This disagreement finally led to his expulsion from the JCP and his resignation from the House of Councillors.

- IV-222. NAKANISHI, Kō. *Shakai minshu-shugi to shin minshu-shugi* (社会民主主義と新民主主義). Itō Shoten. 1948. 220 p. 人民群書

CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

A criticism of social democracy in Japan (i.e. organizational problems of the SDP, the Katayama Cabinet), and the exposition of the "new democracy." Appended is a critique of the former communist Sano Manabu. Nakanishi, although a leading member of the postwar JCP, was expelled in 1950 for "leftwing deviation."

- IV-123. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō tōnai tōsō bunken-shū* (日本共産党党内斗争文献集). Seikatsu Shoten. 1950. 126 p. 2 v. CSt-H (v. 1)

Collection of documents on the JCP during 1950 when the Comintern criticised its policies. Divided into four parts: 1) From the criticism by the Comintern to the June 6 statement by the JCP; 2) Omitted; 3) The next Comintern statement on the Japanese problem and statements of the Main Stream (Shuryū-ha) and Internationalist factions (Kokusai-ha) of the JCP in June—July, 1950; and 4) The appeals voiced by the Chinese Communists and the resultant intra-party dissension. Part 1 only is included in v. 1.

- IV-124. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. *Jūkyū Chū-Sō ni teishutsu-sareta tēze sōan to sono hihan iken* (十九中総に提出せられたテーゼ草案と其批判意見). June 6, 1950. 184 p. 日本共産党々内資料 CSt-H

The revised 1950 draft which is known as *Tōrai-suru kakumei ni okeru Nihon Kyōsan-tō no kihon-teki nimmu ni tsuite* is the result of a JCP Poliburo meeting and the 19th Plenum of the Central Committee. The various critical statements by Kamiyama, Shiga, Miyamoto, Kurahara, Kasuga, and others are included in this book. In view of the fact that the critical comments of the leaders of the JCP are included this booklet is an extremely important document of the postwar period. Although the book is concerned with strategy and tactics there is also included an analysis of the international and domestic situations upon which their strategy was based.

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IV-125. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. IWATE CHIHO IINKAI. SENDEN-BU. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō kōdō kōryō hayawakari* (日本共産党行動綱領早わかり—A brief survey of the platform and principles of the JCP and party regulations). Morioka. 1947. 40 p. CST-H

IV-126. *Nihon seinen sokoku sensen kettei hōkoku-shū* (日本青年祖国戦線決定報告集). [August 1950]. 193 p. Edited by Committee for Propaganda and Education of the Japan Youth Fatherland Front. PC

“A very detailed record of the inaugural congress [of the Fatherland Front] (April 1950) and first national conference of the revolutionary, communist-front organization established in 1950 as part of the JCP's campaign for a People's Democratic Front. Contains the official history of the organization, its program, reports of its seven sub-committees, summaries of numerous resolutions adopted at the congress, messages from friendly organizations (such as JCP) and so forth. Excellent material for a study of the JCP's anti-U.S., revolutionary tactics in 1950 and its propaganda among young people.” (Langer and Swearingen)

IV-127. NOZAKA, Sanzō. *Nihon minshu-ka no tame ni* (日本民主化のために). Jimmin-sha. 1948. 216 p. CLSU; CST-H; DLC; IEN; MH; NNC

Seventeen articles and speeches by the second ranking member of the JCP made during the years, 1936-47. Since they were chosen from among many they can be regarded as descriptive of the lines of thinking of the Nozaka group in the JCP. Contents: a letter to Japanese communists (Feb. 1936, Moscow); the urgent mission confronting the revolutionary proletariat in Japan (North China, 1940); to the Japanese people on the sixth anniversary of the Sino-Japanese Incident (Yenan, 1943); the establishment of a democratic Japan (May 1945, Yenan); toward a democratic front (Jan. 1946, Tokyo); address to members of the JCP (Jan. 1946, Tokyo); concerning the convention declaration (Feb. 1946, Japan); revolution by peaceful means (May 1946, Japan); general strikes and the labor union movement (Apr. 1946, Japan); the importance of leaders (June 1946, Japan); be a party of the people (Oct. 1946, Japan); what is “political” (Feb. 1947, Japan); learn from the elections (May 1947, Japan); the problem of strategy and tactics (3rd plenum of the JCP central committee); toward a thoroughly democratic constitution (June—Aug. 1946, Diet, Tokyo).

IV-128. NOZAKA, Sanzō. *Senryaku senjutsu no sho-mondai* (戦略戦術の諸問題). Nagami Shobō. 1949. 295 p. IEN; MH; NNC

Articles and essays by Nozaka, the second-ranking member of the JCP at the time, from his “letter to Japanese communists” written in Moscow in 1936 to his world outlook in 1949. In January 1950 Nozaka was criticized by the Cominform as “anti-democratic, anti-socialist, anti-patriotic, and anti-Japanese.” Notwithstanding this attack he remained a ranking member of the JCP. Because of his position and the type of material in his book the table of contents as translated by Langer and Swearingen in their bibliography on Japanese communism is reproduced here.

Strategy and tactics

- A letter to the Japanese Communists (Moscow, 1936)
- The establishment of a democratic Japan (Yenan, 1945)
- Toward a democratic front (Tokyo, Jan. 26, 1946)
- Proclamation of the fifth party congress (Tokyo, Feb. 25, 1946)
- On the party proclamation (Feb. 1946)
- On a democratic front (Feb. 1946)

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Concerning strategy and tactics (April 1948)

On the peaceful development of revolution (May 1947)

Problems of the Emperor system under the new constitution

For the people's happiness (March 1946)

The conservative and progressive nature of the draft constitution (Aug. 27, 1946)

The disguised Emperor system (Sept. 20, 1946)

How has the Emperor system changed? (Sept. 1946)

Opposition to the Imperial Household Law (Jan. 1947)

Problems of Japanese fascism

The characteristics of New Fascism (Aug. 1948)

What is the Imperial Rule Movement (Taisei yokusan undō)? (Yenan, Oct. 27, 1940).

On the Socialist Party

On the anti-people's character of the Katayama Cabinet (Sept. 18, 1947)

Where is social democracy going? (July 30, 1947)

Communist party strategy

A party of all the people (Oct. 1946)

The political significance of the general strike. (Jan. 26, 1947)

Become political! (Feb. 10, 1947)

How can the party be made into a mass party? (May 11, 1947)

Return from Hokkaido (Aug. 16, 1948)

Conquer two tendencies! (Nov. 12, 1948)

Diet activities and the struggle for political power (March 1949)

A report on Diet activities (June 22, 1949)

Why advance trade between China and Japan? (May 1949)

Do basic work! (Sept. 4, 1948)

The world view

The outlook for 1949 (Jan. 1, 1949)

The development of the October Revolution—the significance of the victory of the Chinese Communist Party (Nov. 7, 1948)

Epilogue (Sept. 1949)

IV-129. RÔDÔ UNDÔ KENKYŪ-KAI. *Kenkyū shiryō—Shiga senryaku no riron-teki sei-ji-teki hasan* (研究資料—志賀戦略の理論的政治的破産). n.p. [1951?]. 43 p. PC

“The theoretical and political collapse of Shiga's theory” is a critical analysis of Shiga's ideas from the Kamiyama Shigeo point of view. Though only 43 pages long the print is very small and at times hardly legible.

IV-130. SHIGA, Yoshio. *Kokka-ron* (国家論). Nauka-sha. 1949. 202 p. ナウカ講座 10 CSt-H; CtY; DLC; MH; MiU

Record of two lectures on the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of state, the Japanese theory, and the postwar theory of the state. These essays are representative of Shiga's theories.

IV-131. SHIGA, Yoshio. *Sekai to Nihon* (世界と日本). Gyōmei-sha. 1948. 218 p. CLSU; CSt-H; DLC; MH

Collection of theoretical articles written in 1946–48 on the controversial 1927 and 1932 theses and “a critical analysis of Kamiyama Shigeo's point of view which, in the author's opinion, threatened to become “the theoretical foundation for a harmful political deviation.” (Langer and Swearingen)

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IV-132. TOKUDA, Kyūichi. *Naigai jōsei to Nihon Kyōsan-tō no nimmu* (内外情勢と日本共産党の任務). Shinri-sha. 1949. 282 p. 書記長報告集 1 (1945-48)
CLSU; CSt-H; CU; DLC

MH; MiU; MnU; NNC

General reports (or summaries) by Tokuda to high level party meetings, such as the plenum of the central committee, or the national conventions between Nov. 8, 1945 and Oct. 24, 1948 on the foreign and domestic situation and tasks of the JCP. A useful book for source materials.

IV-133. TOKUDA, Kyūichi. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō no shin- kōryō no kiso* (日本共産党の新綱領の基礎). Kokumin Tsūshin-sha. 1951. 31 p. CLSU; CSt-H

The JCP party platform as broadcast by the Moscow and Peking radios in Feb. 1952 and appearing in the organs of the Cominform. "The new platform of the JCP" as appended was according to a broadcast from Moscow on Nov. 7, 1951.

IV-134. TOKUDA, Kyūichi. *Sokoku kaihō no tame ni—Nihon Kyōsan-tō 30 shūnen ni saishite* (祖国解放のために—日本共産党 30 周年に際して). Sundai-sha. 1952. 62 p. CLSU; CSt-H

Essays by Tokuda on "the liberation of the fatherland" in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the JCP.

B. Interpretations of Capitalist Development and the Nature of the State in Japan

In the aftermath of World War I the development of the Japanese economy came under searching scrutiny by liberal economists, such as Takahashi Kamekichi in the beginning, and later by Marxian economists. The controversy over the interpretation of the stage of development and direction in which Japanese capitalism was progressing became more and more intense especially after the announcement of the 1927 and the 1932 JCP theses. The lively debate was brought to an abrupt close when the prewar Japanese Government arrested the principal Marxian economists in the mid-1930's.

Historically, the economic controversy over Japanese capitalism was preceded by a debate on the organization of a proletarian political party, the strategy and tactics of the anticipated revolution and on the nature of the state in Japan. Although it is admitted that the economic and political analyses of the situation in Japan are so closely inter-related as to sometimes defy satisfactory division, only the economic analyses of capitalism and the interpretations of the nature of the state are included in this section. While the preceding section pertains to the controversy regarding when and how a certain political objective and action are to be carried out, this section deals with the question of what is the factual situation upon which the

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validity of the strategy and tactics advocated by one or another school of Marxists, including the JCP, will be based.

Except for the earliest years in the 1920's, this polemic has been carried on, not among non-Marxist scholars but between two schools of Marxist scholars. They advocated, criticized and counter-criticized each other principally through periodical literature. After publication, the principal articles and essays have usually been published in book form. Although this section has not listed any periodical articles, it does include the works of the principal contributors to the controversy.* There may be some deficiencies, however, in the compilation of the postwar interpretations since not enough time has elapsed to bring together in regular publications all the outstanding essays on this subject.

In such a short introductory note only the factual highlights of this intricate controversy can be noted here. When Takahashi Kamekichi announced his theories on the international position of Japanese capitalism, he was opposed by Noro Eitarō and Inomata Tsunao, both Marxists, but with different emphases. Their differences have never been reconciled and their successors are still contending. This three-way debate opened up a new examination of the Japanese economy. It became the forerunner of the now famous "Shihon-shugi ronsō" (controversy over capitalism) about which many books have been written and for which many scholars have devoted their entire lives to academic research and suffered persecution by the Japanese Government.

While Inomata advocated that Japanese capitalism in the 1920's had entered the monopolistic stage, that finance capitalism had been established, and that Japan had become a modern imperialistic nation, Noro agreed but added that the gradually widening gap between Japan's very small-scale agriculture and highly productive industry had caused an imbalance driving Japan's backward capitalism into the imperialistic stage.

Inomata's theories are brought together in *Gendai Nihon kenkyū* (IV-53) and *Nihon musan kaikyū no senryaku* (IV-163).

In July 1929 the so-called 1929 JCP Thesis advocating a "bourgeois-democratic revolution" was announced. In opposition to this, Inomata, together with several others, announced the publication of a theoretical journal, the *Rōnō*, advocating the overthrow of the "imperialistic bourgeoisie" and a socialist revolution. Hereafter this group was known as the *Rōnō* School, taking its name from the journal.

As the controversy progressed it became more necessary to decide upon the character of agriculture in the Japanese economy as a deciding factor in the type of strategy to be adopted. Noro had advocated that

* Other than the bibliographies mentioned in the text, the bibliography compiled by Charles F. Remer and Saburō Kawai entitled *Japanese economics: A guide to Japanese reference and research materials*, Ann Arbor, Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1956, 91 p. Bibliographical series no. 5, has a highly selected group of articles on this controversy but with no annotations.

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there was a predominant influence of feudal power in the modernizing of Japan during and after the Meiji Restoration and even as late as the 1920's. Kushida Tamizō opposed this theory and published an essay in June 1930 on the characteristics of farm rent in Japan. He defined farm rent in Japan as being neither capitalistic nor feudalistic but "pre-capitalistic." His theories were developed by other members of the Rōnō School such as Sakisaka Itsurō and Tsuchiya Takao.

The Rōnō School claimed that the feudalistic element in modern Japanese society was not so fundamental but merely a "feudalistic institutional legacy" (*hōken-teki isei*). They recognized that stronger feudal relations existed between the landlord and tenant but adamantly maintained that the diffusion of a commercial economy and the increase of wage workers in the rural areas, for instance, were definite signs of the influence of capitalist development. They believed rentals were based on money value calculations.

The Rōnō School believed the bourgeois dictatorship had been completed and, therefore, advocated a socialist revolution.

Because of the emphasis on feudalism, the capitalism controversy has also called the "feudalism controversy" (*hōken ronsō*).

The 1932 JCP Thesis characterized Japan as an absolute state based on three elements: the Emperor system, land ownership and monopoly capitalism. Just before the 1932 Thesis was announced, Noro Eitarō had begun directing the writing of an ambitious series of short essays on the development of capitalism in Japan called the *Nihon shihon-shugi hattatsu-shi kōza* (IV-185). In general, the series is regarded as attempting to justify the 1932 Thesis. Hereafter, the scholars who participated in this series have been known as the Kōza School taking the last word in the title of their series.

One of the chief exponents of the Kōza School after 1932 was Yamada Moritarō who contributed three essays to this series. These were later published as *Nihon shihon-shugi bunseki* (IV-196) and now are regarded as one of the basic texts of the Kōza viewpoint. The principal representative of the Rōnō School was Sakisaka Itsurō whose collected essays were published in *Nihon shihon-shugi no sho-mondai* (IV-190). Kushida Tamizō's agricultural essays were published in *Nōgyō mondai* (IV-187).

In July 1936, the principal leaders of the Kōza School, such as Yamada, Hirano Yoshitarō, Kobayashi Ryōsei, and Aikawa Haruki were arrested by the Japanese Government. A little more than a year later, in connection with the Popular Front incident, the leaders of the Rōnō School were also arrested. For all intents and purposes this brought to an end the inconclusive debate on the development of capitalism and the nature of the state in prewar Japan.

With the termination of the Pacific War in 1945, this cleavage of scholarly opinion was revived with the addition on both sides of a new and young generation of economists. The central theme of both contending

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groups has been maintained with certain modifications. In the postwar period the Rōnō School supported the leftwing SDP and became the source of Left SDP interpretations of the Japanese state and economy.

In evaluating the merits of the long controversy between the Kōza and Rōnō Schools, Tsuchiya Takao, a leading economist of the latter school, stated in his book, *Nihon shihon-shugi-shi ron-shū* that "scientific knowledge of modern Japanese history was undoubtedly fostered as a result of the controversy over capitalism." (p. 4)

1. Histories, Bibliographies and Chronologies

a. Histories

- IV-135. KOYAMA, Hirotake. *Nihon shihon-shugi ronsō-shi* (日本資本主義論争史). Aoki Shoten. 1953. 2 v. 青木文庫 93.118 CSSt-H

History of the controversy concerning the interpretation of the development of Japanese capitalism. Koyama is a staunch follower of the Kamiyama group in the JCP. Although this is one of the most thorough histories on the subject it is written in an unwieldy style.

Volume 1 on the prewar period is an enlarged revision of the author's earlier history published in the name of the Shakai Keizai Rōdō Kenkyū-jo (See no. IV-136).

Volume 2 covers the postwar period from 1945 to 1953.

- IV-136. SHAKAI KEIZAI RŌDŌ KENKYŪJO. *Nihon shihon-shugi ronsō shi* (日本資本主義論争史). Itō Shoten. 1947. 273 p. CSSt-H; DLC; MiU

History of the polemics concerning the interpretation of the development of capitalism in Japan from a radical leftwing standpoint. The study covers the period, 1930 to 1945, with a short section on postwar developments.

- IV-137. TSUSHIMA, Tadayuki. *Nihon shihon-shugi ronsō shiron* (日本資本主義論争史論). Kōdo-sha. 1948. 361 p. DLC

History of the prewar controversy on the interpretation of capitalism in Japan from the Rōnō faction's standpoint.

- IV-138. UCHIDA, Jōkichi. *Nihon shihon-shugi ronsō* (日本資本主義論争). Seiwa Shoten. 1937. 293 p. CtY; CU; DLC; MH; NNC

History of the controversy over the "correct" interpretation of capitalism between the Kōza faction and the Rōnō faction from the JCP point of view.

- IV-139. UCHIDA, Jōkichi. *Nihon shihon-shugi ronsō* (日本資本主義論争). Shinkō Shuppan-sha. 1949. 2 v. CSSt-H; CtY (v. 1); MiU (v. 1); MH; WaU

Also published in 1952 by same publishers under same title but with Nakano Jirō as co-author. CSSt-H; DLC

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Two volume history of the controversy on the interpretation of capitalism in Japan. Volume 1 is a revision of the author's book by the same title published in 1937. Volume 2 is a review of the postwar problems from the standpoint of Shiga Yoshio, prominent member of the JCP. Appended to volume 2 are complete texts of several basic documents in the controversy: the 1922 draft thesis, the 1927, 1931, and 1932 theses, and various other documents including the principal postwar documents at the time of publication.

- IV-140. UCHIDA, Jōkichi and FURUHATA, Yoshikazu. *Sengo Nihon no seiji to keizai—Minzoku-teki mondai, nōgyō mondai o megutte* (戦後日本の政治と経済—民族の問題, 農業問題をめぐって). Shinkō Shuppan-sha. 1953. 444 p.

CtY; DLC

Communist interpretation of postwar politics and economics. Specifically it treats the controversy on the democratic revolution, democratization and de-militarization, the Emperor system, the debates within the JCP between Kamiyama and Shiga on the Emperor system, inflation and the "military budget" and a criticism of the prewar stand of the Kōza faction. The second half is concerned with the national liberation (*minzoku kaihō*) of Japan and people's democracy, the domination of the Japanese economy by Japanese and U.S. monopoly capitalism and the reactionary character of the postwar land reform program.

b. Bibliographies

- IV-141. ITANI, Zen'ichi. *Nihon shihon-shugi—sono rekishi, kikō, kaizō* (日本資本主義—其歴史, 機構, 改造). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1928. DLC

This bibliography (p. 347-66), an appendix to the book, is divided according to chapters in the book with mention mainly of Japanese sources for the first section on the history of Japanese capitalism. The items under chapter nine are pertinent as they pertain to the rise of "class antagonism" in Japan. Almost all references in later sections are to western language sources.

- IV-142. KAYAMA, Hirotake. *Nihon shihon-shugi ronsō-shi* (日本資本主義論争史). Aoki Shoten. 1953. 2 v. 青木文庫 93, 118 CSt-H; DLC

A detailed unannotated bibliography is appended to each volume of this history of of the controversy. The bibliography on the prewar controversy (18 p.), —1930-1945— is divided according to year and then by month of publication. The bibliography in the postwar volume (41 p.) is divided according to topics: basic documents, theory of state, agriculture, methodology in the study of capitalism, Bakumatsu-Meiji Restoration problem, and state monopoly capitalism. In both bibliographies articles and books are separated under each year or topic heading, and where the article or book is quoted in the text the appropriate page number is given.

- IV-143. SHAKAI KEIZAI RODŌ KKENYŪ-JŌ. *Nihon shihon-shugi ronsō-shi* (日本資本主義論争史). Itō Shoten. 1947. 273 p. CSt-H; DLC; MiU;

A thorough bibliography is appended (p. 235-258) with an emphasis on the period between 1932 and 1937. The list is divided into 1) the embryonic period, 2) the main period, 1932-37, 3) the third period, 1938-44, and 4) the postwar period. Each of these sections is in turn divided into articles and books.

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- IV-144. TSUSHIMA, Tadayuki. *Nihon shihon-shugi ronsō shiron* (日本資本主義論争史論). Kōdo-sha. 361 p. DLC

On p. 345-361 is a bibliography somewhat shorter than the one by Uchida on the controversy regarding Japanese capitalism. The bibliography includes both prewar and postwar items and is divided by authors.

- IV-145. UCHIDA, Jōkichi. *Nihon shihon-shugi ronsō* (日本資本主義論争). Shinkō Shuppan-sha. 1949. 2 v. CSt-H; DLC; MH; MiU (v. 1); WaU

Appended is an unannotated bibliography (v. 2: p. 395-421) covering the years 1922 to 1949. The bibliography includes both books and magazine articles (the latter comprise the majority), arranged chronologically. Each year is roughly divided into the communist writers and Rōnō faction, dissolutionists, and Trotskyists. The latter group has been more or less omitted during the postwar years.

- IV-146. UCHIDA, Jōkichi and NAKANO, Jirō. *Nihon shihon-shugi ronō* (日本資本主義論争). Shinkō Shuppan-sha. 1952. 2 v. CSt-H; DLC

Appended (p. 315-329) to each volume is a bibliography on the prewar, wartime and postwar controversies on the interpretation of Japanese capitalism. The history of the controversies, which comprises the main part of the book, is written from the communist point of view. The bibliography divided chronologically includes items on the "theoretical struggle" between Marxist-Leninist theory and social democracy, dissolutionism, and Trotskyism.

c. *Chronologies*

- IV-147. KOYAMA, Hirotake. *Nihon shihon-shugi ronsō-shi* (日本資本主義論争史). Aoki Shoten. 1953. 2 v. 青木文庫 93, 118 CSt-H

A chronology from 1927 to 1952 is appended to volume 2 on pages 303 to 313.

2. Prewar Interpretations

a. *Pre-1932*

- IV-148. FUKUMOTO, Kazuo. *Keizai-gaku hihan no hōhō-ron* (経済学批判の方法論). Hakuyō-sha. 1926. 439 p. CSt-H; CU

Exposition of the Marxist-Communist-methodology of economic criticism. "Keizai-gaku hihan no hōhō-ron (経済学批判の方法論)," in *Shakai kagaku*, Apr.-July 1927.

According to Koyama in his history of the controversy, this essay, "The methodology of economic criticism," has had considerable influence over Marxists and others and presents a fundamental criticism of the methodology used by previous authors such as Sano Manabu, Takahashi Kamekichi, and Honjō Eijirō.

- IV-149. HIRABAYASHI, Hatsunosuke. *Nihon jiyū-shugi hattatsu-shi* (日本自由主義発達史). Hihon Hyōron-sha. 1924. 65 p. CSt-H; DLC

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An early study of the Meiji period from the point of view of historical materialism. The pamphlet consists of two parts: from the collapse of feudalism to the establishment of the clan government, and from clan despotism to the rise of liberalism. It is one of the first liberal studies in the post-World War I years to attempt a more thorough analysis than had hitherto been attempted of the modernization of Japan during the Meiji era. In a way it carries on where Sano and Honjō terminated their early studies of Japanese society.

- IV-150. HONJŌ, Eijirō. *Nihon shakai-shi* (日本社会史). Kaizō-sha. 1926. 270 p. CtY; MiU; NNC

One of the earlier books to make a systematic study of Japanese socio-economic history from the liberal but not Marxian point of view. Honjō attempts an analysis of the pre-Meiji period to see whether this history is exemplified in a class struggle or whether inter-class struggle is greater than intra-class struggle.

- IV-151. INAMURA, Ryūichi. *Nihon ni okeru nōson mondai* (日本に於ける農村問題). Sōbunkaku. 1929. 256 p. CSt-H; CtY; CU; DLC

"Agricultural problems in Japan" is a historical review of the agricultural economy, the land reform during the Meiji Restoration, the development of land ownership in the agricultural economy, the various classes in agriculture, the tenant farmers union and the farm wage laborer, and the form of development of capitalism in agriculture. Inamura was active from his university days in the social movements, was known as a theorist in the farmers movement, was convicted in the Second JCP Incident and later participated in the formation of the Shin-Rōnōtō. In the postwar years he was elected to the Diet on the Left SDP ticket.

- IV-152. INOMATA, Tsunao. *Botsuraku shihon-shugi no dai-san ki—Nihon shihon-shugi wa botsuraku shinai ka* (没落資本主義の三期——日本資本主義は没落しないか——The third stage of capitalism—will capitalism in Japan collapse?). Taishū Kōron-sha. 1930. 367 p. CSt-H; DLC

- IV-153. INOMATA, Tsunao. *Gendai Nihon kenkyū*. See no. IV-53.

- IV-154. INOMATA, Tsunao. *Teikoku-shugi kenkyū* (帝国主義研究). Kaizō-sha. 1928. 402 p. CSt-H

One of the antecedent studies in the controversy on Japanese capitalism. It was one of the first books attempting to criticize and defeat the theories advanced by Takahashi Kamekichi. Specifically this book is a collection of essays which appeared in *Kaizō* and *Shakai kagaku* concerning imperialism; the first two essays are on the Marxian theory on the development of imperialism, the latter four are on the specific issue of Japanese imperialism.

- IV-155. INOMATA, Tsunao. *Nihon no dokusen shihon-shugi. 'Kin'yū shihon no kyōkō taisaku* (日本の独占資本主義, 金融資本の恐慌対策——Monopoly capitalism in Japan. Counter measures of financial capitalism to combat the panic). Namboku Shoin. 1932. 342 p. CSt-H; DLC

- IV-156. ITANI, Zen'ichi. *Meiji ishin keizai-shi* (明治維新経済史). Kaizō-sha. 1928. 340 p. CU; DLC

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A liberal interpretation of the economic history of the Meiji Restoration, divided under the following titles: introduction, the eastern advance of Western imperialism, social classes and their struggles during the latter part of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the ideas of seclusion and its philosophical background, the development of the state during the closing days of the Tokugawa era, the economic policies of the Meiji Restoration Government, the decline of liberalism, and the rise of nationalism. A chronology, bibliography on Meiji economic history, and index are appended.

IV-157. ITANI, Zen'ichi. *Nihon shihon-shugi* (日本資本主義). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1928. 379 p. CSt-H; DLC

On Japanese capitalism, its history, organization and reform. Chapter 9 deals with the emergence of class antagonism and its development in Japan. A bibliography is included at the end of the book mentioning for the most part Japanese sources for the first section, while the bibliographical items for the second and third parts on organization and reform are devoted almost entirely to western language sources.

IV-158. *Marukusu-shugi kōza* (マルクス主義講座). Seiji Hihan-sha. 1927-1929. 13 v. Compiled by Kawakami Hajime and Oyama Ikuo. DLC

A series of essays by radical leftwing writers on Marxism, international developments, the labor movement in Japan, the newspaper, the arts, the farm problem, etc. The several articles on Japanese political and economic history are significant in the capitalism controversy.

Only the titles of essays in each volume believed to be of some interest are translated below.

Vol. 1 (1927). 390 p.

The developmental processes of Marxism. Asano Akira

Religion. Sano Manabu

The Chinese Revolution. Akisasa Masanosuke

The rote and function of the proletarian newspaper. Kadoya Hiroshi.

Vol. 2 (1927). 423 p.

A critique of modern law. Kinoshita Hanji

Theory of war. Sano Manabu

The developmental process of Marxism. Asano Akira

Supplement: Report of the second convention of the Rōdō Nōmin-tō on the history of that party

Vol. 3 (1928). 342 p.

Theory of the class. Wada Eizō

Marxism and the agricultural problem, part 1. Murayama Tōshirō

Vol. 4 (1928). 381 p.

History of the Meiji Restoration, part 1. Hattori Shisō

Marxism and the agricultural problem, part 2. Murayama Tōshirō

History of Japanese strikes. (Supplement)

Vol. 5 (1928). 344 p.

Theory of the state. Sano Manabu

Marxism and the agricultural problem, part 3. Murayama Tōshirō

History of the Meiji Restoration, part 2. Hattori Shisō

Development of Japanese capitalism, part 1. Noro Eitarō

Bucking the current. Oyama Ikuo

Vol. 6 (1928). 350 p.

The various problems in the rationalization of industry. Takamura Yōichi

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Vol. 7 (1928). 347 p.

Tactics and strategy. Murayama Tōshirō

The development of Japanese capitalism, part 2. Noro Eitarō

Propaganda and agitation. Nomura Jōji

Vol. 8 (1928). 363 p.

The farmers' problem in Japan. Kusano Kōichi

Supplement: The Peace Preservation Law

Vol. 9 (1928). Various pagings

The farm village problem in Japan. Kusano Kōichi

Vol. 10 (1928). 370 p.

Political parties. Ryū Toranosuke

The labor union. Okawa Gonzō

The arts. Nakano Shigeharu

Vol. 11 (1928). 398 p.

Imperialism. Hosokawa Karoku

Dialectic materialism and historical materialism, part 1. Saeki Shumpei

Vol. 12 (1928). 350 p. Banned

History of the proletarian movement in Japan, part 1. Yokose Kihachi Dialectic materialism and historical materialism, part 2. Saeki Shumpei

The cooperative. Oyama Yoshio

Vol. 13 (1929). Various pagings. Banned

A critique of democracy. Oyama Ikuo

Parliamentarism. Iwai Yasuo

Development of Japanese capitalism, part 3. Noro Eitarō

Finances of imperialistic Japan. Matsui Tsuyoshi

History of the proletarian movement in Japan, part 2. Yokose Kihachi

IV-159. MORI, Kiichi. *Kyōkō-ri no Nihon shihon-shugi keizai kibō* (恐慌裡の日本資本主義経済解剖). Hakuyō-sha. 1930. 378 p. CSt-H; CtY; DLC; MH

An examination of Japan's capitalistic economy during a depression, its tendency toward the "third stage" in the development of capitalism as conceived by Marxist economists, the processes toward and present stage of the financial oligarchy, and the aggravation of the several internal inconsistencies in the economy.

IV-160. MORI, Kiichi. *Nihon kin'yū shihon seiiji no kaibō* (日本金融資本政治の解剖). Hakuyō-sha. 1931. 315 p. CSt-H; CtY

A Marxian analysis of the gradual establishment of a financial oligarchy in Japan and the displacement of feudalistic political influences and a study of the relations between monopolistic capitalism and financial capital (kin'yū shihon).

IV-161. MORI, Kiichi. *Nihon shihon-shugi hattatsu-shi joron* (日本資本主義発達史序論). Hakuyō-sha. 1932. 302 p. CSt-H; DLC

The first volume of a trilogy on the development of Japanese capitalism. After the introduction there are two main chapters, one on the disintegration of the feudal production and ruling systems, and the other on the establishment of the capitalistic system. According to comments in the book by the police censor, it was written from a historical materialist point of view and accepts the theses of Marx and Lenin in the interpretation of economics.

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- IV-162. NOMURA, Junnosuke.. *Nihon kin'yū shihon hattatsu-shi* (日本金融資本発達史). Kyōseikaku. 1931. 329 p. CSt-H; DLC

Analytical study of the development of finance capital in Japan from the early years of the Meiji era to just after the Great Earthquake in 1923 from the communist standpoint. Nomura is the pseudonym of Ichikawa Shōichi, a ranking member of the early JCP.

- IV-163. NORO, Eitarō. *Noro Eitarō chosaku-shū* (野呂栄太郎著作集). Kyoto. San'ichi Shobō. 1949. 3 v.

CSt-H (v. 2-3); CtY (v. 2-3); DLC

MH (v. 2); MiU (v. 2-3); MnU (v. 3); WaU (v.1)

Originally published in 1930 (339 p.) by Tettō Shoin. This edition contained the principal essays which appeared in the 1949 edition.

CSt-H; CtY; CU; DLC; MH; MiU; MnU

Vol. 1: *Nihon shihon-shūgi hattatsu-shi* (271 p.)

Consists of four famous articles published in reply to certain articles by Takahashi Kamekichi and Inomata Tsunao concerning the political strategy to be adopted in furthering the interests of the leftwing movement. They were written in defense of the 1927 thesis. The four articles are on the history of the development of Japanese capitalism, the historical conditions for this development, the evils of capital in Japan, and the significance of the 56th session of the Imperial Diet. All the articles appeared earlier (in order) in *Shakai mondai kōza*, *Marukusu-shugi kōza*, *Taishū* (Apr. 1926), and *Seiji hihan* (Feb. 1929).

Vol. 2: *Puchi teikoku-shugi-ron hihan* (217 p.).

Several articles published in *Taiyō* (1927), *Shisō* (1926, 1930), *Chūō kōron* (1930, 1932), and *Kaizō* (1931) refuting Takahashi Kamekichi and Inomata Tsunao. Some article titles are: the inconsistencies of the present stage (1930) of Japanese capitalism, unemployment, the reality of the disarmament problem.

Vol. 3: *Nōgyō senryaku senjutsu mondai* (209 p.).

Several articles on the agricultural problem, and strategy and tactics. Again they all appeared in magazines such as *Shisō* (Apr., May 1929), *Chūō kōron* (May, Aug. 1931), *Puroretaria kagaku* (Aug. 1931), *Kaizō* (Sept. 1931) on the agricultural problem refuting Inomata. There are also a number of reproductions from the illegal JCP party organ of the 'thirties on strategic and tactical problems (*Sekki* nos. 119, 125, 143, and 151 all in 1933), and statements of the JCP Central Committee. According to Koyama in his history of this controversy, the 1930 edition is regarded as a standard work in the Marxian study of Japanese capitalism (p. 34). Noro was secretary-General of the JCP and a leading theorist; he died in 1945.

- IV-164. *Puroretaria kagaku kenkyū* (プロレタリア科学研究). Sōbunkaku. 1931. 3 v. (May, Oct. and Dec. 1932). Compiled by Puroretaria Kagaku Kenkyūjo. CSt-H; DLC

The research organ of the Kenkyūjo. The above three issues contain several articles on the Japanese economy since World War I, the present (1931) economic panic, and the agricultural crisis.

The publishing organization, Puroretaria Kagaku Kenkyūjo was headed by Noro Eitarō. Toward the end of 1930 the Kenkyūjo formed a study group called the Nihon Shihon-shugi Kenkyūkai (The group to study Japanese capitalism). The results of this group were announced in the above 3 volume publication.

- IV- 165. SANO, Manabu. *Nihon keizai-shi gairon* (日本経済史概論). Waseda Taibun-sha. 1924. 253 p. Reprinted in 1947 (192 p.) by Kokumin-sha. CSt-H

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An outline of the economic history of Japan written when Sano was 31, and the result of lectures on this subject given at Waseda University. According to the author this book was not written from a thoroughly materialistic or Marxian point of view. He later became a leader of the JCP but subsequently recanted his position from prison.

- IV-166. SUZUKI, Mosaburō. *Nihon dokusen shihon-shugi no tembō* (日本独占資本主義の展望). Hakuyō-sha. 1931. 376 p. CST-H; CU; DLC

Analysis of monopoly capitalism in Japan by a former Communist and now chairman of the Socialist Party in Japan in the postwar era.

- IV-167. TAKAHASHI, Kamekichi. *Makki no Nihon shihon-shugi keizai to sono tenkan* (末期の日本資本主義経済と其転換). Hakuyō-sha. 1925. 564 p. CSt-H; DLC; IEN; NNC

The first part considers the impasse of the Japanese capitalist economy; then the political platform and political activities of the proletarian political parties.

- IV-168. TAKAHASHI, Kamekichi. *Nihon shihon-shugi keizai no kenkyū* (日本資本主義経済の研究). Hakuyō-sha. 1924. 393 p. CU; DLC; MiU;

Takahashi was one of the first to make a broad study of the existing conditions in the Japanese economy from a leftwing standpoint. The essays in this book appeared in radical magazines such as *Sekki* and other more liberal ones such as *Kaizō*. They consist of an analysis of the capitalist economy and the agricultural problem, an economic criticism of politics, and a study of representative industries in Japan.

- IV-169. TAKAHASHI, Kamekichi. *Sayoku undō no riron-teki hōkai—uyoku undō no riron-teki konkyō* (左翼運動の理論的崩壊——右翼運動の理論的根拠). Hakuyō-sha. 1927. 177 p. CSt-H; DLC; IEN; MH

The author claims that at the time (1927) the proletarian political movement was in a chaotic state, resulting from a disagreement in the interpretation of Japanese capitalism and imperialism, and the position of the agrarian movement in the proletarian movement. Takahashi disagrees with the Communist thesis and refutes it in this collection of five essays which appeared in *Shakai kagaku* (Apr. 1927), *Taiyō* (Apr. 1927), *Kaizō* (Mar. 1927), and *Chūō kōron* (Apr. 1927).

B. The Main Period, 1932–1940

- IV-170. HATTORI, Shisō. *Meiji Ishin-shi kenkyū* (明治維新史研究). Kurewa Shoten. 1948. 265 p. Originally published by Hakuyō-sha in 1933 (222 p.) entitled *Ishin-shi no hōhō-ron*. CSt-H; CtY; DLC; MiU

Collection of articles and essays written for the *Nihon shihon-shugi hattatsu-shi kōza* during the early 'thirties based on the 1932 JCP Thesis. According to the author, this book was a milestone in his study of the Meiji Restoration. It contains "The revolution of the Meiji Restoration and counter-revolution," "Various methodological problems in the study of the [Meiji] Restoration," (the latter being a self-criticism of the author's earlier work *Meiji Ishin-shi* and a criticism of Tsuchiya Takao's theory).

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- IV-171. HATTORI, Shisō and SHINŌBU, Seizaburō. *Nihon manyufuakuchua shiron* (日本マニユフアクチュア史論). Shinzembisha. 1947. 246 p. Originally published in 1937 by Ikusei-sha. CSt-H (1937 ed); DLC; MiU; NNC

Collection of articles which appeared in *Rekishi kagaku* during 1934, 1935, and 1936 on the state of industrial development at the end of the Tokugawa era. Specifically the book consists of two essays to substantiate the author's radical leftwing theories in the controversy with Tsuchiya Takao: one on the cotton market and weaving industry of the Akita fief during the latter part of the Tokugawa era, and the other on production of Kurume-gasuri cloth.

- IV-172. HIRANO, Yoshitarō. *Burujoa minshu-shugi kakumei—sono shiteki hatten* (ブルジョア民主主義革命——その史的発展). Nihon Hyoron-sha. 1949. 325 p. 平野義太郎論文集 1 CSt-H; CtY; DLC; MH; WaU

"The bourgeois-democratic revolution" is a collection of essays written during the 'thirties analyzing principally the establishment and peculiar development of "absolutism" in Japan. Contents: the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the process of dissolution of the feudal system in Japan, economic ethics (*keizai rinri*) and scientific freedom, civil rights (*jiyū minken*) and nationalism in Japan.

- IV-173. HIRANO, Yoshitarō. *Nihon shihon-shugi no kōzō* (日本資本主義の構造). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1949. 276 p. 平野義太郎論文集 3 CtY; DLC

On the structure of capitalism in Japan. Divided into two parts: on postwar monopoly capitalism, and the prewar historical background. Part one takes up the progress of the "structural crisis" in postwar Japanese capitalism, the crisis in the coal mining, steel, textile and electricity industries, the corrupt alliance between financial capital and state authority as shown in the Shōwa Electric Company scandal, employment conditions under monopoly capitalism as they appeared in a labor dispute in a certain factory in Miyazaki prefecture in 1948, and the crucial position of the government workers labor movement and monopoly capitalism.

Part two pertains to the narrowness of the domestic market and the "structural inconsistency" in Japanese capitalism especially as it relates to the textile industry, colonial-type low wages, natural disasters and the proletariat, the beginnings of the Japanese labor movement as seen through studies by Yokoyama Gennosuke and Katayama Sen to 1902.

- IV-174. HIRANO, Yoshitarō. *Nihon shihon-shugi shakai no kikō* (日本資本主義社会の機構). Iwanami Shoten. 1934. 388 p. Republished in 1949 by same publishers. CSt-H; CtY; CU; DLC; MH; NNC; WaU

Attempts to interpret in a general manner the structure of society, differentiation of classes, and political relations, and the relation of this superstructure to the economy according to certain principles of historical development. The book consists of three essays written for the series *Nihon shihon-shugi hattatsu-shi kōza* on the history of bourgeois-democratic developments in Japan, social and political movements and class differentiation accompanying various changes in the Meiji Restoration, and the type of political governance during the Meiji Restoration. This book together with Yamada Moritaro's is regarded as representative of the Kōza faction's position.

- IV-175. HIRANO, Yoshitarō. *Nōgyō mondai to tochi henkaku* (農業問題と土地変革). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1948. 440 p. 平野義太郎論文集 2 CSt-H; DLC

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In "Agricultural problems and land reform" the author attempts to show the "fundamental and fatal inconsistency in the extremely rapid development of industry as against the excruciatingly slow development in agriculture," (p. 5-6) that "the bourgeois reformation of the Meiji Restoration was not thorough, that agricultural relations were not democratized, resulting in the utilization of the interdependence of the high semi-feudal land rents to be paid in kind and the low colonial-type wages in industry by monopoly capitalism," (p. 8) and to show the necessity of an agricultural land reform (p. 9) and the semi-feudal nature of land rents. The book is divided into three sections: land ownership and historical types, the economic structure of Japanese agriculture, and agriculture in Asia. The various essays were originally published in *Keizai hyōron*, *Kaizō*, *Rekishi kagaku*, *Chūō kōron*, *Shisō* and *Yuibutsu-ron kenkyū*.

- IV-176. HORIE, Yasuo. *Nihon shihon-shugi no seiritsu* (日本資本主義の成立). Osaka. Daidō Shoin. 1938. 340 p. 経済特殊研究叢書 3

CSt-H; CU; DLC; MH; MiU; WaU

Study of the establishment of Japanese capitalism, centered on the period prior to 1887 at which time Horie believes Japanese capitalism was established. To this end he has analyzed the economic and political situation during the Tokugawa era, and the relationships between Japan and the western powers which were then in the process of developing their forms of capitalism. He attempts to point out that it was during the Meiji Restoration that Japan achieved the status of a modern unified nation which contained within itself elements for a democratic revolution though not in the same manner as in Europe. Horie was a professor of economics at Kyōto Imperial University.

- IV-177. INOMATA, Tsunao. *Kyūbō no nōson* (窮乏の農村 The impoverished farm village). Kaizō-sha. 1934. 293 p.

CSt-H; DLC; MH; MiU

- IV-178. INOMATA, Tsunao. *Nōson mondai nyūmon* (農村問題入門). Kōdo sha. 1948. 360 p. Commentary by Ouchi Hyōe. CtY; CU; DLC; MH; MiU

"Introduction to agricultural problems" is the result of three years of intensive study by Inomata, outstanding theoretician of the prewar Rōnō faction, on the special characteristics of agriculture in Japan, its peculiar Asiatic characteristics, land ownership, the agricultural population, and the resolution of the problem. Unlike many others, it is not a collection of periodical articles but a systematic presentation of Inomata's Marxian interpretation of agriculture, synthesizing the theories developed to suit Europe with the special conditions in Japan. The book was originally published by Chūō Kōron-sha in 1937, but was soon banned thereafter by the government.

- IV-179. KAZAHAYA, Yasoji. *Nihon shakai seisaku-shi* (日本社会政策史). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1937. 497 p.

CSt-H; CtY; DLC; IEN; MH; NNC

Republished by Aoki shoten, 1951 in 青木文庫 25

DLC

A classic in the study of the development of social policy in Japan since the early Meiji period. It is not a study of "social policy" in the narrow sense but traces the effects of the introduction and rapid advancement of capitalism in Japan. This study is regarded as an important work in the famous controversy before the war on the interpretation of capitalism in Japan. It was published just at the end of the long controversy and under a strict censorship system. Since certain terms apparently came under the censor's red pencil automatically, the author took great pains to prevent this by using different words and phrases to convey the same meaning.

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Consequently, this book should be carefully read in this respect. After studying the book one is left with the impression that even the words "social policy" had been used with an eye on the censor. This study was one of the last major works of the Kōza faction which generally supported the outlook of the JCP.

The book is divided into ten parts: "charity" (*jikei*) in the early Meiji period; working conditions and the industrial revolution in Japan; the beginnings of social policy and the formation of a Japanese type; the historical role of the factory act in Japanese capitalism; factory inspection in Japan; the deterioration of national health and the demand for the protection of child labor and women workers and for social insurance; mass unemployment after World War I; the historical development of social policy vis-à-vis the labor unions; new trends in social policy after the economic depressions and lastly the nature of social policy in Japan.

In the postwar period Kazahaya became a member of the JCP and was elected to the House of Representatives.

- IV-180. KIMURA, Shōnosuke. *Nihon kosaku seido-ron* (日本小作制度論). Sōbunkaku. 1936. 2 v. CSt-H (v. 1)

"The farm tenancy system" is a refutation of the Kōza faction and the Rōnō faction in the controversy over the interpretation of Japanese capitalism. Specifically it is concerned with the agricultural relations that prevailed in Japan at the end of the Tokugawa period and the early Meiji period, the characteristics and change that occurred during this period in the farm tenancy system. Kimura is the pseudonym of Kawai Etsuzō who in the postwar period has followed the JCP viewpoint concerning Japanese agriculture.

- IV-181. KOBAYASHI, Ryōsei. *Nihon sangyō no kōsei* (日本産業の構成). Hakyō-sha. 1935. 301 p. Republished in 1949 by same publishers.

CSt-H; DLC; MiU

"Structure of Japanese industry" is a survey, from the Communist point of view, of the development of industry from the latter part of the Tokugawa era. The first part is a general essay on the characteristics of Japanese industry; the second part, on the developmental characteristics of industry at the junction of the two eras, Meiji and Tokugawa; the third part, on particular industries and the communications systems (an adaptation of the author's contribution on the subject in the series *Nihon shihon-shugi hattatsu-shi kōza*). The individual sections of the book were published as separate articles in *Rekishi kagaku*, *Keizai hyōron*, *Dokusho*, *Kyōiku*, and *Kaizō* during the early 'thirties.

- IV-182. KOBAYASHI, Ryōsei. *Nihon shihon-shugi no seisei to sono kiban* (日本資本主義の生成とその基盤). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1949. 260 p. CSt-H; CU

On the land problem of the latter part of the Tokugawa era, the basis for the study of the textile industry during the Meiji period. The monograph actually is a collection of articles published in *Rekishi kagaku* and *Keizai hyōron* in 1934-45 as part of the controversy on capitalism. The author participated in the *Nihon shihon-shugi hattatsu-shi kōza* analyzing the commercial and industrial development of Japan. This is the companion book to *Nihon sangyō no kōsei*.

- IV-183. KUSHIDA, Tamizō. *Nōgyō mondai* (農業問題). Kaizō-sha. 1935. 571 p. 柳田民蔵全集 3 DLC; MH

"Agricultural problems" is a collection of almost all the author's essays published in periodicals on the agricultural question. They are the result of four years of con-

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centrated study between 1931 and 1934, the final period in the author's academic life; he died in Nov. 1934. Kushida is generally regarded as an exponent of the Rōnō faction in its controversy with the Kōza faction in the study of the Japanese economy. In this book he interprets and presents his solution of the land rent problem and the characteristics of Japanese agriculture. As an outstanding figure in the controversy he maintained that farm tenancy was neither feudal nor capitalistic but was in an intermediate stage.

- IV-184. MORI, Kiichi. *Nihon shihon-shugi hassei-shi* (日本資本主義発生史). Sōbunkaku. 1935. 299 p. CSt-H; CtY

On the establishment of capitalism in Japan and the collapse of the feudal system from the radical leftwing point of view.

- IV-185. *Nihon shihon-shugi hattatsu-shi kōza* (日本資本主義発達史講座). Iwanami Shoten. 1932-1935. CSt-H; DLC; IEN; MH; MiU; WaU

A famous series of short essays on various aspects of the Japanese economy from a viewpoint that is generally identified with that of the Communists. The series was originally guided by Noro Eitarō before the announcement of the 1932 JCP Thesis. The series centered around four broad topics: history of the Meiji Restoration, history of the development of capitalism, modern Japan and imperialism and bibliographical notes. This series, representing the view point of the Kōza School, is regarded as one of the principal accomplishments of the main period in the prewar capitalism controversy. It served as the constant target of criticism by the Rōnō faction. As mentioned in this section, several essays in this series became crucial in the controversy and many have been incorporated into books with other essays. This series remains an important legacy of the prewar controversy. Instead of listing each essay in this series as a main entry thereby scattering them throughout this sub-section, they have been included under one common title in alphabetical order according to author but giving only pagination. The only exceptions are the bibliography (II-29) and the essays on the cultural movements (VIII-10) which are listed elsewhere. It should also be noted that a number of pseudonyms are used by various authors in this series.

1. Aikawa, Haruki. *Nōson keizai to nōgyō kyōkō* (農村経済と農業恐慌). 53 p.
An analysis of the agricultural depression.
2. Akisasa, Masanosuke. *Shokuminchi seisaku-shi* (植民地政策史). 32 p.
A critical analysis of Japan's colonial policy in Formosa, Korea, Manchuria and Mongolia.
3. Hani, Gorō. *Bakumatsu ni okeru seiji-teki shihai keitai* (幕末に於ける政治的支配形態). 46 p.
The form of political governance during the latter part of the Tokugawa shogunate.
4. Hani, Gorō. *Bakumatsu ni okeru seiji tōsō* (幕末に於ける政治斗争). 30 p.
The political struggle at the end of the Tokugawa era. The beginnings of the agrarian-petit bourgeois democratic struggle, the political process, the collapse of the farmers movement and the "Restoration" government are the chapter headings.
5. Hani, Gorō. *Bakumatsu ni okeru shakai keizai jōtai kaikyū kankei oyobi kaikyū tōsō—zen-kō hen* (幕末に於ける社会経済状態階級関係及び階級斗争前后編). 180 p.
Social and economic conditions, class relationships and class struggle during the latter part of the Tokugawa Shogunate.
6. Hani, Gorō. *Bakumatsu ni okeru shisō-teki dōkō* (幕末に於ける思想的動向). 41 p.
An analysis of thought trends at the end of the Tokugawa era. The chapter headings are: resisting feudalistic oppression, the development and limitation of modern thought, and political concentration.

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7. Hani, Gorō and Izu, Kimio. *Meiji Ishin ni okeru seido-jō no henkaku* (明治維新に於ける制度上の変革). 56 p.

The changes in the system that occurred during the Meiji Restoration. Four aspects of change are taken up: changes resulting from the abolition of feudalistic status of the person, the changes in the agricultural field, changes resulting from the liberation of capitalistic productive power, and the changes coming from the new state and political structure.

8. Hattori, Shisō. *Bakumatsu ni okeru sekai jōsei oyobi gaikō jijō* (幕末に於ける世界情勢及外交事情). 48 p.

International situation as it related to the latter part of the Tokugawa period.

9. Hattori, Shisō. *Jōyaku kaisei oyobi gaikō-shi* (条約改正及び外交史). 42 p.

The problem of the revision of unequal treaties, and the diplomacy of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, and World War I.

10. Hattori, Shisō. *Meiji Ishin no kakumei oyobi han-kakumei* (明治維新の革命及び反革命). 59 p.

The revolution and counter-revolution of the Meiji Restoration. The first chapter is devoted to the description of various classes such as the farmer, samurai, daimyō, etc. Chapter two concerns the political process but is limited to the Boshin conflict, the abolition of clans, and the establishment of prefectures, and the separation from the absentee government. Chapter three pertains to revolution and counter-revolution after 1874.

11. Hirano, Yoshitarō. *Burujoa minshu-shugi undō-shi* (ブルジョア民主主義運動史). 81 p.

History of bourgeois democracy. The first part is a criticism of bourgeois democracy in France in 1789, and the incomplete and compromising democracy of Prussia. The second, an analysis of the class characteristics and political content of the civil rights movement in Japan; the third, the bourgeois democratic movement among workers and farmers after 1897. Included in this section is a description of the change and reorganization of the form of governance after 1897.

12. Hirano, Yoshitarō. *Gikai oyobi hōsei-shi* (議会及び法制史). 65 p.

An interpretation of the Diet and legislative history in its relation to the characteristics and structure of capitalism.

13. Hirano, Yoshitarō. *Meiji Ishin ni okeru seiji-teki shihai keitai* (明治維新に於ける政治的支配形態). 68 p.

The form of political governance during the Meiji Restoration including such topics as the characteristics and social and economic conditions leading to the collapse of political control by the Tokugawa shogunate, the material and social foundations of the Meiji Government.

14. Hirano, Yoshitarō. *Meiji Ishin no henkaku ni tomonau atarashii kaikyō bunka to shakai-teki seiji-teki undō* (明治維新の変革に伴う新しい階級分科と社会的政治的運動). 127 p.

The division of new classes, and the social and political movements resulting from the changes that occurred during the Meiji Restoration.

15. Ikumi, Takuichi. *Saikin ni okeru keizai jōsei to keizai kyōkō* (最近に於ける経済情勢と経済恐慌). parts 1 & 2.

An analysis of economic conditions and economic depression. The principal topics are: the extraordinary development of Japan's economy during and immediately after World War I; the various problems of economic development during the period of relative stability; the new period in economic development; the economic depression after 1929; the present (1932) state of the depression.

16. Ineoka, Susumu. *Nōmin no jōtai oyobi nōmin undō shōshi* (農民の狀態及び農民運動小史). 54 p.

The condition of the farmers and a short history of the farmer's movement. The development of the movement during the growth of capitalism, the post World War

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I development of the movement, its characteristics, and national organizations, brief review of the movement to 1930. Author was member of illegal prewar JCP, secretary of the Zennō Zenkoku Kaigi.

17. Kazahaya, Yasoji. *Zaisei-shi* (財政史). 76 p.

Financial history of Japan from the beginning of the Meiji Restoration to the end of the 'twenties.

18. Kimura, Tsuneo. *Ginkō sonota kin'yū-gyō no hattatsu* (銀行その他金融業の発達). 27 p.

The development of banks and other financial institutions. The analysis is divided into three parts: banks before the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-95; banks and other financial institutions from this War to the end of World War I; a brief resumé of the developments to 1930.

19. Kobayashi, Ryōsei. *Kōtsū kikan no hattatsu to naigai shijō no keisei tenkai* (交通機関の発達と内外市場の形成展開). parts 1 & 2.

The development of the means of communication and the formation of domestic and foreign markets. Part I relates to an exposition of Marxis-Leninist theory on the market, followed by a description of the development of the means of communication. Part II pertains to an analysis of the market for consumer goods, and labor.

20. Kobayashi, Ryōsei. *Meiji Ishin ni okeru shōkōgyō-jō no sho-henkaku* (明治維新に於ける商工業上の諸変革). 38 p.

The various changes in commerce during the Meiji Restoration.

21. Maruyama, Jchirō. *Kōzan-gyō no hattatsu* (鉱山業の発達). 33 p.

Development of the Japanese mining industry. The inherent characteristics of the industry in Japan, the lack of iron, coal, and petroleum and colonies, the stimulus of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, miners and their working conditions are analyzed.

22. Nakajima, Nobuo. *Hōken-teki nibum seido no haishi, chitsuroku kōsai no hakkō oyobi bushi no jusan* (封建的身分制度の廃止, 秩祿公債の発行及び武士の授産). 31 p.

The abolition of the feudalistic status of the people, the issuance of bonds for capitalized pensions (*chitsuroku*) and the employment of the samurai class.

23. Nishi, Masao. *Saikin ni okeru kaikyū sho-undō* (最近に於ける階級諸運動). 61 p.

An historical description of the leftwing social movements from 1923-27. The period from 1928-32 was deleted by the censor.

24. Ogura, Kinnosuke and Oka, Kunio. *Shizen kagaku-shi* (自然科学史). 42 p.

History of mathematics and the natural sciences in Japan since the end of the Tokugawa period.

25. Ogawa, Shin'ichi. *Rōdōsha no jōtai oyobi rōdōsha undō-shi* (労働者の状態及び労働者運動史). 152 p.

A history of the labor movement, the emergence of the worker, and his relation to World War I in two parts. The first part concerns the emergence of the worker, his characteristics, organization, resistance, thought, and working conditions. The relation of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars and the worker, his struggles, the growth of labor unions, and political battles during 1897-1907, are also analyzed. The second part pertains to the growth of industry and World War I, the conditions of workers, the class struggles, organization, and the political battles of the workers during the post-World War I years. In the last section the influence of the Russian revolution is evaluated.

26. Ōtsuka, Kinnosuke. *Keizai shisō-shi* (経済思想史). 35 p.

A semi-bibliography and list of events, scholars, problems, economic thought, external events, etc., concerning Japan's economic thought from 1742 to 1932. A useful topical bibliography and guide to Japan's scholarship in matters economic in short phrase form. The third section pertains to bibliographies of bibliographies concerning Japanese economic thought. Here are mentioned several bibliographies of socialist thought hitherto not too well known.

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27. Otsuka, Kinnosuke. *Sekai shihon-shugi hattatsu-shi bunken kaidai* (世界資本主義発達史文獻解題). 82 p.
Annotated bibliography of the development of world capitalism.
28. Otsuka, Kinnosuke and Watanabe, Kenkichi. *Shihon chikuseki to keizai kyōkō* (資本蓄積と経済恐慌). 68 p.
The accumulation of capital and economic crisis.
29. Ouchi, Hyōe and Tsuchiya, Takao. *Meiji zaisei keizai-shi bunken* (明治財政経済史文獻). 107 p.
Annotated bibliography on finance and economics in Japan during the Meiji period.
30. Sakamoto, Miyoshi. *Saikin ni okeru seiji jōsei-shi* (最近に於ける政治情勢史). 42 p.
A general analysis of the Rikken Seiyūkai, Rikken Minseitō, the Kokumin Dōmei, the nationalistic parties, such as the Dai-Nihon Seisantō, and the left-wing parties, such as Shakai Taishū-tō. The economic, political and social basis of the parties and their platforms and relation to the political situation are described.
31. Suzuki, Shōbei. *Saikin ni okeru kokusai jōsei* (最近に於ける国際情勢). 41 p.
The status of recent international relations. The relations between the various capitalistic nations, and Japanese-American relations.
32. Suzuki, Shōbei. *Saikin no shokuminchi seisaku, minzoku undō* (最近の植民政策民族運動). 59 p.
A study of colonies as a source for raw materials, a selling market, investment possibilities, geopolitics, and the working conditions of laborers and farmers; also the independence movements in the colonies.
33. Tamaki, Hajime. *Meiji Ishin no sho-henkaku ga seikatsu yōshiki ni oyobashita sho-eikyō* (明治維新の諸変革が生活様式に及ぼした諸影響). 47 p.
The various changes wrought in the style of living by the many innovations introduced during the Meiji Restoration.
34. Tanaka, Yasuo. *Seitō oyobi kensei-shi* (政党及び憲政史). 40 p.
Political parties and constitutional history in five parts: the establishment of constitutional government and its historical necessity, the military budget as a linking element between the bureaucracy, bourgeoisie, and the landowners, the process whereby the bourgeoisie become more politically prominent, and the Diet, political parties, and government in the process of a switch to imperialistic dominance, the universal suffrage movement and its significance.
35. Tanaka, Yasuo. *Sensō-shi* (戦争史). 43 p.
An interpretation of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, and World War I.
36. Yamada, Katsujirō. *Nōgyō ni okeru shihon-shugi no hattatsu* (農業に於ける資本主義の発達). 58 p.
The development of capitalism in agriculture: an analysis of the mode of agricultural production through the study of the rise and fall of agricultural products. It also questions the interpretation of capitalistic production at the end of the Tokugawa era and beginning of the Meiji Restoration as advanced by Hattori Shisō.
37. Yamada, Moritarō. *Kōgyō ni okeru shihon-shugi no tansho-teki sho-keitai manyu-fuakuchua kanai kōgyō* (工業に於ける資本主義の端初的諸形態マニファクチュア家内工業). 88 p.
The elemental forms of capitalism in industry: an analysis of the growth of Japanese capitalism.
38. Yamada, Moritarō. *Kōjō kōgyō no hattatsu* (工場工業の発達). 88 p.
The development of factory industries with an emphasis on the military industries.
39. Yamada, Moritarō. *Meiji Ishin ni okeru nōgyō-jō no sho-henkaku* (明治維新に於ける農業上の諸変革). 28 p.
The various changes in agriculture during the Meiji Restoration.
40. Yamashita, Tokuji. *Kyōka-shi* (教化史). 42 p.
A survey of education thought and system in Japan from the end of the Tokugawa shogunate to the 'twenties, noting the relation between education and the various

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phases in the development of capitalism.

- IV-186. SAKISAKA, Isurō. *Nihon shihon-shugi no sho-mondai* (日本資本主義の諸問題). Kōdo-sha. 1947. 333 p. Originally printed under same title in 1937. CST-H; CtY; CU; DLC; MH

Essays purporting to refute, what Sakisaka calls, the "formalistic" interpretation of Japanese capitalism made by the Kōza faction. The original book published in 1937 was banned by the government soon after it came off the press. It consisted of articles which appeared in *Kaizō*, *Chūō koron*, *Teikoku nōkai-hō*, *Senku*, *Sarariman*, *Nihon keizai shiki nempō* of the criticism of the methodology used by Yamada in his book *Nihon shihon-shugi bunseki*, the differentiation of classes in the farm village and the modernization of land ownership (the last was specially written for the postwar edition). It is regarded as a representative work of the prewar Rōnō faction.

- VI-187. SUZUKI, Takeo. *Nōson mondai* (農村問題). Mikasa Shobō. 1936. 214 p. 唯物論全書 DLC

The agrarian problem on the invasion of the farm villages by high interest capital, types of land ownership, and the growth of capitalism in agriculture from the standpoint of the Kōza faction.

- IV-188. SUZUKI, Mosaburō. *Nihon dokusen shihon no kaibō* (日本独占資本の解剖). Gakugei-sha. 1935. 549 p. CST-H; DLC; IEN

An expose study of the "undesirable" activities of monopoly capitalism in Japan. The author regards this book as a companion volume to the following study. These books are of interest since the author has become a central figure in postwar Japanese politics. At present he is chairman of the unified SDP which continues to strongly oppose the development of monopoly capitalism in Japan.

- IV-189. SUZUKI, Mosaburō. *Nihon zaibatsu-ron* (日本財閥論). Kaizō-sha. 1934. 453 p. CtY; CU; DLC; IEN; MiU; NNC

An analysis and criticism of forty different monopolies. Following a general summary concerning the type and control of the monopolies, monopolies and working conditions, and the development of capitalism, three prominent monopolies, Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo are analyzed. Next, the newly developed monopolies, the banking monopolies, industrial monopolies, marine monopolies, interest of monopolies in the munitions industries, state trusts and monopolies, monopolies and cartels are studied.

- IV-190. TODA, Shintarō. *Nihon nōgyō-ron* (日本農業論). Sōbunkaku. 1936. 350 p. CtY; MH

Revised and reprinted in 1948 (271 p.) by Minshu Hyōron-sha under the title of *Nihon shihon-shugi to Nihon nōgyō no hatten* (日本資本主義と日本農業の発展). CST-H; DLC; MiU; NNC

While recognizing that land ownership in general is feudalistic, thus supporting the Kōza faction theory, the author contends that bourgeois relationships in commercial agriculture cannot be ignored. According to Koyama in his history of the controversy this viewpoint has generally been accepted in the postwar years and is therefore

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noteworthy since this revised theory was advocated during the hey-day of the Kōza faction theory.

The latter book is a revised and reprinted version of the original work. The revised edition contains an additional analysis on the "extra-economic compulsion" (*keizai-gai kyōsei*). It is divided into two parts: fundamental relations in agricultural development after the Meiji Restoration; and commercial agriculture based upon the development of fundamental semi-feudal relations.

- IV-191. TSUCHIYA, Takao. *Nihon shihon-shugi-shi ronshū* (日本資本主義史論集). Ikusei-sha. 1937. 370 p. 日本政治経済研究叢書 1

CU; DLC; MiU; NNC; WaU

Collection of articles by a leading scholar opposing the Kōza faction on the stage of development of agriculture and industry at the time of the Bakumatsu-Meiji Restoration. The articles concern land ownership, wage labor in agriculture, the payment of rent through labor. The author regards this collection as "a final settlement of the controversy" (p. 5) with the Kōza faction.

- IV-192. YAMADA, Moritarō. *Nihon shihon-shugi bunseki* (日本資本主義分析). Iwanami Shoten. 1934. 228 p. CST-H; CtY; CU; MH; NNC; MiU

Consisting principally of three essays originally published in the *Nihon shihon-shugi hattatsu-shi kōza* on the early forms of capitalism in industry, the development of factory industry in Japan and the various changes in agriculture during the Meiji Restoration, and several other shorter essays. According to Koyama this book is one of the first after Noro's *Nihon shihon-shugi hattatsu-shi* to analyze Japanese capitalism from a "scientific standpoint." It attempts to analyze the historical and structural characteristics of Japanese capitalism, defining it as a "militaristic semi-feudal type capitalism" (*gunji-teki han-nōdōsei-teki Nihon shihon-shugi*). It is recognized as representative of the Kōza faction theory.

3. Postwar Interpretations

- IV-193. FUJITA, Gorō. *Nihon kindai sangyō no seisei* (日本近代産業の生成). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1948. 380 p. CST-H; CtY; DLC; MH; MiU

Study of the development of modern industry in Northeastern Japan during the Bakumatsu-Meiji era. Fujita states, that although he has no connection with the radical leftwing Kōza faction, he believes their analysis is most thorough and has relied on their works most heavily.

- IV-194. FUKAYA, Susumu. *Sengo Nihon no nōson chōsa* (戦後日本の農村調査). Shakai Shobō. 1953. 304 p. TUK

A field investigation of four rural villages—an ordinary village, a mountain village, a fishing village, and a village adjacent to a military base. The field study attempts to justify the Communist theory as expressed in the 1951 JCP platform. The poor farmers in the district concerned were organized for this study by "workers, students with the advice and guidance of revolutionary organizations in the center [Tokyo] during the summer of 1952." The four villages are located in Gumma, Saitama, Yamanashi and Ibaragi prefectures. It should be noted that this study is limited in several ways: such as its reliance upon the information given its researchers by the poor farmers, it attempts to Prove an a priori statement—the JCP platform.

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- IV-195. FUKUMOTO, Kazuo. *Nihon nōgyō ni okeru shihon-ka-teki keiei hatten no ryakuzu* (日本農業に於ける資本家の経営発展の略図). Kaihō-sha. 1949. 234 p. CSt-H; DLC

The development of capitalistic management in Japanese agriculture. A critical study of the Kōza faction's point of view.

- IV-196. FUKUMOTO, Kazuo. *Nihon nōson no kaikyū kubun* (日本農村の階級区分). Riron-sha. 1952. 279 p. CSt-Y; DLC

An analysis of the class stratification of the farming village according to "the type and degree in the method of exploitation of farm labor." This meant in the author's words a change of direction in the study of farm problems from land owner and tenant centering around land ownership to the study of "capital" (*shihon*) and the relations between the "rich farmer" and wage laborer. This analysis, the second in a trilogy, concerns itself with a theoretical and statistical study of the above relations as Fukumoto found them in certain areas in Japan. (The first volume of the trilogy is *Nihon-nōgyō ni okeru shihon-ka-teki keiei hatten no ryakuzu*). The third volume not yet published will contain an analysis of the living conditions of the farm population and the agrarian movement.

- IV-197. HATTORI Shisō. *Meiji no kakumei* (明治の革命). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1950. 309 p. CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

The "Meiji revolution" consists of seven essays (six previously published in magazines) on the origins of Japanese imperialism, "absolutistic aggression," the political history of the first seven sessions of the Imperial Diet, the Fukushima and "Wappa" Incidents, the birth of the Jiyūtō and the farmers revolution.

- IV-198. HATORI, Shisō. *Tōjō seiken no rekishi-teki kōkei* (東条政権の歴史的後景). Hakuyō-sha. 1949. 228 p. CSt-H; CtY; MH; MiU

The interpretation of the historical background of the Tōjō Cabinet. The historical interpretation of the Meiji Restoration by the nationalist Kita Ikki, the absolutists of the political crisis of 1881, the militarists and the middle class, the old and new police, the Tōjō Cabinet, the characteristics of Japanese fascism are analyzed. Hattori is generally identified with the radical leftwing interpretation of social, economic and political phenomena in Japan.

- IV-199. HATTORI, Shisō. *Zettai-shugi ron* (絶対主義論—Absolutism). Tōdai Kyōdō Kumiai Shuppan-bu. 1949. 288 p. rev. ed. CtY; DLC; MH; MiU

- IV-200. HIRANO, Yoshitarō. *Ajia no minzoku kaihō* (アジアの民族解放). Riron-sha. 1954. 368 p. 平野義太郎新著作集民族開放の理論的諸問題 4 DLC

Communist interpretation of the liberation of the peoples of Asia. The chapters of immediate interest would be that on Japan and China, being an exposition of the Japanese peace settlement proposed by the Communist Chinese, and an analysis of the editorials of the Communist newspaper *Jen-min jih-pao* when members of the Japanese Diet visited Communist China; and a similar exposition on relations between Japan and Korea, conditions in Korea and the Korean minority in Japan.

- IV-201. HIRANO, Yoshitarō. *Heiwa to dokuritsu no riron* (平和と独立の理論).

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Riron-sha. 1954. 320 p. 平野義太郎新著作集民族解放の理論的諸問題 3

DLC

A justification of the Communist advocacy for world peace. Divided into three main parts: the theory of peace and war, a commentary on Stalin's thesis on the subject in 1952, a critique on the crisis in capitalism, the problem of race and nationalities and the Japanese peace treaty, and finally the world peace movement from the Communist point of view including Lenin's theory on the subject and a review of the Communist peace movement since 1932.

IV-202. HIRANO, Yoshitarō. *Kokka kenryoku no kōzō* (国家権力の構造). Riron-sha. 1954. 352 p. 平野義太郎新著作集民族解放の理論的諸問題 2 TUK

"The structure of state authority" is a general treatise including a review of the bureaucratic system in Japan from the radical leftwing standpoint.

IV-203. HIRANO, Yoshitarō. *Nihon shihon-shugi shakai no mujun* (日本資本主義社会の矛盾). Riron-sha. 1954. 347 p. 平野義太郎新著作集民族解放の理論的諸問題 1 DLC

"Contradictions in capitalist society in Japan" is divided into four parts on the racial crisis during the Bakumatsu period and the revision of the unequal treaties, contradictions in the militaristic semi-feudal monopoly capitalism, a review of the civil rights movement in the Meiji era to the socialist movement in the end of the Taishō era in 1925, and Imperial fascism (*tennō-sei fuashizumu*) and its remnants. It is a political history of modern Japan from the prewar Kōza faction point of view.

IV-204. HORIE, Eiichi. *Meiji Ishin no shakai kōzō* (明治維新の社会構造). Yūhikaku. 1954. 222 p. TUK

"The social structure of the Meiji Restoration" is an analysis of that period from the point of view of the class foundation of the class foundation of the Restoration, the social foundation of the Restoration and the farmers rebellions (*hyakushō ikki*), and the establishment of the parasitic type of land ownership (*keisei jinushi-teki tochi shoyū*) and the establishment of the semi-feudal system in the Meiji period.

IV-205. HORIE, Eiichi. *Nihon no manufukuchua mondai* (日本のマニユファクチュア問題). Kyoto. San'ichi Shobō. 1949. 121 p. 新日本歴史雙書近世 4 CSt-H; MH

This short essay according to the author, intends to "end" the 17 year old controversy concerning the textile problem between the Hattori Kōza faction and the Tsuchiya Rōnō faction, leaning toward the former side.

IV-206. IKUMI, Takuichi. *Nihon shihon-shugi-ron* (日本資本主義論). Kyoto Kurewa Shoten. 1948. 189 p. CSt-H; CU

On the basis and characteristics of the development of capitalism in Japan, and on the characteristics of absolutism (*zettai-shugi*) in Japan. Ikumi attempts to follow a line of thinking between the Rōnō and Kōza factions.

IV-207. INOUE, Harumaru and USAMI, Seijirō. *Kokka dokusen shihon-shugi-ron* (国家独占資本主義論). Chōryū-sha. 1950. 294 p. CSt-H

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Revised edition published by Iwanami Shoten in 1951 (324 p.) entitled *Kiki ni okeru Nihon shihon-shugi no kōzō* (危機に於ける日本資本主義の構造).

CSt-H; DLC; MiU

A radical leftwing (postwar revision of the Kōza faction) study of the present stage of state monopoly capitalism in Japan. Part I is concerned with a war economy and state monopoly capitalism; while Part II is on the reorganized state monopoly capitalism and people's democracy. It consists of revised articles which appeared originally in *Chōryū* and *Keizai hyōron* in 1948-49.

The revised edition is brought more up-to-date with a chapter on the "Dodge Line," the international connection of Japanese capitalism and its subordinate character.

IV-208. INOUE, Kiyoshi. *Nihon gendai-shi: Meiji Ishin* (日本現代史, 明治維新). Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppan-bu. 1951. 365 p. TUK

A general history of the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods from the radical leftwing point of view. The author has put a special emphasis on the racial problem at the time of the shift of government in 1868, the military and political organization of the masses, and the struggle against the crisis of colonization, the unequal treaties, the stationing of foreign troops in Japan, the difference between Japan and China, the activities of the U.S., France, and England toward Japan, the significance of the various rebellions in 1868-9 and the establishment of prefectures and the abolition of the old feudal domains in 1871.

IV-209. ISHIWATA, Sadao. *Nōchi kaikaku no kihon kōzō* (農地改革の基本構造). Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppan-kai. 1954. 298 p. TUK

On the dominance over the farmer by imperialism and the problem of feudalism after the enforcement of the land reform program.

IV-210. KAJINISHI, Mitsuhaya, *et al.* *Nihon ni okeru shihon-shugi no hattatsu* (日本に於ける資本主義の発達). Tōdai Kyōdō Kumiai Shuppan-bu. 1951-53. 3 v. TUK

A three volume study of the development of capitalism in Japan from 1867 to 1950 from the postwar Rōnō Marxist standpoint. Volume three is a chronology from 1858 to 1951.

IV-211. KAMBAYASHI, Teijirō. *Nihon shihon-shugi to minzoku mondai* (日本資本主義と民族問題). Sōgen-sha. 1952. 384 p. TUK

Seven independent essays on the general subject of Japanese capitalism and the racial problem, from the "Main stream" JCP standpoint. The author's first chapter on theory somewhat defines his opposition to gradual reformism. The subsequent essays are on the ruling group in Japan, monopoly capitalism, the agricultural problem and the farmers movement, poor living conditions and inadequate wages of the working classes, and the problem of native capital in a colonial-type subservient state (*shokuminchi-teki jūzokukoku*).

IV-212. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Nihon nōgyō ni okeru shihon-shugi no hattatsu* (日本農業に於ける資本主義の発達). Jitsugyō no Nihon-sha. 1948. 342 p. Also published by Shinri-sha in 1948 (342 p.).

CSt-H; CtY; DLC; IEN; MH; MiU; NNC

"The development of capitalism in Japanese agriculture" was originally written and

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mimeographed for illegal distribution among party members during 1940. The original," sub-title, "memorandum concerning the agricultural theory of the Kōza faction," clearly denotes a strong criticism of this group. According to Kamiyama this book complements two other studies by the author: *Tennō-sei ni kansuru riron-teki sho-mondai* (See no. IV-58), and *Nihon shihon-shugi bunseki no kihon mondai* (See no. IV-213),

- IV-213. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Nihon shihon-shugi bunseki no kihon mondai* (日本資本主義分析の基本問題). Iwasaki Shoten. 1947. 230 p. CU

Revision of a "memo" written during the illegal prewar period of the JCP as a critique of the "Kōza faction" interpretation of Japanese capitalism. It was used as discussion material and passed among JCP members for that purpose. It is divided into parts: the critique of the Kōza faction, and agricultural theory according to Leninism and the Kōza faction.

- IV-214. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Sengo Nihon kokka no sho-mondai*. See no. IV-112.

- IV-215. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Sengo ni okeru Nihon no nōgyō mondai* (戦後に於ける日本の農業問題). Aoki Shoten. 1955. 311 p. TUK

A collection of four controversial articles by Kamiyama and his supporters on the postwar agricultural problem. The first essay on the postwar farmer and agriculture is actually a revision of an essay written in 1951 and circulated among a few persons under his pen-name, Nomura Fujio, because he was purged by the Occupation at the time. This semi-clandestine essay is entitled *Sengo no nōmin, nōgyō mondai to tōmen no kinkyū kadai—Nihon nōmin undō no genjō to rōdōsha kaikyū no nimmu* (戦後の農民農業問題と当面の緊急課題—日本農民運動の現状と労働者階級の任務). (Taichi Shobō. 1951. 78 p. PC). The second article is on the evaluation of feudalism in Japanese agriculture and a direct criticism of *Senryō-ka Nihon no nōson chōsa hōkoku* published by the Minshu-shugi Kagakusha Kyōkai and which became the basis of *Sengo Nihon no nōson chōsa* by Fukaya Susumu (see no. IV-194). The third essay was written by Kamiyama's supporters as a counter-criticism to the attacks made upon him in the JCP organ *Zen'ei*. The last essay is a criticism of the agricultural theory developed in *Nihon shihon-shugi kōza* (see no. IV-230) which attempted to rationalize the 1951 JCP platform. This collection of Kamiyama essays is regarded as one of his representative postwar writings.

- IV-216. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Shin Tennō-ron* (新天皇論). Shin Kagaku-sha. 1953. 161 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

A popularized Communist interpretation of the Emperor system including an analysis of the postwar situation and the "utilization of Japan by foreign Powers."

- IV-217. KAWAI, Etsuzō. *Nōgyō nōmin mondai kōza*. See no. VII-30.

- IV-218. KIMURA, Kihachirō. *Sai-shuppatsu no Nihon keizai* (再出発の日本経済). Daiyamondo-sha. 1952. 336 p. CSt-H; DLC

A leftwing appraisal of the postwar economy in Japan. Kimura was a journalist and member of the House of Councillors. He is also a member of the Rōdōsha Nomin-tō, a splinter party more radical than the leftwing Socialists. Kimura suggests that his analysis gives an economic basis to what was said in *Japan Diary* by Mark Gayn.

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- IV-219. KURIHARA, Hakuju. *Gendai Nihon nōgyō-ron* (現代日本農業論). Chūō Kōron-sha. 1951. 291 p. CSt-H; CU; NNC

An interpretation of the changes that have taken place in the Japanese agricultural economy from the revised standpoint of the Kōza faction: the change from an agricultural crisis in the prewar years to the general crisis in the whole capitalistic system, the dissolution of the land ownership system, the land reform system, the changes in the class structure as a result of the land reform, the farmers union movement, and agricultural associations.

- IV-220. KURIHARA, Hakuju. *Nihon nōgyō no hatten kōzō* (日本農業の発展構造). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1949. 254 p. CSt-H; CtY; CU; DLC; MiU

An analysis of the agricultural economy of Japan during recent years including a study of the breakup of the farming population, changes in the type of land ownership, and the development of commercial agriculture (fruit, vegetables, etc.) from the revised standpoint of the postwar Kōza faction.

- IV-221. KURIHARA, Hakuju. *Nihon nōgyō no kiso kōzō* (日本農業の基礎構造). Chūō Kōron-sha. 1948. (rev. ed.). 481 p. CSt-H; CU; DLC; MH; MiU; MnU

On the basic structure of Japanese agriculture: a study of distribution of farm families, land ownership, agricultural production, and agricultural technology. Apparently one of the better books on this subject though originally published during the war in 1942.

- IV-222. MORIYA, Fumio. *Nihon shihon-shugi hattatsu shi* (日本資本主義発達史). Nauka-sha. 1949. 173 p. ナウカ講座 13 CSt-H; Cty; CU; DLC; MH; NNC

A Communist interpretation of the development of capitalism in Japan by a ranking official of the JCP.

- IV-223. MORIYA, Fumio. *Tennō-sei no igi to sono kiban* (天皇制の意義と其基盤). Chōryū-sha. 1949. 100 p. 潮流講座経済学全集才 3 部 CSt-H

A Communist historical review of the emperor system, its significance, basis, and changed position in the postwar period.

- IV-224. NAKANISHI, Kō. *Nihon fuashizumu o meguru riron-teki sho-mondai* (日本ファシズムをめぐる理論的諸問題). Chōryū-sha. 1949. 106 p. 潮流講座経済学全集才 1 部 CSt-H

Some theoretical problems concerning the interpretation of fascism in Japan. Useful in that it puts forth the ideas of a controversial member of the JCP and his polemics with Shiga on the interpretation of the Japanese situation, especially concerning the relationship between state monopoly capitalism and the emperor system.

- IV-225. NIHON KEIZAI KIKŌ KENKYŪ-JŌ. *Nihon kokka dokusen shihon-shugi no kōzō* (日本国家独占資本主義の構造). Aoki Shoten. 1948. 258 p. CtY; DLC; MH; MiU

This study on the structure of monopoly capitalism in Japan is on the general crisis in world capitalism and capitalism in Japan, the structure of monopoly capitalism, and the objective basis for the democratic racial front (*minshu minzoku sensen*).

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This monograph was written by Mogi Rokurō, Asada Mitsuteru, and Nakamura Hi-deichirō, members of the sponsoring organization (The Institute for the Study of Economic Structure in Japan). In general this Institute follows the theories of Kamiyama Shigeo.

IV-226. NIHON KEIZAI KIKŌ KEKKUŪ-JO. *Nihon shihon-shugi no jittai* (日本資本主義の実態.—The real condition of capitalism in Japan). Aoki Shoten. 1948. 235 p. CLSU; CSt-H; CtY; DLC; MH; MiU

IV-227. NIHON KEIZAI KIKŌ KENKYŪ-JO. *Nihon shihon-shugi ronsō zenshin no tame ni* (日本資本主義論争前進の為に). Hakurin-sha. 1948. 201 p. CSt-H; MH

Principally devoted to a critical study of the general Rōnō faction stand, its agricultural theory of the state. There are also two chapters on the various forms of land ownership in Japanese agricultural capitalism, and the problem of the foreign trade market during the formative period of Japanese capitalism.

IV-228. *Nihon nōgyō nempō. See no. VII-24.*

IV-229. NIHON SHIHON-SHUGI KENKYŪ-KAI. *Senryō-ka no Nihon shihon-shugi sōsho* (占領下の日本資本主義叢書). Aoki Shoten. 1954. 12 v. 青木文庫

A series of pocket books, each about 250 pages long, published under the auspices of a radical leftwing group, on various aspects of capitalism under the Occupation and to justify the policies of the JCP. The topics analyzed are manufacturing industry, industry in general, labor problems, wages, local industries, native capital, agriculture, management, finance, monetary circulation, trade and fascism. (DLC has the volumes on wages and manufacturing industries.)

IV-230. *Nihon shihon-shugi kōza* (日本資本主義講座). Iwanami Shoten. 1953-54. 9 v. Edited by Okōchi Kazuo, *et al.* DLC (v. 1-7, separate vol.)

The most ambitious series of studies on the politics, government and economics of postwar Japan by leftwing writers of various shadings. Some people consider that the objective of this series was to justify the JCP platform of 1951. This series is somewhat the continuation of the prewar series, *Nihon shihon-shugi hattatsu-shi kōza* with certain changes in the manner of thinking. Although many of the contributors were pro-communist the series is not without its inconsistencies. Since the adoption by the JCP of different policies subsequent to 1951, some of the contributors have been obliged to reconsider certain ideas.

Only the contents of each volume will be noted below:

Vol. I: The collapse of Japanese imperialism. The international situation at the time of the defeat of Japan; the Pacific War and the collapse of Japanese imperialism; the meaning and content of the "democratization" policy; U.S. policy toward Japan; and the Tokyo International Military Tribunal.

Vol. II. From the peace settlement to the Mutual Security Agreement. National revolutions (*minzoku kakunnei*) in Asia and U.S. foreign policy toward Asia; the Korean War and the militarization of the Japanese economy; the establishment and development of the San Francisco "system" (*taisei*); the period of political vacuum; the educational reform under the Occupation; the theory on the assistance to Japan by the U.S.

Vol. III. The governing mechanism and political movements. The Occupation; the postwar political structure; mass communications; social democracy; the cultural policy of the U.S. toward Japan; the courts.

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Vol. IV: The metamorphosis of the postwar economic structure. Part I.

Vol. V: The metamorphosis of the postwar economic structure. Part II. The farm land reform program and semi-feudalism; the dissolution and reconstruction of monopoly capitalism in Japan; postwar public finance in Japan; inflation and the credit system; foreign trade and the market problem.

Vol. VI: The resurgence of militarism. The resurgence of militarism and the emperor system; the peace movement; the hibernation and change in the "old consciousness"; the law for the prevention of destructive activities; the Chinese and Koreans in Japan; the peace movement and education.

Vol. VII: The worker and the farmer. History of the postwar labor movement; history of the postwar farmers movement; the formation and dissolution of the Japanese labor laws.

Vol. VIII: Postwar Japanese capitalism in retrospect and outlook. The early occupation period; the change in Far Eastern policy and the resurgence of capitalistic Japan; from the depression to the Korean War; after the Korean war; bibliography; index.

Separate volume: chronology and commentary on capitalism in postwar Japan.

The chronology covers the period, Aug. 1, 1945 to Dec. 31, 1953. The chronology is divided into three sections: International developments, internal politics, and economics and the activities of the labor movement. Each calendar year is preceded by an eight to ten page commentary.

IV-231. NŌCHI KAIKAKU KRIROKU IINKAI. *Nōchi kaikaku temmatsu gaiyō. See no. VII-27.*

IV-232. OKAZAKI, Saburō. *Nihon shihon-shugi na hatten dandai* (日本資本主義の発展段階). Kawade Shobō. 1954. 207 p. 日本近代史叢書 9 TUK

An introductory history from the Rōnō Marxist standpoint on the development of Japanese capitalism from the end of the Tokugawa era to the termination of World War II. It is regarded as fairly accurately representing the thinking of the principal leaders of the Rōnō school of economic thinking. It is essentially a revision of an earlier edition published in 1948 (172 p.) by the same publishers entitled, *Shihon-sei keizai hatten no sho-dankai* (資本制経済発展の諸段階—The various stages of development in a capitalistic economy). The very brief appended bibliography recommends only books of the Rōnō school.

IV-233. OUCHI, Hyōe. *Nihon shihon-shugi no kenkyū* (日本資本主義の研究). Kōdo-sha. 1948. 2 v. CSt-H; CU; DLC (v. 2)

Record of an extensive roundtable discussion among Ōuchi, Sakisaka Itsurō, Tsuchiya Takao, and Takahashi Masao on the study of Japanese capitalism from the end of the Tokugawa era to an evaluation of the present situation. Since the participants are leaders of the Rōnō faction this is useful for a justification and statement of Rōnō strategy and tactics which are reflected in the thinking and action of the Left SDP.

IV-234. OUCHI, Tsutomu. *Nihon shihon-shugi no nōgyō mondai* (日本資本主義の農業問題). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1948. 250 p. CtY; CU; DLC; MH

An analysis of the agricultural problem and its modernization in Japan in its relation to the development of capitalism from the Rōnō standpoint.

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- IV-235. SAKISAKA, Itsurō. *Marukusu-shugi to minzoku mondai* (マルクス主義と民族問題). Itagaki Shoten. 1951. 268 p. CST;H; DLC

"Marxism and the racial problem" is the basis for the postwar strategy and tactics of the Rōnō Marxist group which gave theoretical support to the Left SDP. Specifically it deals with the racial problem under imperialism, fascism, the ideas of Morito Tatsuo and Katayama Tetsu, leaders of the Right SDP, the problem of patriotism and its abuse as a tool of exploitation, and finally rearmament and the Korean War. The last chapter would be of particular interest as it would reflect the attitudes of the militant Left Socialists toward the localized armed struggle between the Free World and Communism and the differences between them and their Right SDP counterparts who are frankly anti-Communist. All except the last chapter on rearmament were previously published in the unofficial organ of the Left SDP, *Zenshin*.

- IV-236. *Senryō-ka Nihon no bunseki* (占領下日本の分析). San'ichi Shobō. 1953 and 1955. 2 v. Compiled by Nihon Kyōsan-tō Chōsa Inkai. TUK

As the sub-title indicates, this two-volume study is a Communist indictment of the U.S. Occupation of Japan on "how the U.S. is dominating Japan." The first volume concentrates on the "record" of the American Occupation and the reactionary Yoshida government from the economic, political, and military standpoints, and the disastrous results on the national economy, natural resources, destruction of industry, and decline in the livelihood of the people stemming from the enforcement of the so-called "militarization and colonization" policies by Japan's postwar conservative rulers. Volume two centers on the post-peace treaty MSA system and the revival of militarism in Japan, the international background for the execution of these policies, the resistance of the people against these developments, and the inconsistencies inherent in this system. These volumes are intended to explain in detail and supply the theoretical basis for the JCP's 1951 platform.

- IV-237. SHIGA, Yoshio. *Sengo Nihon no kiki to zaisei* (戦後日本の危機と財政). Gyōmei-sha. 1949. 130 p. 曉明文庫 3 CST-H; DLC; IEN; MiU

Ten articles and speeches by a member of the JCP Politburo on the fiscal policies of the Japanese government in 1948 and 1949, inflation, deflation, and the fundamental problem in the compilation and criticism of the budget.

- IV-238. SHINOBU, Seizaburō. *Nihon no dokusen shihon-shugi* (日本の独占資本主義). Aoki Shoten. 1948. 2 v. CtY; MH; MiU

An analysis of the monopolistic development of Japanese capitalism from 1931 to the end of the Pacific war. The author believes that the present "general crisis" (*ippan-teki kiki*) in Japanese capitalism is the result of developments during the 1930's and 1940's.

- IV-239. SHINOBU, Seizaburō. *Taishō seiiji-shi* (大正政治史). Kawade Shobō. 1951-52. 5 v. DLC (v. 1-2); MiU

A political history of the Taishō era from 1912 to 1926 during which period a second "democratic" movement attempted to establish itself in Japan. It is principally this movement that is the object of this lengthy study (about 2000 pages). The first volume outlines the development of and inconsistencies in Japanese imperialism and traces the development of the "democratic" movement. Subsequent volumes attempt

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to show the results springing from this "democratic" movement. Shinobu is generally identified with the Kōza faction.

- IV-240. TōDA, Shintarō. *Tennō-sei no keizai-teki kiso bunseki* (天皇制の経済的基礎分析). San'ichi Shobō. 1947. 229 p. CST-H; CtY; DLC; MH

"The analysis of the economic basis of the Emperor system" was written from the "scientific Marxian point of view." This study includes an analysis of the nature and characteristics of the emperor system, the imperial estate, national property, the economic basis of the "imperial bureaucratic state," the characteristics of the bourgeoisie's dependence on the state, and the national railways as a center for bureaucratic state enterprise. These essays were written in 1945-1946.

- IV-241. TōYAMA, Shigeki, *et al.* *Shōwa-shi* (昭和史). Iwanami Shoten. 1956. 238 p. 岩波新書 223 TUK

A general history of the Shōwa period including the postwar period. Although widely read it has been written from a strictly partisan, pro-Communist point of view.

- IV-242. TōYADA, Shirō. *Nihon gunkoku-shugi no fukkatsu* (日本軍国主義の復活). Aoki Shoten. 1954. 280 p. CtY; DLC

Collection of published (in JCP organ *Zen'ei, Riron, Keizai hyōron*) and unpublished essays giving the Communist interpretation of the revival of militarism in Japan. It purports to reveal the close relationship between the Japanese economy and rearmament, the actual measures taken toward the rearmament of Japan, its relation with the national livelihood, and the various organizations of former Japanese military officers and their association with the new Japanese armed forces. The author was an assistant professor at Keiō University and now a member of the Democratic Scientist Association (Minshu-shugi Kagakusha Kyōkai).

- IV-243. USAMI, Seijirō. *Nihon no dokusen shihon—sono keitai to sai-hensei* (日本の独占資本——その形態と再編成). Shin-hyōron-sha. 1953. 346 p. TUK

A collection of essays written for various postwar magazines on the dissolution and re-alignment of monopoly capitalism in Japan. The author attempts to justify the theoretical approach of the radical leftwing in Japanese politics. The first part is on the postwar dissolution of monopoly capitalism in Japan. The second part is on the reorganization of monopoly capitalism. The last section is on the various problems facing monopoly capitalism such as the economic crisis in 1953 after the decline in the economic boom immediately following the outbreak of the Korean War, the revival of militarism and the financial crisis symbolized in the budget, the yearning of the Japanese capitalist to go "South," and the over-production problem of the Japanese fertilizer industry. Appended is a fairly detailed chronology on the developments concerning monopoly capitalism in postwar Japan, and a bibliography on this subject.

C. Basic Policies and Guiding Philosophies

The principal objective of this part is to present as many pertinent items as possible on the specific policies advocated by the leftwing parties at different times, as contrasted to the broader problem of strategy and

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tactics handled in part "A". However, since the more moderate leftwing parties did not actively participate in the strategy and tactics debate, publications by members of this group on their political philosophy, programs of action, and broad political schemes have been included in the first sub-topic "General." A number of items which do not conveniently fit into any of the more specific sub-topics have been arbitrarily included here. A few analytical studies—mostly critical—of various aspects of the leftwing political movements have been included as they seem to pertain more to political action and organization than to a history of the movement.

It has been found that in the postwar period the communists have been much more systematic than the social democrats in publishing and propagandizing their convention and other policy decisions. Due to prewar governmental suppression and the lapse of time, it has become extremely difficult to locate, or ascertain the existence of, reports and resolutions submitted to prewar national conventions by the various political parties. The prewar parties, having long been extinct, their records—whatever existed in any semblance of order—inevitably have been scattered. Many party leaders also do not possess complete files of the party with which they were affiliated during the prewar years; they may have burnt many party documents through fear of the security police; their records also may have been destroyed in the numerous wartime air raids. Even the documents of the Social Democratic Parties for the relatively recent postwar period are not easily obtained. The convention documents are usually mimeographed, limited in circulation, and only readily available for a short time immediately after publication. The crucial parts of these documents do not seem to have generated lengthy and sustained controversies either within or outside the party. After their immediate purpose has been accomplished their value rapidly decreases and the party itself does not attempt systematically to preserve them as records. Although the collection of these documents for only the postwar period is admittedly incomplete, they have been included in this bibliography, because they are useful primary source materials for tracing the development of the SDP.

The sub-sections ("1-c" and "3-c") on "party platforms, regulations, finance, and organization" include many pamphlets containing important information on various types of party policies. The postwar SDP, for instance, often published documents summarizing its Diet activities and justifying its position on legislative and other political issues of the day, with additional explanations of its own legislative proposals. Consequently, the party's proposals and solutions to the multitude of public issues do not readily appear in separate pamphlets. Only the party's justifications for opposition to a conservative legislative proposal or the bare outline of its own policy are presented in these all inclusive pamphlets.

The available material on individual topics, such as agriculture, education, the constitution, or the army, in each of the following four sub-sections ("1-4") is scant and inadequate. At times, one group—the conservative

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Socio-Democratic clique—made large contributions to the few prewar non-communist publications under individual topics. The other political groupings concentrated their ideas on specific subjects, if they ever reached concrete form, in yearbooks, newspaper or magazine articles, and the like.

In general, party pamphlets are dull and uninteresting and lack the spark of political inspiration. In contrast, the JCP is much more prolific and energetic in its political propaganda than the SDP. But both parties tend to expend more of their energies on the unending controversy over political action in broad principle and in specific measures than in trying to devise workable counter-proposals to those of the conservative government.

Furthermore, the inadequate organization, the lack of a competent research staff, and necessary finances prevented the leftwing parties from creating original and responsible proposals to be presented to the electorate. The position of the SDP in the Japanese process has only recently been enhanced to the point where it is advisable, necessary and expected that they will devise more concrete schemes of the political, social and economic reorganization they envisage.

1. Prewar period (Non-communist)

a. General

- IV-244. ABE, ISOO. *Jidai no kakusei* (次代の廊清). Okakura Shobō. 1937. 288 p. DLC

Collection of essays and articles published over more than a ten year period on a variety of social problems: birth control, education, unemployment, nationalization of electric power, the leftwing political party, and constitutional government.

- IV-245. ABE, ISOO. *Jinkō mondai to sanji seigen* (人口問題と産児制限). Nōson Mondai Sōsho Kankō-kai. 1927. 131 p. 農村問題叢書 DLC

“The population problem and birth control” concerns the implications of a rapidly increasing population, its military significance, relation with poverty, the impasse of overseas expansion, including an interpretation of the anti-Japanese problem, and importation of Korean labor; and the second part deals with birth control.

- IV-246. ABE, ISOO. *Kokumin no shimpan ni uttau* (国民の審判に訴う). Senshin-sha. 1930. 228 p. DLC

“An appeal to the judgement of the people” is one of the few comprehensive policy statements by a veteran socialist leader of the prewar Shakai Minshū-tō on general principles, finance, labor, agriculture, the salaried man, unemployment, a financial policy for the masses, housing, political freedom, foreign relations, and disarmament.

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- IV-247. ABE, ISOO. *Seiji dōtoku-ron* (政治道德論). Kurara-sha. 1930. 117 p.
民衆政治講座 19 DLC

In "political morality," Abe maintains politics is the principal means to be used in the proper direction of society, and in that sense a manifestation of morality, yet not synonymous with it.

- IV-248. ABE, ISOO. *Shakai mondai gairon* (社会問題概論). Waseda Daigaku Shuppan-bu. 1921. 838 p. CSt-H (1924 ed); CtY (1924 ed.); DLC; IEN; NNC

A comprehensive exposition of the social philosophy of a moderate veteran socialist. Divided into nine parts: significance of social problems and scope of study, poverty and the cause of crime, relief measures, education, social problems from the points of view of the state and the capitalist, social problems from the point of view of the worker, urban and rural social problems, population and racial problems, and finally socialism.

- IV-249. ABE ISOO. *Shakai-shugi no jidai* (社会主義の時代). Kagaku Shisō Fukyū-kai. 1924. 138 p. DLC

A brief theoretical explanation of socialism and a defense of the ideas of socialism as not being "dangerous." The final chapter is devoted to two aspects where socialism can be implemented: the public ownership of land, and public distribution of rice.

- IV-250. ABE, ISOO. *Tochi kōyū-ron* (土地公有論). Kurara-sha. 1929. 140 p.
民衆政治講座 21 CSt-H; DLC

Discourse on the theory of the public ownership of land, by a veteran socialist, from the moral and economic points of view, the historical development of the ownership of land, the preparation and methodology to be applied in establishing public ownership of land.

Abe also wrote a shorter book on the same subject in 1924 entitled *Tochi kokuyū-ron* (土地国有論) (Kagaku Shisō Fukyū-kai. 109 p.)

- IV-251. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. *Jimmin sensen datō-ron* (人民戦線打倒論). Kokumin Kyōkai Shuppan-bu. 1936. 38 p. CSt-H

A condemnation of the people's front as propagated by the Comintern in the mid-'thirties by a former leader of the leftwing movement who had turned national socialist.

- IV-252. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. *Kaihō undō no shidō riron* (解放運動の指導理論). Kurara-sha. 1929. 155 p. 民衆政治講座 10 CSt-H; DLC

"The guiding principles of the emancipation movement," discusses liberalism, social reform, and socialism, the various phases and factions of socialism, and the opposition between communism and social democracy. At this time Akamatsu was still a social democrat.

- IV-253. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. *Nihon-teki kensei o kakuritsu subeshi* (日本の憲政を確立すべし). Ishin Seido Kenkyū-kai. 1937. 37 p. DLC

A short pamphlet on the establishment of a "Japanese type" constitutional government. By this time Akamatsu had become a national socialist.

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IV-254. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. *et al. Sangyō gōri-ka to ika ni tatakau ka?* (産業合理化と如何に闘うか). Sekai-sha. 1930. 119 p. プロレタリア戦術叢書 1

DLC

"How to combat rationalization in industry" is four essays on this subject by four political figures in the leftwing movement representing four different viewpoints: Akamatsu Katsumaro, secretary general of the Shakai Minshū-tō, Takahashi Kamekichi, adviser to the Nihon Taishū-tō, Hososeko Kanemitsu, secretary general of the Rōnō-tō, and Noro Eitarō of the Sangyō Rōdō Chōsajō. In this order the writers represent varying views of radicalism from the conservative social democrat to the radical leftwing (Noro later became secretary general of the JCP).

IV-255. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. *Shin kokumin undō no kichō* (新国民運動の基調). Banrikaku. 1932. 196 p.

DLC

"The basis for a new national movement" is a national socialistic interpretation of fascism and national socialism, the Manchurian-Mongolian problem, parliamentary politics, and so forth. Akamatsu argues that not only the class struggle must be taken into account, but also the just national struggles of "have-not" nations against the "have" nations.

IV-256. Asō, Hisashi. *Musan seitō no riron to jissai* (無産政党の理論と実際). Kagaku Shisō Fukyū-kai. 1925. 106 p.

DLC

This was written in response to the debate concerning the nature of the Japanese proletarian movement—its attitude toward the Diet, the nature and component elements of a proletarian party, the party's platform, the relationship between labor unions and the political party—a debate that prevailed during the early 'twenties prior to the establishment of the first proletarian party. The arguments are theoretical, dwelling on the structure of a capitalist society, the responsibilities of politics in such a society, the necessity of a proletarian movement, the methodology of political activity, and the application of these points to Japan.

IV-257. FUSE, Tatsuji. *Yachin jidai ni taisuru hōritsu senjutsu* (家賃地代に対する法律戦術). Asano Shoten. 1931. 219 p.

CSt-H

A popularized description of the legal tactics that could be used in fighting for lower land and house rentals.

IV-258. FUSE, Tatsuji. *Yachin, kaiko teate, shakkin, songai baishō, shiharai meirei-tō to ika ni tatakau ka?* (家賃, 解雇手当, 借金, 損害賠償, 支払命令等と如何に戦うか). Shun'yō-dō. 1931. rev. ed. 270 p.

DLC

A legal textbook on how combat such problems as house rents, dismissal allowances, indemnity, etc.

IV-259. KAMIMURA, Susumu. *Kyōryoku ni tatakaeba katsu tochi chūshin no tōsō* (強力に斗えば勝つ土地中心の斗争). Naimu-shō Keiho-kyoku. 1931. 141 p. Mimeographed.

DLC

Reproduction of articles by a leftwing lawyer and former member of the central executive committee of the Rōnō-tō in the leftwing newspaper, *Rōdō nōmin shimbun* between Aug. 2 and Nov. 21, 1930, on the problem of land. The title translated is: "If the struggle centering around land is strongly fought, it will be won."

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- IV-260. KATAYAMA, Tetsu. *Seiji-teki Jiyū no kakutoku* (政治的自由の獲得). Seiunkaku. 1928. 122 p. 民衆政治講座 2 CSt-H; DLC

A treatise on political freedom by a conservative member of the Shakai Minshū-tō (and in 1947 first Socialist Prime Minister in Japan). In the preface, Katayama states that the content and methodology of the political freedom he seeks is very different from that advocated by the more radical leftwing political party, Rōdō Nōmin-tō. He has divided his book into six parts: the meaning of the political freedom we—social democrats—advocate; the method by which political freedom is to be won; political freedom as guaranteed by the Meiji Constitution; the various laws suppressing political freedom; the Peace Preservation Law, as the representative suppressive law and which is “absolutely opposed” by the social democrats; and attaining political freedom through the amendment of the universal suffrage law.

- IV 261. KATŌ, Kanju. *Tōitsu sensen no tembō Handō seiryoku to ikani tatakau ka?* (統一戦線の展望 反動勢力といかに戦うか). Jikyoku Shimbun-sha. 1936. 40 p. 時新パンフレット 4 DLC

A small pamphlet on the outlook of the united front and how to combat the reactionary forces. It was published a year and a half before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese Incident. At that time Katō was chairman of the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Hyōgikai, a labor union federation.

- IV-262. KAWAI, Eijirō. *Shakai seisaku genri* (社会政策原理). Shakai Shisō Kenkyukai Shuppan-bu. 1954. 2 vols. 現代教養文庫 51, 52—河合榮次郎全集 1 DLC (v. 1); NNC (v. 1)

Published also by Nihon Hyōron-sha in 1947 (570 p.). 河合榮次郎選集 3

MH

“The principles of social policy” contains the basic social and political philosophy of one of the most outstanding non-Marxist socialists in Japan. It was originally published in 1931. Kawai was one of the theoreticians of the conservative rightwing of the prewar proletarian political movement. He attempted to systematize the political philosophy, the critique of capitalism, the parliamentary means of attaining socialism, and a definition of moderate socialism for the rightwing socialists. Kawai was greatly influenced by the ideas of Thomas Hill Green and British socialism. Although he was always a staunch critic of communism and Marxism, especially in their advocacy of violent revolution, he urged the abolition of private ownership but only in the means of production. At the same time, however, he also supported the “national polity” and the Emperor system. The treatise consists of five chapters, the first two of which are introductory, the latter three consist of an analysis and criticism of capitalism, and a critique of various systems of political thought ending with British socialism which he declares to be the most appropriate and reasonable.

- IV-263. KAWAI, Eijirō. *Watakushi no shakai-shugi* (私の社会主義). Shakai Shisō Kenkyūkai Shuppan-bu. 1952. 134 p. 現代教養文庫 26 MH; NNC

Reproduction of three statements with slight revisions as they were submitted to the chief judge during Kawai's trial in 1940 for alleged violation of the Press Law. His case was dismissed at this trial but he was later (1942) convicted for an “anti-war article.” The three statements are entitled: my socialism, concept of the state, and a criticism of nationalism. In these he advocates his idea of an idealistic social democracy. These three essays were published posthumously for the first time in the postwar era.

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- IV-264. KOIKE, Shirō. *Hōkyū seikatsusha no kaikyū-teki nimmu* (俸給生活者の階級的任務). Kurara-sha. 1930. 120 p. CSt-H; DLC

In "The class mission of the salaried man," the conception of class, with emphasis on the middle class, is defined, the present condition of the salaried man is described, how the salaried man views himself, how the ruling class guides the middle class, and how the liberation movement (kaihō undō) assists the salaried man are expounded.

- IV-265. KOIKE, Shirō. *Kaikyū-ron* (階級論). Kurara-sha. 1930. 125 p. 民衆政治講座 21 DLC

This exposition of Koike's social theory concerning classes, ends with a chapter on the relation between a socialist party and the proletariat.

- IV-266. KYŌCHŌ-KAI. *Dai 73-Gikai to musan seitō* (第73 議会と無産政党). 1938. 82 p. Mimeographed. 5 CSt-H

A review of Diet policies of the proletarian political parties during the 73rd session of the Diet, the first extraordinary session after the outbreak of the China Incident in 1937.

- IV-267. *Minshū seiiji kōza* (民衆政治講座). Seiunkaku and Kurara-sha. 1928-30. at least 24 volumes.

A series simply written, as the translated title of the series may indicate, "Political lectures for the masses" on a variety of topics by leaders of the social democratic movement, especially the Shaminkei (or Socio-Democratic) leaders, the conservative wing of the pre-and postwar leftwing movement. They do not purport to present lofty statements of party platform and principles but plain understandable expositions of their stand on social, political, and economic topics of the times. This is the only systematic presentation of the thinking of one sector of the leftwing. Such collections are hard to find. The available separate volumes of this series have been listed among the various sub-sections below.

- IV-268. MIYAKE, Shōichi. *Nōson to seinen undō* (農村と青年運動). Shakai Hyōron-sha. 1927. 153 p. CSt-H

On two sections of the agrarian youth movement: the bougeois and proletarian-youth. The present strength, tactics, organization, and ideologies of the opposing forces are described. It is one of the few books on the subject.

- IV-269. MORITO, Tatsuo. *Daigaku no tenraku* (大学の顛落). Dōjin-sha. 1930. 110 p. CtY; DLC

Three essays: one on the decline, one on the fate and mission, and one on the revival of the university, written by a younger member of the rightwing of the proletarian movement (in the postwar Socialist cabinet he was the Minister of Education). The first essay on the decline was a speech given to students of Kyoto University soon after the famous Kyoto University Incident and is admittedly more cautious. The fate and mission essay was printed in the *Teidai shimbun* in 1931. The revival essay was also originally printed in four issues of the *Teidai shimbun* (nos. 324-327).

- IV-269.1. MORITA, Tatsuo. *Sensō to bunka* (戦争と文化). Chūō Kōron-sha. 1941. 304 p. CSt-H

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On war and culture by a moderate socialist.

- IV-270. MORITO, Tatsuo. *Shisō tōsō-shi jō ni okeru shakai kagaku undō no jūyō-sei* (思想斗争史上に於ける社会科学運動の重要性). Kaizō-sha. 1927. 71 p.
CSt-H; DLC

Divided into two sections: the criminality of the social science movement and its cultural significance, and the evolution of social science research organizations centering around universities. The former appeared in *Kaizō*, Oct. 1926, the latter, in *Warera*, Oct. 1926. Written as protest at the time of the occurrence of the Kyoto University Incident which aroused interest in the social science movement. It discusses the position and importance of the social science movement in the history of thought struggle (shisō tōsō) in Japan, the inevitable suppression to be suffered by this movement, and the social basis for the impossibility of completely suppressing the movement.

- IV-271. MORITO, Tatsuo. *Shisō to tōsō* (思想と斗争). Kaizō-sha. 1925. 349 p.
CSt-H; CU; DLC

Several articles on the early political philosophy of one of the leading postwar members of the SDP: the supporters of various "isms" and the reactionary forces during the Great Earthquake; eulogy of the anarchist Osugi Sakae; socialism and the Peace Preservation Law; thought and struggle, in defense of the "social science movement."

- IV-272. MORITO, Tatsuo. *Tōsō shudan to shite no gakkō kyōiku* (斗争手段としての学校教育). Dōjin-sha. 1926. 76 p.
DLC

"Revision of an article entitled "Modern education as a struggle weapon" which appeared in *Kaizō*, Aug. 1926. It was originally written as a polemic against the so-called confidential instructions of the Minister of Education which strongly discouraged individual research in the social sciences.

- IV-273. MUTŌ, Unjūrō. *Yanushi to ika ni tatakau-beki ka?* (家主と如何に戦うべきか). Shakuyanin-sha. 1931. 236 p.
DLC

On how to fight the "landlords" by a leftwing lawyer. Includes explanations of the relevant laws and of the tactics to be used in and out of the courts. (Mutō is generally identified with the leftwing of the postwar Social Democratic party).

- IV-274. OYAMA, Ikuo. *Seiji no shakai-teki kiso—kokka kenryoku o chūshin to suru shakai tōsō no seiji-teki kōsatsu* (政治の社会的基礎—国家権力を中心とする社会斗争の政治的考察). Dōjin-sha. 1925. 499 p.
CU; DLC

"The social basis of politics—political observations of the social struggle centering around state authority" is an exposition of Oyama's political philosophy in three parts and 17 chapters. All political phenomena are the "manifestations of social phenomena in the broadest sense." (p. iii) "The most important and ultimate objective of political science, as a science, is to discover the 'social principles' that govern all political phenomena." (p. iii). Oyama explains this standpoint in the introductory part on the relation between social trends and political science. The remaining three parts pertain to social life and political phenomena, the international situation, and political developments in Japan.

- IV-275. OYAMA, Ikuo. *...zenshū* (...全集). Chūō Kōron-sha. 1948. 5 v.

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CSt-H; DLC (v. 2-4); MH (v. 2-3); NNC (v. 2-4)

Collection of Oyama's books and essays in five volumes:

Vol. 1: The social basis of politics. *See no.* IV-274Vol. 2: Essays on the modern political process in Japan (written in 1925), racial struggle and class consciousness (1923), reformation of the principles of political science (?), the proletarian political party theory (1925) and a partial record of his interpellations in the 58th session of the Diet, called *Oyama Ikuo wa kaku sakebu* (This was originally published by Shunjū-sha, 1930, 89 p. as a separate book—*See* IV-276)Vol. 3: Reproduction of Oyama's book *Arashi ni tatsu*, an autobiography of his participation in the proletarian political party movement until 1929. (This book was originally published by Tettō Shoin in 1929, 559 p.) The latter half of Volume 3 contains a number of periodical articles describing his feelings up to the time he left Waseda University to actively participate in the leftwing movement (written between 1919 and 1927).Vol. 4: Thirteen articles on Oyama's political philosophy written between 1914 and 1925 and seven essays on cultural criticism (*bunka hihiyō*) written between 1913 and 1927.

Vol. 5: A series of essays on militarism (written between 1915 and 1925), the Russian Revolution (1916-1918), urban life (1914-1916), Oyama's evaluation of Woodrow Wilson, Hara (Kei) Takashi, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Yamamoto Nobuharu, Mahatma Gandhi (1910-1948), Fascism (1927-1931), from the United States and after Oyama's return to Japan (1933-1948).

IV-276. RŌNO-TŌ. HOMBŪ. CHŌSA-KA. *Oyama Ikuo wa kaku sakebu* (大山郁夫は斯く叫ぶ). Shunjū-sha. 1930. 89 p. CSt-H; DLC

Two speeches by Oyama, one given in the Imperial Diet on April 27, 1930, criticizing the administrative policy speech of Premier Hamaguchi, and the other at a memorial meeting for Yamamoto Nobuharu killed by a nationalist assassin.

IV-277. SHAKAI KAGAKU KENKYU-BŪ, *comp.* *Nihon musan seitō no chinretsū to hihan* (日本無産政党的陳列と批判). Kyōei-sha. 1927. 129 p. no. 2 DLCOn the proletarian political parties from the standpoint of election policies, the proletarian political parties and the collapse of the Rōdō Sōdōmei, the new political situation in the period of transition, and the *raison d'être* of a new political party. The latter three items were written by Yamakawa Hitoshi, Oyama Ikuo, and Gorai Kinzō respectively.IV-278. SHAKAI TAISHŪ-TŌ. SHUPPAN-BU. *Saikin no rōdō mondai to rōdō undō* (最近の労働問題と労働運動). 1935. 51 p. 社会大衆党パンフレット 5

DLC

Party publication of the Shakai Taishū-tō concerning inflation and the worker, the temporary worker and the retirement reserve fund system, industrial cooperation, and company unions.

IV-279. SHAKAI TAISHŪ-TŌ. *Sō-senkyo tōsō hōkoku* (総選挙斗争報告—Report on the general election). 1936. 48, 5 p. 社会大衆党パンフレット 11IV-280. SHAKAI TAISHŪ-TŌ. *Tokyo fusei no genjō to kinrō taishū no yōkyū* (東京府政の現状と勤労大衆の要求). 1936. 33 p. DLC

The election policies of the Shakai Taishū-tō.

BASIC POLICIES AND GUIDING PHILOSOPHIES

- IV-281. YAMAMOTO, Nobuharu. *Rombun-shū* (論文集). Rogosu Shoin. 1930. 456 p. DLC

Collection of statements and speeches by Yamamoto, a member of the prewar Rōnō-tō, who was assassinated in 1929. One section is devoted to his parliamentary speeches and statements as a representative of the party. The second section is composed of speeches, etc., connected with his political struggles outside the Diet. The third section is on miscellaneous subjects.

- IV-282. YAMAMOTO, Nobuharu. ...*senshū* (...選集). Shinkō Shuppan-sha. 5 v. CSt-H (v. 5); DLC (v. 4-5)

Selected writings by Yamamoto. Vol. 5 contains an account of his fight in the Diet against measures to suppress the growing leftwing movement, and essays on miscellaneous political subjects.

- IV-283. YOSHINO, Sakuzō. *Kindai seiji no kompon mondai* (近代政治の根本問題). Kurara-sha. 1929. 133 p. 民衆政治講座 24 DLC

A theoretical discourse on the establishment of a government for the masses, noting the conditions for its establishment, prerequisite for representation, and fundamental facilities necessary for such a government. The author was a well known liberal professor of the 'twenties and early 'thirties who helped found the Shakai Minshu-tō in 1926. He died in 1933.

- IV-284. YOSHINO, Sakuzō. *Musan seitō no tadoru-beki michi* (無産政党的迎るべき道). Bunka Seikatsu Kenkyūkai. 1927. 124 p. CSt-H

"The road to be followed by the proletarian political parties."

- IV-285. YOSHINO, Sakuzō. *Minshu-shugi ronshū* (民主主義論集). Shin-kigen-sha. 1948. 8 v. CSt-H; MH; WaU

A collection of the writings of Yoshino on democracy, the democratic reformation of Japanese politics, world peace, social problems and social movements, proletarian political parties, Sino-Japanese relations, the Chinese Revolution, and Meiji culture.

b. Convention reports and resolutions

- IV-286. RŌDŌ NŌMIN-TŌ. *Dai 2-kai zenkoku taikai sokkiroku* (才二回全国大会速記録). Tōhō Tsūshin-sha. 1928. 196 p. NNC

A stenographic record of the three-day national convention of the Rōdō Nōmin-tō on Dec. 10-12, 1927.

- IV-287. RŌDŌ NŌMIN-TŌ. ...*dai 2-kai taikai teishutsu gian* (...才二回大会提出議案—Draft resolutions for the second national convention). 1927. 34 p. CSt-H

- IV-288. RŌNŌ-TŌ. HOMBŪ. ...*hōkoku* (...報告—Party report). 1930. 15 leaves. Mimeographed. DLC

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IV-289. SHAKAI TAISHŪ-TŌ. *Dai 5-kai taikai gian* (第五回大会議案—Draft resolutions for the fifth national convention). 1930. 47 p. DLC

IV-290. SHAKAI TAISHŪ-TŌ. *Dai 7-kai zenkoku taikai gian* (第七回全国大会議案—Draft resolutions for the seventh national convention). 1938. 42 p. CSt-H

IV-291. SHAKAI TAISHŪ-TŌ. *Honmō hōkoku narabini gian* (本部報告並に議案—Headquarters reports and draft resolutions). [Dec. 1932]. 50, 16 p. DLC

IV-292. SHAKAI TAISHŪ-TŌ. ...*Shōwa 8-nendō taikai gian* (...昭和八年大会議案—Draft resolutions for the 1933 national convention). 1933. 33 p. DLC

IV-293. SHAKAI TAISHŪ-TŌ. *Tōsō hōkoku-shō* (斗争報告書)
 1936 (first half)—CSt-H; DLC 1937 (first half)—DLC
 1936 (second half)—DLC 1938 —CSt-H; DLC
 1937 —DLC 1939 —CSt-H

Official party statements on activities and accomplishments during a year or a half year period. Each section and policy committee of the party makes an individual report. The first four reports are entitled *Tōsō hōkoku-shō* while the latter two are *Katsudō hōkoku-shō*.

IV-294. ZENKOKU TAISHŪ-TŌ. ...*tōsō hōkoku-shō* (...斗争報告書—Struggle report [for 1930]). 1930 ed. 99 p. DLC

IV-295. [ZENKOKU TAISHŪ-TŌ]. *Dai 2-kai taikai gian* (第二回大会議案—Draft resolutions for the second national convention). 1930. 84 p. DLC

c. Party platforms, regulation, finances, organization

IV-296. Aso, Takeshi (Ken). *Musan-tō wa dō tatakaru ka* (無産党はどう闘ったか). Shiokawa Shobō. 1930. 279 p. CSt-H; DLC; MH

Partisan reports on the activities of the proletarian political parties by members of the several parties putting forth candidates in the 1930 elections. Aso explains the attitudes of the parties toward unification, their policies, and electioneering.

IV-297. KAMIJŌ, Aiichi. *Musan-tō no senjintsu* (無産党の政見). Daiichi Shuppan-sha. 1928. 278 p. CSt-H; DLC

The proletarian movement is briefly surveyed in the first chapter, followed by an analysis of various aspects of the movement, friction within the movement, leadership, party platforms, election tactics, daily struggles, the Rōdō Nomin-tō, and the future of the proletarian parties. Most of the time a separate section is devoted to each leftwing party. The last two chapters are on Diet tactics and the author's outlook for proletarian parties. The author was the head of the international department of the Nihon Rōnō-tō.

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- IV-298. KATAYAMA, Tetsu and KOIKE, Shirō. *Nobiyuku Shakai Minshū-tō* (伸び行く社会民衆党). Kurara-sha. 1929. 96 p. DLC

Party statement on the establishment of the Shakai Minshū-tō, the difference between its Diet members and Diet members of the conservative parties, party policy toward a unified proletarian political party, and an explanation of party finances. Brief biographical sketches of the members of the party's central committee are included. The authors were prominent members of the party.

- IV-299. RŌDŌ JIJŌ CHŌSA-JŌ. *Saikin no waga kuni shakai undō* (最近の我国社会運動). 1932. 564 p. CSt-H

A topical description of the proletarian social movements in Japan: the principles, platforms, and types of "struggles" conducted, organizational activities, educational policies, finances, and support of the proletarian political parties; the farmers movement; women's movement and the salaried man's union; organized and unorganized workers, union factions, and programs of action (*undō hōshin*) and the international relations of the labor unions. Censorship eliminated the description of the radical leftwing organizations.

- IV-300. RŌDŌ NŌMIN-TŌ. *no undō hōshin* (.....の運動方針). Sekai-sha. 1928. 73 p. 労農政治叢書 2

The platform, policies, etc., of the Rōdō Nōmin-tō, the radical leftwing party, eventually ordered disbanded by the government in 1928.

- IV-301. RŌDŌ NŌMIN-TŌ, KYOTO-FU SHIBU RENGŌ-KAI. *Rōdō Nōmin-tō no uijin* (労働農民党の初陣). Nansō Shoin. 1927. 129 p. DLC

Self-evaluation by the Rōdō Nōmin-tō of its participation in the House of Representatives by-election held in the fifth district in Kyoto. This was the first election for the Rōnō-tō. A fairly detailed account is given of the party's election campaign, by dividing a one month period into four parts, including the tactics employed each time. The first chapter concerns a brief analysis of the party's support in the district. About twenty different samples of the party's campaign literature are appended.

- IV-302. RŌDŌ NŌMIN-TŌ. *wa ika ni tatakatta ka?* (.....は如何に闘ったか). Sekai-sha. 1927. 132 p. 労農政治叢書 DLC

Collection of declarations, statements, protests, etc., issued since the formation of the party in 1926.

- IV-303. SHAKAI JIJŌ CHŌSA KENKYŪ-JŌ. *Musan seitō kōryō sengen kiyaku* (無産政党綱領宣言規約). Osaka. 1927. 108 p. 資料 1 DLC

The party platforms, declarations, and regulations of the proletarian political parties.

- IV-304. SHAKAI MINSHŪ-TŌ. *sengen, kōryō, seisaku, undō hōshin, tōsoku* (.....宣言綱領政策運動方針党則 — declaration, platform, policy, action policy, party regulations). Kobe. 1929. 28 p. DLC

- IV-305. SHAKAI MINSHŪ-TŌ. *Gokanen tōsō-shi* (五十年斗争史). 1932. 190, 21 p. DLC

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Five year history of the Shakai Minshū-tō, 1927-1931. It reports on the party's election campaigns, Diet struggles, and other items of importance. Party policies, party regulations, etc. are appended.

- IV-306. SHAKAI TAISHŪ-TŌ. *no kakushin seikō* (..... の革新政綱). 1936. 38 p. 社会大衆党パンフレット 9 DLC

Party policy statements on the elections, reformation of the House of Peers, and the cabinet, and secondly on industry. This pamphlet was compiled from its election platform for the 1936 general election.

- IV-307. *Zenkoku taishū nenkan* (全国大衆年鑑). DLC

In reality this yearbook is a combination of three separate yearbooks written from a partisan point of view. The first report is on the 1928-1929 activities of the Nihon Rōno-tō, the second on the activities of its successor, the Nihon Taishū-tō, in 1929, and the third is the annual report of the Zenkoku Taishū-tō for 1930. Each volume gives detailed accounts of policies, organizational efforts, and the activities of various committees. An excellent primary source, and well documented.

- IV-308. ZENKOKU TAISHŪ-TŌ. SEISAKU IINKAI. *Taishū-tō wa ikani tatakau ka* (大衆党は如何に闘うか). 1930. 60 p. DLC

Explanation of the policy statement of the Zenkoku Taishū-tō.

d. Agriculture

- IV-309. KATAYAMA Tetsu. *Kosaku rippō-ron* (小作立法論). Kurara-sha. 1929. 163 p. 民衆政治講座 16 CSt-H; DLC

Analysis of the tenant farmer legislation problem. Katayama, active participant in the proletarian movement from the 'twenties (and later Prime Minister in 1947), discusses the causes of tenant farmer disputes, how Japanese civil law regards tenant farmer disputes, how Japanese law of legal procedure handles such disputes, the inadequate tenant conciliation law, the government plan, and an exposition of the tenant farmer policies of the Sōdōmei and Shakai Minshū-tō.

- IV-310. HIRANO, Rikizō. *Nihon nōgyō seisaku to nōchi mondai* (日本農業政策と農地問題). Hitosugi Shoten. 1943. 180 p. CSt-H; DLC

A book written during the Pacific War on the agricultural land problem and agricultural policy by an agrarian leader in the proletarian movement (and rightwing SDP Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in the Katayama Cabinet of 1947).

- IV-311. KATSUMATA, Seiichi. *Nihon nōgyō no tōsei kikō* (日本農業の統制機構). Hakuyō-sha. 1940. 174 p. DLC

Essays on the reorganization of Japanese agriculture, production, capacity, and planned production, and the dual nature of agriculture. (Katsumata became a leader in the postwar SDP.)

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- IV-312. NAKAZAWA, Benjirō. *Kosaku mondai no shin-tenkai* (小作問題の新展開). Waseda Taibun-sha. 1924. 385 p. DLC

"New developments in the tenant farmer problem" was written by the chairman of the Chūbu Nihon Nōmin Kumiai, a regional farmers union. According to Nakazawa, this is the best book to understand his political philosophy on the farm problem. He later became chairman of the rightwing farmers union, the Zen-Nihon Nōmin Kumiai Dōmei.

e. Education

- IV-313. ASANO, Kenshin. *Puroretaria kyōiku no sho-mondai* (プロレタリア教育の諸問題). Kōseikaku. 1931. 340 p. CSt-H; DLC

Problems of proletarian education by a former teacher who was ousted from his teaching position as a result of writing the first part of this book on the "Profits of Education."

- IV-314. TAMEFUJI, Gorō. *Minshū kyōiku-ron* (民衆教育論). Kurara-sha. 1929. 141 p. 民衆政治講座 19 DLC

The author, first a teacher then a newspaper reporter, then an editor of an educational journal, and also an active participant in the proletarian political movement and member of the Shakai Minshū-tō seems well qualified to discuss the educational problem. He divides the book into two parts, one on the present condition of education in Japan and secondly on the democratization of education. In part one he describes how the educational system is for the specially privileged, a propaganda organ for the ruling classes; he maintains that the teachers are robots and acts as though they are "human gramophones," that they lack social consciousness; and that the system in general aims toward the mechanization of human beings. In the latter part of the book he advocates a solution in a drastic revision of the normal schools, abolition of night high schools and examinations, adoption of a public school system, and the emancipation of children.

f. Finance

- IV-315. MATSUNAGA, Yoshio. *Kokka zaisei-ron* (国家財政論). Kurara-sha. 1929. 144 p. 民衆政治講座 6 CSt-H; DLC

A discussion of national finance by a member of the Shakai Minshūtō (and Parliamentary Vice-Minister for judicial matters during the first Socialist-led Cabinet in 1947).

- IV-316. IZEKI, Takao. *Musan kaikyū kin'yū-ron* (無産階級金融論). Kurara-sha. 1929. 144 p. 民衆政治講座 7 CSt-H; DLC

Describes the monopolized form of Japanese financial institutions in the hands of the capitalists, the various proletarian financial institutions in Europe, and the present state of proletarian financial institutions in Japan and their future prospects. He states that Japanese proletarian parties, labor unions, and the proletariat itself,

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lack friendly and helpful financial institutions and as a result are losing the battle against their opponents. The book is written as a guide and introduction to the establishment of such institutions.

g. Foreign policy

- IV-317. KAMEI, Kan'ichirō and YOSHIKAWA, Suejirō. *Minshū gaikō-ron* (民衆外交論). Kurara-sha. 1929. 151 p. CSt-H; DLC

Also printed under a different title in 1930; *Shakai-shugi-teki gaikō-ron*.

Presentation of the proletarian viewpoint on diplomacy. One of the authors, Kamei, was a former member of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was the first person with his background to enter proletarian politics. He was a member of the central executive committee of the Shakai Minshū-tō.

- IV-318. MIYAZAKI, Ryūsuke. *Tai-Shi gaikō-ron* (対支外交論). Seiunkaku. 1928. 184 p. 民衆政治講座 DLC

A popularized interpretation of the China problem by an active member of the proletarian movement. Miyazaki's interest in the China problem was probably due to the influence of his father who was a friend of Sun Yat-sen. Miyazaki was editor-in-chief of the magazine, *Kaihō*, and one of the original members of the Shinjin-kai, a leftwing student group. The appendices contain two statements by the Shakai Minshū-tō on the despatch of troops to Shantung and on a policy vis-à-vis China.

- IV-319. SHAKAI TAISHŪ-TŌ. *Kiki ni tatsu kokusai seikyoku* (危機に立つ国際政局). 1936. 48 p. DLC

A foreign policy statement of the Shakai Taishū-tō. Approximately one half of the pamphlet is devoted to the China problem, while the remainder is a cursory survey of the world situation. This pamphlet is the report of a group of party members who visited China and Manchuria; it also served as campaign literature for the 1936 general election.

- IV-320. ARAHATA, Kanson. *Sensō-ron* (戦争論). Asano Shoten. 1932. 252 p. DLC

An analysis of the meaning of "imperialistic" wars. The following are a few of the chapter headings: Japanese-American rivalry in Manchuria, the munitions industries and the inevitability of war, the Pacific disarmament conference from the proletarian point of view. The eight chapters were originally published independently in magazines.

- IV-321. OKU, Sumio. *Musan kaikyū to Mammō mondai* (無産階級と満蒙問題). Nihon Shakai-shugi Kenkyū-sha. 1931. 19 p. パンフレット 2 DLC

"The proletariat and the Manchurian and Mongolian problem" is a national socialist view of the subject.

- IV-322. SHIMANAKA Yūzō, KATAYAMA Tetsu, and KOIKE Shirō. *Nihon musan kaikyū wa Mammō-mondai o dō miru* (日本無産階級は満蒙問題をどう見る). Senshin-sha. 1932. 128 p. CSt-H; DLC

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One of the few books devoted to a presentation of the foreign policy views of the proletarian political parties. The authors are members of the rightwing of the proletarian political movement. The aspect presented here is on Manchuria and Mongolia. The attitude and resolution of the Shakai Minshū-tō concerning the Manchurian and Mongolian problem are appended.

- IV-323. YOSHINO, Sakuzō. *Tai-Shi mondai* (対支問題). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1930. 154 p. IEN; DLC

An analysis of Japan's China policy and its resolution by a liberal political scientist and theorist of the conservative socialists.

h. Labor legislation

- IV-324. SUZUKI, Bunji. *Rōdō rippō-ron* (労働立法論). Kurara-sha. 1929. 172 p. 民衆政治講座 8 CSt-H; DLC

A popularized interpretation of labor legislation by a veteran of the socialist movement.

i. Labor unions

- IV-325. MATSUOKA, Komakichi. *Rōdō kumiai-ron* (労働組合論). Kurara-sha. 1929. 155 p. 民衆政治講座 11 DLC

The labor union theory of a conservative leader of the proletarian movement. Matsuoka has been a prominent figure in the labor movement since the twenties and has headed the Rōdō Sōdōmei from before the war.

j. Local finance

- IV-326. MATSUNAGA, Yoshio. *Chihō zaisei-ron* (地方財政論). Kurara-sha. 1929. 151 p. 民衆政治講座 18 CSt-H; DLC

Analysis of local finances by a labor lawyer, member of the central executive committee of the Shakai Taishū-tō, leader of its political affairs research committee.

k. National defense

- IV-327. MIZUNO, Hironori. *Musan kaikyū to kokubō mondai* (無産階級と国防問題). Kurara-sha. 1929. 136 p. 民衆政治講座 9 CSt-H; DLC

"The proletariat and national defense" is an exposition of the relationship of these subjects from the standpoint of the conservative wing of the proletarian movement. The book purports to show that military preparedness is borne by the proletariat, that it encourages and supports international wars, and concludes with an explanation of the mutual relationships between military preparedness, imperialism, and socialism. This is one of the few interpretations on this subject by the social democrats.

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l. *Nationalization*

- IV-328. HORIKAWA, Takeo. *Denryoku kokkan-an no genri* (電力国管案の原理). Kōtsū Keizai-sha, Shuppan-bu. 1936. 114 p. CtY

A treatise on the principles of a proposal for state control of electric power.

- IV-329. Asō, Hisashi and KATAYAMA, Tetsu. *Kakushin seikō gaikan* (革新政綱概観). *Jūyō sangyō kokuei-ron* (重要産業国営論). Jimbun-sha. 1936. 173, 162 p. 国策大衆講座 1 CU; DLC; MiU

This is actually two separate books printed under one cover. The first, by Asō, is a general outline of the principles of renovation, as they pertain to the reform of capitalism, the reformist policies of the government, bourgeois political parties and rightwing organizations, and the reformist policies of the Shakai Taishū-tō as they pertain to labor, and agriculture. Katayama's study on the nationalization of important industries is divided into two parts: a general discussion of the objectives, and present status of the control of important industries, general tendencies of controlled economies in various countries, and the presentation of his plan for the nationalization of industries; the nationalization of the electric power industry and an exposition of the differences between the government and the Shakai Taishū-tō concerning this plan are explained.

m. *Small and medium business*

- IV-330. KOIKE, Shirō. *Shō-keiei-sha ron* (小経営者論). Kurara-sha. 1929. 158. p. 民衆政治講座 17 CSt-H; DLC

A discussion of medium and small business, its growth, decline, and future. Koike in the final chapter suggests measures to counter the decline in the establishment of various cooperatives. He was a ranking member in the leftwing movement.

n. *Unemployment*

- IV-331. ABE, Isoo. *Shitsugyō mondai* (失業問題). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1929. 201 p. 時事問題講座 11 DLC; IEN

A conservative socialist interpretation of the causes of unemployment, its solution and the possible sources of finances for this solution. Although the book does not discuss the specific policies for the solution of unemployment advocated by the rightwing socialists, it is of interest since Abe was at the time the head of the Shakai Minshū-tō, the rightwing socialist party.

- IV-332. KOYAMA, Hisao. *Shitsugyō mondai* (失業問題). Kurara-sha. 1929. 140 p. 民衆政治講座 20 DLC

A popular analysis of the problem of unemployment by a former member of the central executive committee of the Shakai Minshū-tō, the rightwing socialist party. It is divided into three sections: a general discussion of unemployment, its causes, responsibilities, etc.; various relief measures; and those problems of unemployment closely related to politics.

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IV-333. *Shitsugyō mondai sōsho* (失業問題叢書). Shitsugyō Mondai Sōsho Kankō-kai. 5 v. Compiled by Shitsugyō Rōdōsha Dōmei and Shitsugyō Taisaku Dōshikai. CU; DLC

Treatises on the problem of unemployment by prominent leftwing leaders, government officials, economists and university professors.

2. Prewar Period (Communist)

a. General

IV-334. HEIWA-MURA KENKYŌSHITSU. *Sensō-chū no Nihon* (戦争中の日本). n.p. Kokusai Shuppan-sha. 21 p.

"Wartime Japan," a poorly printed pamphlet, seems to have been prepared by the propaganda units formed by Japanese prisoners of war working with the Chinese Communists. This work was guided by exiled Japanese Communists and is an example of communist propaganda methods under certain conditions.

IV-335. *Nihon sekka no kanō-sei to sono shōrai no mitōshi* (日本赤化の可能性と其の将来の見透し). 1942? 10 p. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. DLC

"The future outlook and possibility of a Red Japan" is the summary of a communist pamphlet confiscated by the Japanese government.

IV-336. KUSUSE, Masazumi. *Kyōsan-tō undō no kenkyū* (共産党運動の研究). Shinkōkaku. 1933. [184 p.] DLC

An anti-communist analysis of the JCP with an emphasis on tactics. The chapter on tactics includes recruiting members, fund raising, liaison, fleeing from law enforcement officers, demonstrations, propaganda and agitation, secret activities, and extra-legal disciplinary punishment by the JCP. In principle, all sections contain citations of what the author calls, "real examples."

IV-337. KONDO, Eizō. *Puroretaria enzetsu-shū* (プロレタリア演説集). Heibonsha. 1930. 348 p. DLC; NNC

"Collection of proletarian speeches" is mainly those of Russian and other Westerners. Speeches by Oyama, Abe Isoo, Katayama Tetsu, Asō Hisashi, Kawakami Jōtarō and others on politics and political parties in and out of the Diet are also quoted.

IV-338. NARA, Masamichi. *Zadankai no kenkyū* (座談会の研究). Shinkō Kagaku-sha. 1929. 162 p. DLC

Explanation of the role, functions, and usages of the "discussion meeting" as a means for propagating the ideas, tactics and strategems of the leftwing.

STRATEGIES, INTERPRETATIONS AND POLICIES

b. Army

IV-339. ITAKURA, Takashi. *Guntai to sekka* (軍隊と赤化—The Army and communization). Gumbu Kakusei Kenkyūkai. 1926. 2 v. DLC (v. 1)

IV-340. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT FILES. *Nihon Seinen Kyōsan Dōmei no guntai kankei* (日本青年共産同盟の軍隊関係). See no. III-144.

c. Education

IV-341. HASHIMOTO, Keichirō. *Kyōiku sekka to sono taisaku* (教育赤化と其の対策). Chūsei-sha. 1931. 118 p. CSt-H; DLC

Communist infiltration of education and counter measures during 1929-1931.

IV-342. MOMBU-SHŌ. GAKUSEI-BU. *Puroretaria kyōiku no kyōzai* (プロレタリア教育の教材). 1934. 695 p. Marked confidential. CSt-H

A very detailed and voluminous study of the techniques and materials used in the propagation of radical leftwing and communist ideas in prewar Japanese grade schools. Part I is an analysis of the "proletarian educational policy" in all grade school courses, especially ethics and civics, and language. Part II explains the leftwing interpretation given to the various textbooks on many subjects, especially ethics and civics, language readers, history, geography, and others. Part III presents the various types of non-text book materials used by the teacher to supplement and "improve" his radical leftwing and communist interpretation to government approved text books. Part IV is devoted to an analysis of this type of pedagogy and the effect it has on the pupils, again emphasizing the above four subjects and citing concrete examples garnered from all over Japan but especially from Tokyo, Kagawa, Nagano, Ibaragi, and Fukuoka prefectures. This is a unique book in the study of propaganda techniques in the field of education in prewar Japan.

IV-343. MOMBU-SHŌ. *Puroretaria kyōiku undō* (プロレタリア教育運動). 1933. 2 v. Marked confidential. CSt-H (v. 2); DLC

Vol. 1: The development of the proletarian educational movement, its organization, objectives, mission, and action policies.

Vol. 2: The various methods and devices of propaganda and agitation used to appeal to the grade school teacher, children and parents.

An interesting two volume set describing the approach of the leftwing to organize the educational field, particularly the grade school teacher, the younger child, and the parents. Very few such analyses are available.

IV-344. NAIMU-SHO. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shōgakkō ni okeru puroretaria ideorogī kyōiku no ni san no keiken* (小学校に於けるプロレタリアイデオロギー教育の二三の経験). Oct. 1933. 27, 2 leaves. Mimeographed. DLC

The experiences of a certain Wakita Hidehiko in grade school education of proletarian ideologies. The essay was apparently written in Oct. 1932.

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d. Foreign policy

- IV-345. HONGŌ, Takashi. *Shina mondai kōwa* (支那問題講話). Puroretaria Kagaku Kenkyūjo. 1930. 242 p. DLC

A radical leftwing interpretation of developments in China since the Chinese Revolution.

- IV-346. HANTEI DŌMEI. *Manshū e no imonkin o dasubeki ka dō ka* (満洲への慰問金を出すべきかどうか——Should one contribute to the collection of consolation money to be sent to Manchuria). n.p. [1932?] 12 p. Mimeographed. DLC

e. Local government

- IV-347. ICHIKAWA, Shōichi and FUSEBARA, Yukio. *Shichōson-sei to wa donna mono ka* (市町村制とはどんなものか). Rōdō Mondai Kenkyūjo. 1929. 110 p. DLC

A communist analysis of the local governmental system dwelling for the most part on the rural areas, the methods to be used in fighting this system, and instructions on how to conduct an election campaign toward this end. Ichikawa was one of the early members of the JCP and later convicted and imprisoned for these activities.

f. Organization

- IV-348. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō tōmen no soshiki jigyō tokuni saibō no soshiki katsudō ni kansuru ketsugi* (日本共産党当面の組織事業特に細胞の組織運動に関する決議). n.p. 1929? 11 leaves. Mimeographed. 赤旗パンフレット 6 DLC

Decision of a special central group in March 1929 concerning JCP organizational problems, especially cells, their organization and activities.

g. Press

- IV-349. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ, CHŪŌ IINKAI. *Kōjō shimbun ni tsuite no hiha* (工場新聞に就ての批判). Daini Musansha Shimbun-sha. 1931. 55 p. 無産パンフレット 22 DLC

Concerning the mission, function, and necessity of a "factory newspaper." Appended is the decision of the "international communist party" [comintern] in 1925-26 concerning the "factory newspaper."

STRATEGIES, INTERPRETATIONS AND POLICIES

3. Postwar Period (Non-communist)

a. General

- IV-350. ASANUMA, Inejirō. *Waga genroku tōsō-ron* (わが言論斗争録). Shakai Shinchō-sha. 1953. 364 p. DLC

Reproduction of speeches, interpellations, reports, radio broadcasts, newspaper and magazine articles by Asanuma, Secretary General of the SDP, on a variety of political topics since the end of the war. It is a useful statement of the philosophy of one of the leading members of the rightwing SDP.

- IV-351. HORI, Makoto. *Shakai-shugi kokka-ron* (社会主義国家論). Rōdō Bunka-sha. 1949. 199 p. DLC; MiU; MnU

A general discussion on the socialist state, and the emergence of Japan as a modern state by a prominent postwar leftwing socialist.

- IV-352. KATAYAMA, Tetsu. *Aoi tori o motomete* (青い鳥を求めて). Asahi Shimbun-sha. 1949. 156 p. DLC

"In quest of the blue bird" is a collection of short essays principally on Katayama's trip to the Moral Re-armament world meeting in Switzerland in 1949 after he had resigned his premiership. There are scattered comments on his social and political philosophy and of his views concerning various countries and the world situation at the time.

- IV-353. MIZUTANI, Chōzaburō. *Kokumin seikatsu to shakai-shugi* (国民生活と社会主義—The national livelihood and socialism). Sansui-sha. 1946. 31 p. CSt-H

- IV-354. MORITO, Tatsuo and OUCHI, Hyōe. *Heiwa no keizai-teki kiso* (平和の経済的基礎). Zenkoku Tōkei Kyōkai Rengōkai. 1952. 61 p. CSt-H

Two short essays on the economic basis of peace by two liberal scholars, now presidents of universities. Morito was formerly Minister of Education in the 1947 Socialist Cabinet.

- IV-355. NAKAMURA, Kikuo. *Minshu shakai-shugi no kiso riron* (民主社会主義の基礎理論). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1954. 91 p. PC

A collection of newspaper and magazine articles on democratic socialism—its views on international, its theoretical basis, its stand on fascism—on the relations between the political party and labor unions, the general election of 1953 and the future of the Right SDP, and their evaluation of the Left SDP. A short bibliography of suggested readings on democratic socialism is included. This pamphlet should be read with the understanding that it was intended as a simple text for the propagation of "democratic socialism," the Right SDP political philosophy, among party members.

- IV-356. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. SEIJI-KYOKU. *Yoshida Naikaku wa nani o shita ka* (吉田内閣はなにをしたか). 1949. 100 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

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An account of the SDP parliamentary struggle with Yoshida government concerning the 1949 budget, labor laws, national railway deficit, and other problems.

IV-357. *Shakai-shugi kōza* (社会主義講座). Sangen-sha. 1948-1949. 22 v. Compiled and edited by Shakai-shugi Kyōiku Kyōkai.

The editors of this series on socialism are generally identified as members of the Rōnō-ha, non-communist Marxians. The range of subjects included is very wide. Beginning with a definition of socialism and a history of socialist thought, it includes economics, politics, law, international relations, labor, agriculture, technology, philosophy, culture, history, and the women's question. Under each subject several topics are taken up giving a historical report, the world situation, the particular situation in Japan, with special reference to methods by which their policies may be achieved. For instance, in the three volumes under politics, the various "isms" are discussed, with a section on the political philosophy of the SDP, then various aspects of Japanese politics, the party, the Diet, etc., and the political processes are taken up. Another example would be the two volumes on labor: labor union theory, the international situation, historical developments in Japan, the nine economic principles and the unions, labor policy and legal problems concerning labor laws. Though somewhat earlier in publications, this series is useful in balancing arguments from the more radical left.

b. Party convention reports and resolutions

IV-358. NIHON SSHAKAI-TŌ. *Dai...-kai taikai hōkokusho [or] gian-shū* (才...回大会報告 [或は] 議案集).

Although documents submitted—reports on party activities and draft resolutions—are comparatively useful in the study of the SDP, it is extremely difficult to ascertain their existence and whereabouts. Only those mentioned in the following table have been found by the compiler. As the party grew in strength, the size of each document has increased; while the third convention document is only 40 pages long, the more recent issues are about 200 pages in length. The report for the third convention is entitled: *Dai 3-kai saikō kaigi teishutsu hōkoku* (Reports submitted to the third Supreme Council). Except for various minor differences, other convention documents are generally entitled: *Dai...-kai [zenkoku] taikai hōkokusho or gian-shū*. Sometimes reports and draft resolutions to be submitted to the conventions of the Right SDP were printed in the party gazette, *Jōhō tsūshin*. (Numbers next to CSt-H indicate the number of this gazette in which these reports and draft resolutions may be found). Occasionally, greatly summarized versions of the proceedings of the conventions may be found in some issues of *Jōhō tsūshin* for the Right SDP, *Shakai-shugi* and *Tōkatsudō* for the Left SDP, or the *Shakai shimpō* for the post-1955 unified SDP. In addition to the reports and resolutions submitted to the convention, the SDP also published two volumes on its 1957 convention decisions entitled *Dai 13-kai teiki taikai kettei-shū* (DLC). For 1958, only a one volume collection entitled *Heiwa to shakai-shugi no tame ni* (DLC) on the decisions of the 14th convention is available.

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Convention		Reports	Resolutions
1	(1945)		
2	(1946)		
3	(1948)	CSt-H	
4	(1949)	CSt-H	
5	(1950)		
6	(1950)		
7	(1951)	CSt-H; DLC	CSt-H
8	(1951)	DLC	
9	L	DLC	DLC
	R	CSt-H (41)	DLC
10	L (1953)	DLC	DLC
	R (1952)	DLC	CSt-H (51)
11	L		
	R	TUK	CSt-H (58)
12	L		
	R	DLC (II, III)	CSt-H (88)
13	L		
	R	DLC	CSt-H (123. 124)
14	L	DLC	DLC
	R	DLC (I, II)	
13	(1957)	DLC	DLC
14	(1958)	DLC	

c. Party platforms, regulations, and finance organizations

Pamphlets describing SDP policies in general without concentrating on a particular subject are included here in chronological order of publication.

IV-359. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. ...*ippanseis aku* (...一般政策). 1948. 101 p. CSt-H

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Comprehensive statement of SDP policy as decided at the party's national convention in 1948.

- IV-360. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. HOMBŪ. SEIMU CHŌSA-KAI. *Nihon Shakai-tō tōmen no seisaku* (日本社会党当面の政策). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1948. 61 p. CSt-H

SDP policies for the 1949 general election as decided by the SDP Central Committee.

- IV-361. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. SEIMU CHŌSA-KAI and SENKYO IINKAI. *Nihon Shakai-tō seisaku shishin* (日本社会党政策指針). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1948. 82 p. PC

Party policies for the 1949 general election. The SDP was thoroughly defeated at this election, which came soon after two unsuccessful attempts at participating in coalition governments with conservative parties. This pamphlet gives an explanation of the more important policies mentioned in *Nihon Shakai-tō tōmen no seisaku* (See no. IV-361).

- IV-362. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. SHUPPAN-BU. *Warera wa kaku tatakau* (我等はかく斗ふ—We fight in this way—platform and general principles of the Shakai-tō in 1948). 1948. 177 p. CSt-H

- IV-363. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. SHUPPAN-BU. *Nihon Shakai-tō* (日本社会党). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1949. 25 p. CSt-H

A collection of six party documents and regulations: SDP platform, inaugural declaration, declaration of the third national convention, general policies, party constitution, party branch regulations.

- IV-364. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. HOMBŪ. SENKYO TAISAKU IINKAI. *Nihon Shakai-tō Sangiin senkyo seisaku no kaisetsu* (日本社会党参議院選挙対策の解説). 1950. 131 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

A policy statement by the SDP prepared by the SDP election committee for the House of Councillors election in 1950.

- IV-365. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. CHŪŌ SHIKKŌ IINKAI. *Undō hōshin-sho* (運動方針書—Activities policies). 1951. 73 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

- IV-366. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. Seimu Chōsa-bu. *Tataakai-nuita dai 10-Kokkai* (斗い抜いた才 10 国会). Nihon Shakai-tō Hombu. 1951. 87 p. DLC

The record of seven speeches given in the 10th session of the National Diet by members of the SDP on Japan's foreign policy, abolition of food controls, the agricultural committee, the 1951 national budget. It should be recalled that John Foster Dulles was in Japan at the time of this session of the Diet in connection with the Japanese Peace Treaty.

- IV-367. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. SENKYO TAISAKU IINKAI. *Shakai-tō seisaku no*

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kaisetsu (社会党政策の解説). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1951. 152 p.

DLC

An explanatory statement of SDP policies for the 1951 local elections. The pamphlet is not limited to local problems but also includes an analysis of the internal and international situation with a description of SDP policies including a summary of the first SDP 4-year economic plan.

IV-368. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (LEFT). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *1952-nen no zenshin* (1952 年の前進). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1952. 91 p.

PC

The Left SDP activities for 1952 and the new foreign policy decided upon at its 9th national convention held in Jan. 1952. It should be noted that this convention was held several months after the SDP split into two groups in the fall of 1951 in deciding the attitude of the party toward the ratification of the Japanese Peace Treaty and Security Treaty.

IV-369. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (LEFT). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Warera wa kokumin ni nani o yakusoku-suru ka* (我等は国民になにを約束するか). Nihon Shakai-tō Hombu. 1952. 62 p.

PC

A brief statement on how the Left SDP would bring about "peace, freedom and a stabilized livelihood" in Japan.

IV-370. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (RIGHT). SENKYO TAISAKU IINKAI *Dokuritsu Nihon no dōhyō* (独立日本の道標). Nihon Shakai-tō Hombu. 1952. 104 p.

DLC

An electioneering pamphlet (for the 1952 elections) describing the ideological basis of the Right SDP, its attitude toward democracy, diplomacy and national security, economic policies, a criticism of the 1952 national budget, taxes, social security, labor, agriculture, fisheries, small and medium businesses, and scandals in the Yoshida government.

IV-371. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (RIGHT). SHUPPAN-BU. *Minshu shakai-shugi no riron to jissen* (民主社会主義の理論と実践). 1952. 105 p.

CSt-H

SDP policy statement on the theory and practice of social democracy, and the SDP program of action (*undō hōshin*) for 1952.

IV-372. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (RIGHT). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Jūyō hōan to waga tō no taido* (重要法案とわが党の態度). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1950. 131 p.

DLC

An explanation of 33 bills proposed by the government and the SDP in the 16th extraordinary session of the National Diet. Each section gives a description of the bill, the various amendments made and the attitude of the SDP towards each bill. The object of this compilation was to prove "the reverse course character" of the Yoshida government. A useful document for a study of the type of bills proposed by the SDP during this particular session of the Diet.

IV-373. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (RIGHT). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Kokkai ni okeru waga tō no tataikai* (国会に於けるわが党の斗ひ). Nihon Shakai-tō Hombu. 1953. 99 p.

DLC

Justification of the actions taken by the Right SDP in the 16th session of the

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National Diet (May-Aug. 1953) during which time many important legislative problems, such as the MSA aid problem, the 1953 national budget, the strike control law, and the anti-monopoly law were enacted. Other knotty problems which were faced by this session were the movements against the use of Uchinada as a military training area by the U.S. security forces, and pensions to former Japanese military service personnel.

- IV-374. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (RIGHT). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Kokkai tōsō shirizu* (国会斗争シリーズ). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1953. nos. 1-6 DLC

A series of speeches given by SDP Diet members in the Diet criticising conservative party policy in regard to foreign policy and "subordinate diplomacy," the unequal treaties, the subservience of the conservative government to monopoly capitalism, economic independence, the 1953 national budget and the alternative budget suggested by the SDP, and other national policies.

- IV-375. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (RIGHT). SHUPPAN-BU. *Kokumin no kōsei na hihan ni uttaeru* (国民の公正な批判に訴える). Nihon Shakai-tō Hombu. 1953. 45 p. PC

Three speeches by Right SDP members of the Diet on economic independence, the stabilization of the national livelihood and the military base problem, and the SDP's statement in regard to compilation of the 1953 national budget. These speeches were made in the 16th session of the National Diet.

- IV-376. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (LEFT). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Dai 19-kai tōsō hōkoku-shū* (第19回斗争報告集). Nihon Shakai-tō Kyōiku Senden-kyoku. 1954. 192 p. DLC

Left SDP Diet record in the 19th session, 1953-54, in regard to nine selected issues and a general report on their activities in each Diet committee.

- IV-377. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (RIGHT). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Handō rippō no shōtai* (反動立法の正体). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1954. 146 p. PC

SDP policy statement regarding various bills proposed in the 19th session of the National Diet. Each bill is explained from the SDP point of view. Half the pamphlet is devoted to six "important" bills: the national budget, tax revision, the Mutual Security Agreement, national defense legislation, educational bills, and the revision of the police law. The second part is on 25 bills of lesser importance; and lastly 20 bills proposed by the SDP.

- IV-378. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (RIGHT). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Kyūkokue no michi* (救国への道). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1954. 73 p. PC

A general exposé and critique of conservative government on the deflationary economic condition, tax revision, social security, educational policy, labor legislation, agriculture, and corruption.

- IV-379. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (RIGHT). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Oshoku kokkai kettō kiroku* (汚職国会血斗記録). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1954. 82 p. PC

Party statement of its record in the 19th session of the National Diet (1954). The problems regarded as central by the SDP were the national budget and the alternative budget proposed by the SDP, various scandals, the Mutual Security Agreement with

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the U.S., the two educational bills to "neutralize" education and the position of the teacher, the revision of the police law and the unification of the SDP.

- IV-380. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (LEFT). KKOKAI TAISAKU IINKAI. *Dai 22-kai Kokkai tōsō hōkoku* (第22回国会斗争報告). Nihon Shakai-tō Kyōiku Senden-kyōku. 1955. 178 p. DLC

Diet report by the Left SDP. The main topics are on the Diet and the foreign and domestic situations, the Party's attitudes toward the Hatoyama cabinet, SDP unification negotiations, the 1955 budget, the uranium agreement, Japan-Soviet negotiations, anti-military base struggle, the joint Diet struggle committee, price of rice, and the problems of productivity. The remainder consists of a comparatively short report on the activities of the SDP and the attitudes it adopted regarding various laws in the several Diet committees.

- IV-381. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (LEFT). KORYŌ IINKAI. *Kōryō* (綱領). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1954. 60 p. DLC

The lengthy platform enunciating the broad policies and political philosophy of the Left SDP as adopted at its 12th national convention in 1954.

- IV-382. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (RIGHT). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI AND SENKYO TAISAKU IINKAI. *Senkyo kōhō hinagata-shū* (選挙公報ヒナ型集). Nihon Shakai-tō HOMBURU. 1955. 23 p. DLC

Examples of what Right SDP candidates should write in the public election announcements when appealing to the metropolitan, labor, farmer, and small and medium business vote. This pamphlet is included as an example of how the SDP adjusts its advocacies to attract voters.

- IV-383. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (RIGHT). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI AND SENKYO TAISAKU IINKAI. *Waga tō wa hoshutō to ikani taiketsu-suru ka* (わが党は保守党と如何に対決するか). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1955. 29 p. DLC

The election policies of the Right SDP in the Feb. 1955 House of Representatives' election, their interpretation of the collapse of the Yoshida government, the establishment of the Hatoyama government, and a criticism of its policies. These policies constituted the agreed upon policies between the Right and Left SDP for this election and formed the basis for the unification of the SDP later in the year.

- IV-384. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Ware-ware wa yakusoku-suru* (われわれは約束する). 1955. 84 p. PC

"We promise" is a simple but enlarged exposition of socialist policies as outlined in the *Seisaku taikō* (Policies outlines) and agreed upon by the Left and Right SDP when they united in the fall of 1955. It deals with SDP foreign policies, the socialists' explanation of the so-called "reverse course," their conception of an economic program, and social security and social security and housing programs.

- IV-385. [NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ] *Shaa-tō seiken e no zenshin* (社会党政権への前進). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu (Right). 1955. 67 p. DLC

A party report on its activities in the 22nd session of the National Diet (1955).

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This is a useful pamphlet for obtaining the attitudes of the SDP toward certain political and economic issues and the types of solutions and laws proposed by the SDP, such as: the 1955 national budget, three laws suggested by the SDP in the interest of the small and medium businessman, their criticism of the government's social security program and their counter plan, their fight against the military bases in Japan, the housing problem and their proposed solution, local government, and the revision of the present constitution.

- IV-386. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. Hombu. *Yobō ni kotaete* (与望にこたえて). Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 195. ed. 199 p. 1956 ed. 155 p. DLC

A collection of SDP documents such as the Party platform, Party constitution, regulations for the local branches, supporting organizations, "Party friends," the 1956 activities program, the policy outlines (seisaku taikō) and a list of Party officers and SDP membership in the Diet. The original edition contained a brief report on the unification convention.

- IV-387. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. KOKKAI TAISAKU-BU AND SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Dai 24-kokkai juyō hōan no kaisetsu* (第24回国会重要法案の解説). 1956. 138 p. PC

An explanation of the Party's attitudes towards the more important bills presented to the 24th National Diet. It is useful in that the first chapter selects 10 laws as being the most important and explains very briefly their contents, the attitude of the Party and a sentence or two justifying its stand. Chapter 2 lists 27 bills presented to the Diet by the SDP, giving explanations of the contents of each law. The last section is on the general bills presented to the Diet arranged according to Diet committees.

- IV-388. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Shakai-tō seisaku mondō-shū* (社会党の政策問答集). Nihon Shakai-tō Kyōsen-kyoku Shuppan-bu. 1956. 184 p. PC

One hundred and four questions posed and answered by the SDP on politics in general, diplomacy and national defense, economics, industry, trade, national development, local finances, labor, agriculture and fishery, small and medium business, taxes, social security, housing, culture and education. It should be noted that this pamphlet was compiled before the election for the upper house in July 1956.

d. Agricultural policies and the agrarian movement

- IV-389. INAMURA, Junzō; OMORI, Shin'ichirō; and OKADA, Sōji. *Nōmin undōron* (農民運動論). Sangen-sha. 1949. 232 p.

CLU; CSt-H; DLC; MH; MiU

An analysis of the agrarian movement, its organization, and JCP policy toward the agrarian movement in the light of postwar developments: the land reform program broke down to a certain extent the "basic classes" (of land owner and tenant farmer) in the agrarian movement. This book is an attempt to build up a new system of ideas to cope with the new situation. (p. 3) The writers are members of the Labor-Farmer Faction School of thinking. The chapter on organization is the longest and

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most important, bearing on the forms of agrarian struggle, tactics, labor-farmer cooperation, and propaganda methods.

- IV-390. KURODA, Hisao. *Nōmin kumiai undō no genjō* (農民組合運動の現状). Nihon Nōmin Bunka-sha. 1947. 60 p. CSt-H

Collection of four articles which appeared in magazines and newspapers during 1946 and 1947 on the development and direction of the agrarian movement, and its relationship with political parties by the chairman of the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai (Japan Farmers Union).

- IV-391. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. HOMBŪ. *Nōgyō seisaku yōkō—keizai jiritsu yonkanen keikaku ni tomonau* (農業政策要項—経済自立 4 ケ年計画にともなふ). 1951. 37 p. Mimeographed. 1951 年全国大会議案別冊 CSt-H

An example of one of the earlier SDP attempts to formulate an agricultural policy. This one was an adjunct to the four-year economic plan announced at the same time.

- IV-392. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. NŌMIN-BU. *Nōmin undō to Shakai-tō* (農民運動と社会党). n.d. 52 p. CSt-H

A short pamphlet on the three factions in the farmers movement, the policy of the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai, the farmers movement and the role of the SDP, and the mission of the youth division of the SDP.

- IV-393. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Right). SENKYŌ TAISAKU IINKAI. *Ware-ware wa ikanaru nōgyō seisaku o yaku-suru ka* (吾々はいかなる農業政策を約するか). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1953. 48 p. 政策方針シリーズ 3 DLC

The agricultural policy of the Right SDP for 1953 including its basic philosophy, immediate policies, and five-year plans for various aspects of agriculture, party policy regarding fertilizer, food production increases, stabilization of farm prices, and the reorganization of agricultural organizations.

- IV-394. *Nōgyō nōmin mondai kōza*. See no. VII-29.

- IV-395. NOMIZO, Masaru. *Nihon nōson saiken no michi* (日本農村再建の道). Toryō Shoin. 1948. 78 p. MiU

Blueprint of reconstruction of the farm economy by a prominent socialist, then chairman of the lower house committee on agriculture and forestry.

- IV-396. NUMATA, Masatsugu. *Atarashii nōmin undō* (新しい農民運動). Nihon Shakai-tō (Right) Shuppan-bu. 1955. 66 p. DLC

A handbook on the organization of the farmers union, its economic, political, and educational objectives, concrete methods of propaganda such as the usage of handbills, newspapers, panel discussions, organizers. The last section is a collection of reference materials on the farm problem: government planned legislation, resolutions of landowners associations, policy programs of farmers unions.

- IV-397. OKADA, Sōji. *Kyōsan-tō no nōmin undō o tsuku* (共産党の農民運動を衝く). Chūō-sha. 1948. 36 p. CSt-H

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An explanation of JCP tactics toward the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai, the differences of policy between the two groups, the problem of JCP factions by a ranking member of the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai.

- IV-398. OKADA, Sōji. *Nōmin kumiai to kyōdō kumiai* (農民組合と協同組合). Nihon Nōmin Bunka-sha. 1947. 65 p. CSt-H

Farmers unions and cooperatives. Several short articles by Okada, a member of the House of Councillors and standing central committee of the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai on the democratization of farm villages and farmers unions.

- IV-399. ONISHI, Toshio and OKADA, Sōji, eds. *Nihon Nōmin Kumiai no undō hōshin* (日本農民組合の運動方針). Sekai Bunka-sha. 1947. 142 p. CSt-H; NNC

The activities report, program, platform, and resolutions adopted at the second national convention (1947) of the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai. The report is begun with an exposition of the relations between the Kumiai and the political party by Kuroda Hisao, chairman of the Kumiai.

- IV-400. *Shakai-tō no atarashii mura zukuri* (社会党の新しい村造り). Nōson Giin Kondan-kai. 1956. 78 p. DLC

An exposition of the SDP's agricultural policies in the broad sense of the term. It includes the farmers struggle against military bases, social security, labor-farmer cooperation, together with regular agricultural policies concerning farm land tenancy problems, forestry, prices of farm products, modernization of agriculture, and other problems.

In September 1956, the SDP established a special committee to formulate agricultural policies. In March 1957, the SDP published a pamphlet entitled *Nihon nōgyō tenkan no tame ni* (106 p. in DLC) explaining the party's agricultural policies approved by the 1957 convention. This pamphlet analyzes the present state of Japanese agriculture, the basis and goals of SDP policy and the relationship between the SDP five year economic program and its agricultural policies. In January 1958, the SDP published another pamphlet entitled *Shakai-tō noson o yuku* (71 p. in DLC) explaining SDP policies in simple terms.

- IV-401. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Nihon nōsei ron* (日本農政論). Sept. 1942. 135 p. Marked secret. 思想資料パンフレット特輯 JJ

An analysis of Japanese agriculture by Katsumada Seiichi after he was arrested by the police for implication in the Planning Board Incident. He denies the validity of the Marxian interpretation. In the postwar era he has been an active leader in the leftwing SDP.

e. Constitution

- IV-402. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. KEMPŌ YŌGO TOKUBETSU IINKAI and SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Heiwa no toride—Kempō mondō-shū* (平和のとりで一憲法問題集). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1956. 89 p. DLC

An interesting pamphlet in question and answer form on the Socialists' attitude towards the revision of the postwar Constitution. It begins with the definition of the

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Constitution followed by an explanation of what the SDP regards as the aim of the movement to revise the Constitution, as to whether it was a Constitution forced upon the Japanese people, the problem of rearmament, the probable effects of the revision, the activities of the revisionists and their own anti-revisionist organization and interpretation of public opinion on this matter.

f. Economic planning

- IV-403. ITO, Kōdō, *comp.* *Heiwa to jiritsu e no teian—Shakai-tō no heiwa keizai puran* (平和と自立への提案—社会党の平和経済プラン). Sōrin-sha. 1954. 176 p. PC

Seven essays by SDP party members under the guidance of the Party's chief policy planner justifying the Left SDP "peace" economy plan.

- IV-404. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. HOMBŪ. *Keizai jiritsu yonkanen keikaku—kanzen koyō o mokuhyō to suru* (経済自立 4 ケ年計画—完全雇傭を目標とする). 1951. 36 p. Mimeographed. 1951 年全国大会議案別冊 CSt-H

The first postwar four-year economic plan proposed by the SDP while still united.

- IV-405. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Left). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *MSA ni chōsen-shite—Heiwa keizai kensetsu gokanen keikaku* (M. S. A. に挑戦して—平和経済建設五ケ年計画). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1953. 23 p. PC

"Challenging the MSA" is the SDP five-year plan for the establishment of a "peace economy." It proposes to eliminate Japan's dependence upon the U.S. by expanding trade to other areas in Asia, stop the trend to rearm Japan and carry out a rearrangement of the Japanese economy. This document was written by the Left SDP with the assistance of a well known economic research organization in Tokyo. Although it is political in character, it is noteworthy that the Left SDP produced such a plan in the early years of post-peace treaty Japan.

- IV-406. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Right). SHUPPAN-BU. *Ikani keizai o saiken-suru ka—Nihon Shakai-tō keizai saiken gokanen keikaku* (いかに経済を再建するか—日本社会党経済再建五ケ年計画). Nihon Shakai-tō Hombu. 1953. 96 p. DLC

An "economic reconstruction five-year plan" envisioned by the Right SDP. The plan is prefaced with a general statement of the plan's objectives—improvement in the national livelihood, economic independence, a planned economy—followed by an evaluation of the world and Japanese economies, the five-year plan, and the economic struggle in 1953. This plan was announced eight months before the Right SDP issued another plan subtitled "the fundamental economic policy of SDP" (Right) (*See no.* IV-407).

- IV-407. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Right). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Ikani shite fukuyō o kokufuku-suru ka* (いかにして不況を克服するか). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1953. 127 p. DLC

This pamphlet is subtitled "the fundamental economic policy of the SDP" (Right). It was published in October 1953, eight months later than the economic five-year plan

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proposed by the Right SDP and published in Feb. 1953 (*See no. IV-406*). As the translated title suggests, it aims to overcome the decline in Japanese economy in 1953 which resulted from the change in the Korean war situation. The first of the two parts is a socialist evaluation of the world and Japanese economies. The latter half (one-third in number of pages) is on the proposed policies of the Right SDP, its fundamental plan, industry by industry policies, security of the national livelihood, and public finance and credit.

g. Education

IV-408. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Right). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Ware-ware wa kyō-iku ni tsuite kō kangaeru* (われわれは教育に就いてこう考える). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1954. 101 p. PC

An explanatory statement of the educational platform adopted by the Right SDP at its Jan. 1953 national convention. The platform consists of a preamble and 11 articles. This pamphlet explains each part separately.

h. Electric rates

IV-409. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. SHUPPAN-BU. *Denki ryōkin ne-age to waga tō no taido* (電気料金値上げと我が党の態度—The raising of electric rates and the attitude of the SDP). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1951. 19 p. DLC

i. Finances

IV-410. KURODA, Hisao and KIMURA, Kihachirō. *Warera seihiyō o tōzu* (我等青票を投ず). Jiji Tsūshin-sha. 1948. 96 p. DLC

An examination of the attitude of the SDP toward the 1948 budget, and why the authors as SDP Diet members cast dissenting ballots.

IV-411. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. SEIJI-KYOKU. SEIMU CHŌSA-BU. *Shōwa 24-nendo yosan-an hihan* (昭和 24 年度予算案批判). [1949?] 65 p. CSt-H

A criticism of the 1949 budget submitted by the Yoshida government. Appended are criticisms of the amended budget submitted by the JCP.

IV-412. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. SEIMU CHŌSA-KAI. *Showa 23-nendo yosan-an to waga tō no shūsei keika* (昭和 23 年度予算案と我党の修正経過). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1948. 30 p. CSt-H

SDP statement on the compilation of the 1948 budget and the amendments proposed by the SDP. At the time the SDP was a member of the coalition government headed by Ashida Hitoshi.

IV-413. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Shakai-tō wa kō kangaeru—31-nendo yosan o megutte* (社会党はこう考える—31 年度予算をめぐる). Nihon

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Shakai-tō Kyōsen-kyoku Shuppan-bu. 1956. 103 p.

DLC

An explanation of the alternative national budget proposed by the SDP in 1956. Chapter 1 is the Socialists' criticism of the government's proposed budget; Chapter 2, the structure of the Party's alternative budget; Chapter 3 and 4, the proposed revenue and expenditures of the SDP budget; Chapter 5, the motion presented in the Diet concerning their alternative budget. The appendix is a brief counter-criticism by the Party of its critics, comparing the government's figures with its own proposals. This was the first time that the SDP made a serious attempt to present to the Diet an alternative national budget, embodying its political philosophy as opposed to that of the conservatives. Although the SDP alternative budget was severely criticized by the national press it was a noteworthy attempt. It should be noted, however, that this pamphlet only contains the final budget compiled by the Socialists and does not touch on the most interesting inter-play of forces within the SDP and other supporting forces such as Sōhyō when this alternative budget was being compiled.

IV-414. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Left). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI and KYŌIKU SENDEN-KYOKU. *Kokumin seikatsu to kuni no yosan* (国民生活と国の予算). Nihon Shakai-tō Kyōiku Senden-kyoku. [1955.] 36 p.

DLC

Left SDP interpretation of the 1955 national budget, its characteristics—the increase in the defense budget—and its effect on the national livelihood. The appendices include the SDP demand for an alternative budget.

IV-415. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Left). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI. *Yōhei, sai-gumbi to no tataikai* (傭兵, 再軍備との斗ひ). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1952. 57 p.

PC

This pamphlet attempts to prove the militaristic character of the 1952 national budget and its effect on the national livelihood. The remainder is the alternative budget proposed by the Left SDP, and two speeches from the debates in the Diet on the recognition of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's government and the aggravation of the crisis in Asia and the unconstitutionality of rearmament in Japan.

j. Foreign policy

IV-416. GAIMU-SHŌ. *Kokkai ni okeru kōwa rōgi* (国会に於ける講話論議). 1951. 894 p.

CU; DLC

IV-417. GAIMU-SHŌ. *Kōwa mondai rōgi gaikan* (講話問題論議概観). 1951. 39 p.

CU; DLC

The former is a record of the verbatim record of the plenary sessions of the House of Representatives and House of Councillors, the foreign relations and the budgetary committees in both Houses on the problem of the Japanese peace settlement from the first nine sessions of the National Diet from May 22, 1947 to Dec. 9, 1950. The record consists of interpellations by Diet members, government replies, and other government reports.

The latter is an abbreviated collection of statements on various aspects of the peace settlement, such as national security, rearmament, prisoners-of-war, reparation, etc., made in the 11th extraordinary session of the Diet in 1951 just prior to the San Francisco Peace Conference.

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- IV-418. KOKURITSU KOKKAI TOSHOKAN. CHŌSA RIPPŌ KŌSA-KYOKU. *Kōwa mondai ni kansuru kokunai ronchō* (講話問題に関する国内論調). 1950-51. 3 v. 国調立資料 B 65, 86, 92 DLC

Excerpts from books, magazine articles, and newspaper columns on various aspects of the peace settlement with Japan. Statements are collected from academicians, members of the Diet, commentators, and others of all political shades from conservative to the communist. Short bibliographies are appended to volumes 2 and 3.

- IV 419. [NIHON] SHAKAI-TŌ GAIKŌ INKAI. *Shakai-tō gaikō mondō-shū* (社会党外交問答集). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1951. 27 p. DLC

Fifty-two questions posed and answered by the SDP on foreign policy. This pamphlet was prepared for the 1951 local elections, the first after the outbreak of the Korean war.

- IV 420. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Right). KOKUSAI-KYOKU. *Ajia na dōkō to sekai heiwa* (アジアの動向と世界平和). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1953. 82 p. DLC

Report on the proceedings and resolutions of the first Asian Socialist Conference held in Rangoon in early 1953. The report was given by Sone Eki, the Right SDP foreign affairs expert at the 11th national convention of the Right SDP.

- IV-421. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. SEIMU CHŌSA-KAI. *Heiwa e no riron to jissen* (平和への理論と実践—Theory and practice toward peace). 1950. 29 p. CSt-H

- IV 422. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. SHUPPAN-BU. *Heiwa to dokuritsu e no michi* (平和と独立への道). Nihon Shakai-tō Hombu. 1950. 27 p. PC

Four important foreign policy statements by the SDP concerning support of the United Nations in the Korean War and the attitude of the SDP, the desires of the SDP regarding the contents of the peace treaty, the attitude of the SDP toward the Korean War, and the basic policies of the SDP toward the Japanese Peace Treaty problem.

- IV-423. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Right). SHUPPAN-BU. *Nihon no kanzen dokuritsu to M. S. A. enjo* (日本の完全独立と M. S. A. 援助). Nihon Shakai-tō Hombu. 1953. 27 p. DLC

A foreign policy statement on the fundamental revision of the Mutual Security Agreement labelled as an "unequal treaty," the reasons for the Right SDP's opposition to receiving aid under the the MSA arrangement, and the interpellation of Sone Eki, the Right SDP foreign policy expert, in the Diet on this problem. This pamphlet is useful as an official explanation of the SDP's attitude to the post-treaty security system arranged between the conservative Japanese government and the U.S.

- IV-424. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Right). SHUPPAN-BU. *Shakai-shugi Intānashonarū dai 3-kai taikai Ajia Shakai-tō kaigi dai 2-kai kanji-kai hōkokusho* (社会主義インターナショナル才3回大会アジア社会党会議才2回幹事会報告書集). Nihon Shakai-tō Hombu. 1953. 92 p. DLC

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Report on the third world conference of the Socialist International and the second Bureau meeting of the Asia Socialist Conference both held in the summer of 1953. On the important points of the agenda, the report contains the reports and opinions submitted by both the Right and Left SDP. The problems about which both SDPs submitted opinions were the international situation, the colonial problem, and peace in East Asia.

k. Local government

IV-425. *Kuni to chihō no zaisei no hanashi* (国と地方の財政のはなし), Koku-min Keizai Kenkyū Kyōkai. 1955. 204 p. PC

"State and local finances" is subtitled "for the improvement of prefectural, city, town, and village finances." This study, by one of the largest postwar research organizations in Japan, was included because it has two short sections on the local finance program of the SDP, especially the leftwing, in the 1955 local elections. (p. 114-116 and p. 144-156). This is one of the few books by non-party persons which deal with even part of the SDP finance policy.

IV-426. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ. *Shakai-tō wa chihō-zei o ikani tatakatta ka* (社会党は地方税をいかに闘ったか—How the Shakai-tō fought the local tax issue). 1950. 47 p. CST-H

IV-427. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Right). HOMBŪ. *Chihō senkyo hisshō no shiori* (地方選挙必勝の契). 1955. 82 p. DLC

IV-428. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Right). SENKYŌ TAISAKU IINKAI and CHIHŌ SENKYŌ TAISAKU IINKAI. *Chihō senkyo no shiori* (地方選挙の契). Nihon Shakai-tō Shuppan-bu. 1954. 32 p. PC

Both IV-427 and IV-428 are short pamphlets explaining the Right SDP's local government and local finance policies for the 1955 local elections.

IV-429. NIHON SHAKAI-TŌ (Left). SEISAKU SHINGI-KAI and CHIHO GIKAI TAISAKU-BU. *Chihō seiji to Shakai-tō* (地方政治と社会党). Nihon Shakai-tō Kyō-iku Senden-bn. 1955. 142, 20 p. DLC

This pamphlet was specially compiled by the SDP to explain its policies concerning local problems for the local elections which were held in April 1955. This is one of the few more thorough statements on Socialist thinking in regards to local finances, welfare, industry, police, education, agriculture, fishery, labor, and a number of other problems. It may be interesting to compare the criticism of the Left SDP local finance policies found in *Kuni to chihō no zaisei no hanashi* See no. IV-425) and policies advocated in this pamphlet.

l. Military bases

Both the left and rightwings of the SDP have voiced opposition to the existence of military bases in Japan. But the Left SDP has been, in general,

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much more vociferous and article in its opposition. It has maintained a steady attack on this problem through speeches, articles, and the use of organized union support. For a short time, the Left SDP published a newsletter on military bases called *Kichi nyūsu*; it lasted for about three issues. The Left SDP has also maintained a special committee on this problem. While the Left SDP was aggressive and partially successful in its appeal to the people, the Right SDP was inert and passive in its opposition to the military bases. When the Left and Right SDP merged in the fall of 1955, the ardor of the Left SDP concerning the anti-military base movement was carried over to a limited degree into the united SDP.

It was, however, the communist or pro-communist group of scholars, with a few exceptions, that attempted to justify the anti-military base movement from the economic, political, social and emotional points of view. Consequently, the selections on this topics have been included in the next sub-section on postwar communist publications.

m. Nationalization

IV-430. CHŪO RODO GAKUEN RODO MONDAI CHOSAJŌ. *Sangyō kokkan to rōdō-sha kaikyū* (産業国管と労働者階級). Chūō Rōdō Gakuen. 1949. 353 p. 中央労働学園調査小委報告二冊
DLC; NNC

One of the few studies made of the nationalization of industries in Japan, especially concerning the coal mining industry. This was one of the more important problems faced by the first Socialist-led government in Japan in 1947. The study is divided into three parts: the characteristics of government management of the coal mines in the early Meiji era, a criticism of the government control bill presented by the Socialist government in 1947, and a historical review of the nationalization of coal mines in England; the attitudes and activities of the coal mining unions at the time of the passage of the government control bill; and a partial report on working conditions in the mines, especially wages, and nutrition.

n. Rearmament

IV-431. KOBORI, Jinji. *Sai-gumbi-ron—sai-gumbi no hitsuyō to arikata* (再軍備論—再軍備の必要とありかた). Kokumin Kyōiku-sha. 1951. 206 p.
CSt-H; DLC

“Rearmament—its necessity and form” is a justification of rearmament by a pre-war member of the Rōnō-ha (or Labor-Farmer faction), and one of the founders of the prewar magazine *Rōnō*. During postwar period he was at times a member of the editorial committee of the Tokyo newspaper, *Yomiuri*. The book is written in the form of an imaginary discussion between “A” and “B”.

IV-432. KOKURITSU KOKKAI TOSHOKAN. CHŌSA RIPPŌ KŌSA-KYOKU. *Sai-gumbi mondai ni kansuru kokunai ronchō* (再軍備問題に関する国内論調). 1951. 143 p. Mimeographed. 国調立資料 B 104
DLC

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Excerpts from magazine articles which were published in the beginning of 1951 on the rearmament problem. The leftwing movement is well represented with Sone Eki, Suzuki Mosaburō, Kuroda Hisao, Yanagida Kenjūrō, Takahashi Masao, and Kimura Kihachirō. Appended are some excerpts from policy statements by the principal political parties on the rearmament question, and a short bibliography for January-March 1951 on the same.

- IV-433. SANO, Manabu. *Kokka to busō—Nihon sai-busō no riron-teki kiso* (国家と武装——日本再武装の理論的基礎). Kantō-sha. 1951. 266 p. Reprinted in 1951 under a revised title, *Nihon sai-busō-ron* (291 p.)

CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

An analysis of the problem of rearmament in Japan from the viewpoint of a former Communist. The last five chapters directly concern Japan, including a description of the socialist and communist stand on this issue, and the relation between the peace settlement and rearmament.

- IV-434. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi. *Nihon no sai-gumbi* (日本の再軍備). Iwanami Shoten. 1952. 172 p.

CSt-H

A study of the problem of rearmament in Japan. The author states that it is this issue that has virtually divided the country in two, and will decide whether Japan will be governed democratically or not, whether she will be an independent nation or a dependency. He believes that a rearmed Japan cannot be achieved without paying the price of dependency upon the dictates of Washington. Yamakawa is one of the foremost theoreticians of the Left SDP.

- IV-435. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi. *Taiketsu-suru futatsu no Nihon* (対決する二つの日本). Tōyō Shokan. 1953. 284 p.

CSt-H

Twenty-one essays on the problems that "split Japan": the controversy over rearmament and U.S. policy, a reversal of the initial occupation policy to include Japan in the Western camp, to make Japan the front line base of operations against the U.S.S.R., and to rebuild Japanese military strength as part of U.S. military power.

o. Small and medium business

- IV-435.1 NIHON SHAKAI-tō. CHŪSHŌ KIGYŌ GIIN RENRAKU KYŌGIKAI and CHUSHO KIGYŌ SEISAKU KAKURITSU TOKUBETSU IINKAI. *Shakai-tō no chūshō kigyō seisaku* (社会党の中小企業政策). Nihon Shakai-tō Chūshō Kigyō-bu. 1957. 88 p.

PC

The only organized and most comprehensive statement by the SDP on its policies for medium and small business in Japan. The SDP began seriously to consider its own policies in this field since 1953, and more particularly since 1955. The SDP executive, however, almost annually includes a broad, general statement of their policies in this field among the draft resolutions to be presented to its annual conventions; it has always maintained a headquarters section called the department of medium and small business affairs. The SDP is beginning to realize the potentialities of the vote of people in medium and small businesses. Therefore, in 1956, the central executive committee established a special committee for the establishment of medium and small business policies. This pamphlet is the result of deliberations by this committee. The first half is devoted to an explanation of the basic philosophy of SDP policy, proposed laws for the maintenance of the medium and small businesses in industry, organization of these businesses, credit policies, commercial adjustment laws; the latter half deals with the actual policy proposals by the SDP.

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4. Postwar Period (Communism)

a. General

- IV-436. *Dokuritsu Nihon 50 no gimon* (独立日本五十の疑問). Riron-sha. 1952. 243 p. Edited and compiled by Riron-sha Henshū-bu.

CSt-H; DLC; MH

Analysis of 50 questions by nine leftwing professors, writers, politicians, political commentators, on the position of Japan in world affairs, especially in Asia, the dangers of the colonization of Japan, the defense against communism, revival of militarism, freedom of speech and assembly, independence and other problems.

- IV-437. HAYASHI, Masao, *ed.* *Kyōsan-tō wa nani o suru ka* (共産党は何をするか). Jiyūjin-sha. 1950. 64 p.

CSt-H

A critique and evaluation of what to expect from the JCP in regard to strategy and tactics after the purge of the party leadership in June 1950. This is the record of a panel discussion by two former Communists, Mitamura Shirō and Nabeyama Sadachika.

- IV-438. ICHINOSE, Masayuki. *Nihon kyōsan-tō* (日本共産党). Gengen-sha. 1954. 240 p.

DLC

An analytical study of the JCP. More than one half of the book is devoted to the postwar activities of the JCP including the paramilitary preparations of the JCP.

- IV-439. ITŌ, Ken'ichi. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō* (日本共産党). Asahi Shobō. 1948. 99 p.

CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

A popular description of the party, its platform, Marxism-Leninism, why the party does not obtain mass support, party discipline, the 1948 budget, and the reconstruction of the Party. Itō was a member of the Central Committee during the post-war period.

- IV-440. ITŌ, Ritsu. *Tataikai no tabi kara* (戦の旅から). Shinri-sha. 1949. 72 p.

CSt-H

Observations on political, economic, and social conditions of areas in Japan visited by Itō during 1947-1949. It is recommended by the JCP as "indispensable to Party activists."

- IV-441. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Bōryoku to kyōsan-shugi* (暴力と共産主義). Kyoto. San'ichi Shobō. 1949. 139 p.

CSt-H; CtY; MH; NNC

"On violence and communism" was written in 1949 by a JCP member of the House of Representatives and Central Committee to explain the attitude of the JCP. Because of Kamiyama's frequent clashes with the leadership of the JCP, his opinions should not be regarded necessarily as those of the majority. The book was published after the several disturbances which occurred during 1949 allegedly involving the JCP.

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- IV-442. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Minzoku, kaikyū, dokuritsu* (民族, 階級, 独立). Iwasaki Shoten. 1948. 239 p. MiU

A communist interpretation of Patriotism, sovereignty and national independence in reference to people and social classes, the communist party and patriotism, people's independence and the democratic people's front.

- IV-443. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Minzoku-ken, Minzoku mondai no kiso chishiki* (民族観, 民族問題の基礎知識). Sekai Hyōron-sha. 1949. 121 p. CSt-H

Communist interpretation of the problem of nationalities, colonies, the relation between nationalities and nationalism and internationalism, colonies and Japanese imperialism.

- IV-444. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Shakaitō no seikaku* (社会党の性格). Shinri-sha. 1949. 37 p. CSt-H

An indictment of the SDP by a member of the JCP central committee. He attempts to prove the political corruptness, policy insincerity and inconsistency, and general incompetence of the SDP.

- IV-445. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Sokoku o aisuru michi* (祖国を愛する道). Iwasaki Shoten. 1947. 156 p. CSt-H; MH

"The way to love one's country" is a political strategy statement written in uncomplicated language by a prominent JCP member on economic reconstruction, the new constitution, the unification of the workers' movement, political authority and strategy (including the Emperor system) and the theory of the state (kokka riron) in its multifarious relationships. A partial translation was found in CSt-H in 26 typed pages with the title "The way to love the fatherland."

- IV-446. KAZAHAYA, Yasoji. *Seitō-ron* (政党論). Nauka-sha. 1949. 138 p. CSt-H; NNC

On the non-Communist parties in prewar and postwar Japan: the development of the party including the proletarian parties in Japan, the crisis in Japanese capitalism and the role of conservative and socialist parties; the basis of support of each party, the decadence of the SDP. Kazahaya was formerly lecturer at Waseda University and at the time of writing, chief of the Central Research Section of the JCP.

- IV-447. KOMATSU, Yūichirō, comp. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō no atarashii kōsō* (日本共産党の新しい構想). Nihon Rōnō Tsūshin-sha. 1949. 125 p. 労農情報 20, 21 合併号 CSt-H; MH; NNC

An analysis of the changed situation both within and outside the JCP as seen by the chief of the education and propaganda section of the JCP as a result of the JCP "victory" at the January 1949 elections. He is concerned with the basis of the new and changed conditions, new tactics to be followed in the Diet, the united front with the "independent native capitalists," and the outlook for revolution including an evaluation of the JCP's position under an occupation.

- IV-448. *Kyōsan-shugi e no 50 no gimon* (共産主義への五十の疑問). Riron-sha. 1951. 256 p. Edited and compiled by Riron-sha Henshū-bu. CSt-H; DLd; NNC

BASIC POLICIES AND GUIDING PHILOSOPHIES

Fifty questions on communism posed and answered by an editorial board which ends the book with: We live in a century where every road leads to communism. The questions are on the principles of communism, the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China, the JCP, the fate of Japan and communism, communism's challenge to other ideologies, cultural life and communism, and other questions.

- IV-449. KYŌSAN-SHUGI HIHAN KENKYŪ-KAI. *Kyōsan-shugi hihan zensho* (共產主義批判全書). Temma-sha. 1950. 367 p. Compiled by the Kyōsan-shugi Hihan Kenkyū-kai. CST-H; NNC

A comprehensive study of Marxist philosophy, economics, political theory, cultural policy, history of the JCP, its organization, activities, interpretation of the Japanese state, and capitalism. The Kenkyū-kai is represented by Koizumi Shinzō, former president of Keiō University, an ardent anti-Marxist scholar.

- IV-450. *Kyōsan-tō ni seiken o watashitara* (共産党に政権を渡したら). Kyōyū-sha. 1949. 150 p. Compiled by Kyōyū-sha Henshū-bu. CST-H; DLC; MH

An evaluation of what the JCP may accomplish if given the reins of government, by an anti-communist organization. This was published in response to the JCP pamphlet of a similar title and to the sudden increase of JCP members returned to the Diet in the January 1949 elections.

- IV-451. MINSHU RŌDŌSHA KYŌKAI. *Nikkyō no bōryoku hakai katsudō* (日共の暴力破壊活動). 1953. 110 p. CST-H

An exposition of the military policy of the JCP allegedly decided at the 4th and 5th Zenkoku Kyōgikai (National Conference) in 1951, with instances of destructive activities in communist resistance to the U.S. and its policies, obstruction of transportation, fights with the police and tax collectors, legal battles, labor union disruption etc., and the role of the Koreans in Japan in armed revolution are enumerated.

- IV-452. MITAMURA, Takeo. *Sensō to Kyōsan-shugi—Showa seiji hishi* (戦争と共産主義——昭和政治秘史). Minshu Seido Fukyūkai. 1950. 332 p. CST-H; MH

This book detects a relationship between war and communism in Japan. The author states he was with the Police Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs from June 1928 to January 1932. During this period he studied the socialist movement. Again, he was with the Ministry of Overseas Affairs from Oct. 1932 to June 1935. In this capacity he studied the communist movements in Korea, Manchuria, and China. After election to the House of Representatives in Feb 1936, he was watched and finally imprisoned in Sugamo by the Japanese Military Police for anti-militaristic activities. He claims his source materials to have been collected while he was in the government or a Diet member.

- IV-453. MIYAMOTO, Kenji. *Jiyū to dokuritsu e no zenshin* (自由と独立への前進). Shinri-sha. 1949. 340 p. CST-H; MH

A collection of essays written during 1947-1949 which have a bearing on the life of the JCP member, the organization of the party, the party program, elections, the student movement, the cultural movement, activities in the Diet, and other topics.

- IV-454. MIYAMOTO, Kenji. *Supai chōhatsu to no tōsō* (スパイ挑発との斗争). Shinri-sha. 1949. 27 p. CST-H; MH

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On the struggle against the infiltration of spies into the JCP. Miyamoto points out that during the thirties several spies worked their way into the Party and disclosed Party activities. He tells how he was sold to the police by one such spy.

- IV-455. MORITA, Sōhei. *Watakushi no kyōsan-shugi* (私の共産主義) Shinsei-sha. 1948. 328 p. CSt-H

A collection of miscellaneous writings by Morita on social movements and communism over a three-year period from the end of the war to May 6, 1948, when he entered the JCP.

- IV-456. NABEYAMA, Sadachika. *Kyōsan-tō hihan* (共産党批判). Kyoto. Kamei-sha. 1950. 211 p. DLC

A critical analysis of JCP policy and operations by a former ranking member of the JCP in prewar years. Chapters of interest are: the Cominform and Japan, the controversy concerning strategy, strategy of the Main Stream faction and the 1950 thesis, illegality and underground organization, and party cells. A similarly critical book by the same author on the JCP was published in 1949 (85 p.) by Kinrō Jihō-sha entitled *Nihon Kyōsan-tō hihan* (日本共産党批判) (民主社会シリーズ 1) (CLSU; DLC; MH; NNC)

- IV-457. NAKANISHI, Kō. *Chūgoku Kyōsan-tō-shi* (中国共産党史). Hakuto-sha. 1949. 271 p. CSt-H; DLC

Although the book is concerned with the history of the Chinese Communist Party, there is one small part (p. 261-265) stressing the differences between the social and economic structures of Japan and China. These four pages throw an insight into the disagreement between Nakanishi and the JCP on the type of revolution to be followed in Japan by the party and which later led to his expulsion from the JCP and resignation from the House of Councillors.

- IV-458. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. CHŌSA-BU. *Seiji hikkei—chihō-hen* (政治必携—地方篇). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1947. 298 p. CSt-H

A political handbook for the JCP member interpreting the postwar domestic and international situation up to end of 1946, local government and political problems, and JCP policies for their solution.

- IV-459. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. CHŪŌ IINKAI. CHŌSA-BU. *Jimmin no kaihō to Kyōsan-tō no saiken hōsoku* (人民の解放と共産党の再建方策). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1948. 61 p. CSt-H

Short pamphlet on the "liberation of the people" and the JCP plan for reconstruction of postwar Japan. The appendices include two draft laws for the nationalization and "peoples management" of basic industries (coal mining, steel, oil, electricity, fertilizer) and financial institutions.

- IV-460. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. CHŪŌ IINKAI. SENDEN KYŌIKU CHŌSA-BU. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō no seisaku* (日本共産党の政策). Gōdō Shuppan-sha. 1956. 272 p. PC

An explanation of the Party's policies as resolved at the 6th National Conference (Zenkoku Kyōgi-kai). The subjects covered are diplomacy, military bases, the Constitution, peace, economy, social security, women, and politics. This is a noteworthy

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communist policies with an introduction by one of its leading members, Nozaka Sanzō since it was published after the communists had announced a radical change in their tactics for the attainment of power in Japan.

- IV-461. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. CHŪO IINKAI. SENDEN KYŌIKU-BU. *Minshu minzoku sensen to Kyōsan-tō* (民主民族戦線と共産党). Gyōmei-sha. 1948. 93 p. 宣伝教育群書 3 CSt-H

"The people's democratic front and the CP" is a communist propaganda pamphlet on the introduction of foreign capital, its conditions and results, the possibilities of cooperation with the Social Democrats, the establishment of a democratic people's front. "Important for the study of Communist strategy during the period preceding the militant phase of 1950." (Langer and Swearingen).

- IV-462. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. SENDEN KYŌIKU-BU. *Kyōsan-tō ga seiken o nigitaru* (共産党が政權を握つたら). Nihon Rōnō Tsūshin-sha. 1949. 119 p. CSt-H; MH; NNC;

A statement of JCP "promises" of what they would aim for in regard to the food problem, inflation, industrial recovery, labor, small and medium business, agriculture, religion and the family system, if given the opportunity to govern. The last chapter is on the possibility of a Communist government under the occupation, describing the relation of the JCP with the army of occupation, how the JCP would take power, and what its foreign policy might be.

- IV-463. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. SENDEN KYŌIKU-BU. *Minzoku no tōitsu to tō no tōitsu* (民族の統一と党の統一). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. August 1950. 49 p. CSt-H

"Five party directives and the Japanese text of a Chinese Communist editorial, dealing in the main with the problem of factional strife within the JCP. Good material for a study of the struggle between the Main Stream and the Internationalist factions. Very important to an understanding of the JCP's strategy after the outbreak of war in Korea." (Langer and Swearingen).

- IV-464. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. SENDEN KYŌIKU-BU. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō no susumu michi* 日本共産党のすすむ道). JCP. 1948. 80 p. CSt-H; NNC

A useful text as a source of the JCP's interpretation of the 6th Party Congress held in Dec. 1947.

- IV-465. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. SENDEN KYŌIKU-BU. *Nihon mondai no kokusai-teki hihan* (日本問題の国際的批判). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. June 1950. 23 p. CSt-H

A collection of five statements from foreign sources in the wake of the Cominform criticism of the JCP on the Nozaka problem, the military bases in Japan, the fall of the worker, and the desire for peace on the part of the Japanese people.

- IV-466. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. SENDEN KYŌIKU-BU. *Tachi agaru kyōdo* (立ちあがる郷土). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1949. 16 p. CSt-H

Description of a "regional people's struggle in Nagano prelecture

- IV-467. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. SENDEN KYŌIKU-BU. *Tataakai wa jimmin no shin-rai no moto ni* (斗ひは人民の信頼の下に——Struggle, with the support of

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popular confidence—a collection of decisions by the central provisional directing group during 1950). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1950. 197 p. CSt-H; NNC

IV-468. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. SENDEN KŌIKU-BU. *Zenkoku daihyōsha kaigi ni okeru Shiino gichō no ippan hōkoku* (全国代表者会議に於ける椎野議長の一般報告). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1950. 38 p. CLSU; CSt-H

An indispensable pamphlet for “an understanding of the Shiino Directorate's first attempts to cope with the situation created by the purge of all prominent JCP leaders” (Langer and Swearingen) in June 1950. The pamphlet consists of only four items: a general report by Shiino Etsurō, two resolutions adopted by the National Conference Party Representatives one of which is on the expansion of the JCP organ, *Akahata*, and the Japanese version of an editorial which appeared in the June 16, 1950 issue of the official Cominform organ.

IV-469. NIHON KYOSAN-TŌ. SHUPPAN-KYOKU. *Warera kansha subeki ka* (われら感謝すべきか—Should we be grateful—An appraisal of General MacArthur's dismissal and accomplishment). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1951. 16 p. CSt-H

IV-470. NOZAKA, Sanzō and MIYAMOTO, Kenji. *Kyōsan-shugi to dōtoku* (共産主義と道徳). Satsuki Shobō. 1949. 78 p. Edited by Nihon Kyōsan-tō Tōsei Iinkai. CSt-H; CU; MH; NNC

Though entitled “communism and morality” the pamphlet is actually concerned with the decisions of the JCP Control Commission headed by Miyamoto, with several remarks by other leaders, on self-discipline and party spirit.

IV-471. NOZAKA, Sanzō. *Nozaka Sanji enzetsu-shū* (野坂参二演説集). Dairen. Shin-Bunka-sha. 1946. 31 p. DLC; NNC

Three statements by Nozaka during 1946 including the address in which he states that the JCP should become a party “loved by the people.” The declaration of the 5th Congress of JCP is appended.

IV-472. TOKUDA, Kyūichi. *Kokkai enzetsu-shū* (国会演説集). Shinri-sha. 1949. 278 p. Compiled and edited by Nakajō Tatsuo. CSt-H; MH; NNC

Speeches by Tokuda in the Diet between June 24, 1946 and December 13, 1948.

IV-473. TOKUDA, Kyūichi and NOZAKA, Sanzō. *Kyōsan-tō no Nihon saikensaku* (共産党の日本再建策). Sapporo. Nihon Kyōsan-tō Hokkaidō Chihō Iinkai Shuppan-bu. 1949. 145 p. CSt-H; MH; NNC

Two articles on the policy of the JCP in the reconstruction of Japan. Their comments were centered on economic recovery, the future of Japanese industry and agriculture, the repatriation problem, and the small and medium businessman.

IV-474. TOKUDA, Kyūichi. *Kyōsan-tō wa dangai-suru* (共産党は弾効する). Nihon Kyōsan Seinen Dōmei. 1949. 2 v. DLC (v. 2); NNC (v. 2)

Speeches by Tokuda in the National Diet during 1947 and 1948 attacking the government which at that time was led by the Socialists. Subjects: economy, coal mining, labor problems among government workers, and the budget for education.

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IV-475. TOKUDA, Kyūichi and NOZAKA, Sanzō. *Kyō-Sha gōdō to Nihon Kyōsan-tō no jiko hihan* (共社合同と日本共産党の自己批判) Minshu Hyōron-sha. 1949. 107 p. CSt-H; NNC

A description of the tendency on a nationwide scale for a unified front, the joint struggle of the JCP and SDP, an appeal to those who have given up social democracy, and a self-criticism of the JCP.

IV-476. TOKUDA, Kyūichi. *Minji-tō ka Kyōsan-tō ka* (民自党か共産党か). Nihon Kyōsan-tō Shuppan-bu. 1949. 38 p. Ct-H; NNC

“The Democratic Liberal Party or the JCP?” is the record of the interpellations by Tokuda in 5th session of the National Diet in 1949.

IV-477. TOKUDA, Kyūichi, and others. *Seinen no nimmu* (青年の任務——The duth of youth). Nihon Minshu Seinen-dan. 1949. 37 p. DLC

IV-478. TOKUDA, Kyūichi. *Tennō-sei no datō—Jimmin kyōwa seifu no juritsu* (天皇制の打倒——人民共和政府の樹立——Down with the Emperor system, establish a people's republican government). Tokyo. Bun'en-sha. 1946. 47 p. CLSU

IV-479. TOKUDA, Kyūichi. *Tone-gawa suikei sōgō kaikaku* (利根川水系総合改革). Sundai-sha. 1952. 35 p. CSt-H

Advocacy of the socialistic utilization of the water power of the Tone river, north of Tokyo.

IV-480. TOKUDA, Kyūichi, and others. *Wakai hitobito e* (若い人々え). Osaka. Kyōdō-tosho Shuppan-sha. 1948. 139 p. MH

An appeal to the youth of Japan by three top communists on the part to be played by youth in the future revolution, the runaway inflation, and national livelihood, and the youth in Red China and the U.S.S.R.

IV-481. *Tō seikatsu* (党生活). Nihon Rōnō Tsūshin-sha. 1948. 247 p. Edited and compiled by Yamabe Kentarō.

CLSU; CSt-H; DLC; IEN; MH; MiU; NNC
IV-481.1. *Zoku tō seikatsu* (続党生活). Kōdo-sha. 1950. 227 p. Edited and compiled by Yamabe Kentarō. CLSU; CSt-H; CU; DLC

The above two volumes (IV-481 and IV-481.1) on “Party life” and “Party life, continued” contain articles selected from the JCP organ, *Akahata*, during 1947–1948 (vol. 1) and 1949 (vol. 2) on general policy, cell activities, elections and the united front, the struggle against social democracy, party discipline, education, finances, women and children, agricultural policy, and the labor movement. “Valuable as a supplement to the official JCP reports, resolutions and releases.” (Langer and Swearingen).

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b. Agricultural policies and the agrarian movement

IV-482. ITANO, Katsuji. *Nōmin seikatsu to seiji no shinsō* (農民生活と政治の真相). Nōmin-no-tomo-sha. 1949. 44 p. DLC

“The farmers’ life and the truth about politics” is a statement of the communist attack on Premier Yoshida’s agricultural policy by a JCP member of the agricultural committee in the House of Councillors.

IV-483. ITŌ, Ritsu. *Nōmin ni uttau* (農民に訴ふ). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1946. 30 p. CLSU; CSt-H; MH

An appeal to the farmer explaining the JCP stand and interpretation of the difficult farm situation.

IV-484. ITŌ, Ritsu. *Nōmin sensen no tame ni* (農民戦線のために). Kenshin-sha. 1948. 132 p. DLC; MH; NNC

An analysis of the postwar agrarian movement and the food problem by a JCP agricultural specialist. The concrete plan of the JCP for land reform is also included.

IV-485. ITŌ, Ritsu. *Nōmin tōsō* (農民斗争). Nauka-sha. 1946. 196 p. CLSU; CSt-H; NNC

Critical essays on the government’s land reform program by the JCP agricultural specialist.

IV-486. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ, HOKKAIDŌ CHIHŌ IINKAI, SENDEN-BU. *Rakuno ō mamoru tatakai* (酪農をまもるたたかい—the fight to defend dairy farming—including the JCP policy on the revival of the industry). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. Sapporo. 1949. 16 p. CSt-H

IV-487. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ, NŌMIN-BU. *Nōmin wa jūzei to ikani tatakau ka* (農民は重税といかに闘うか—How the farmer fights heavy taxes). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1949. 32 p. CSt-H

IV-488. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ, SHUPPAN-BU. *Subete no tochi o nōmin e—Kyōsan-tō no tochi seisaku* (すべての土地を農民へ——共産党の土地政策——Give all land to the farmer—the land policy of the JCP). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1949. 22 p. CSt-H

IV-489. *Nōgyō nōmin mondai kōza. See no. VII-29.*

IV-490. YOSHIDA, Kaneji. *Nōmin no tatakai* (農民のたたかい). Niigata. Nihon Kyōsan-tō. Niigata shibu. 1948. 35 p. DLC

Communist statement on the farmers’ struggle. Author is a Communist member of the Sanjō city assembly and veteran party member from prewar days. This pamphlet was printed many times, each under a different author but who was in some way connected with JCP. For instance, Terajima Taiji, Kamimura Susumu, and Nirasawa Shirō all published the same text under their own names.

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c. Coal mining

IV-491. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. HOKKAIDO CHIHŌ IINKAI. SENDEN-BU. *Dōmin no ikiru michi wa hitotsu* (道民の生きる道は一つ——There is only one way for the people of Hokkaidō to survive—actually a statement of JCP coal mining policy). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. Sapporo. n.d. 16 p. CST-H

d. Cultural activities

IV-492. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō no bunka katsudō* (日本共産党の文化活動). Tachibana Shobō. 1953. 166 p. Compiled by Naigai Bunka Kenkyūjo.

CSt-H; CtY; DLC

A detailed study by an anti-communist organization of the cultural policies, and activities of the JCP. It traces the policies of the JCP through the postwar years; the various bodies established to propagate JCP policies, such as the Nihon Minshu-shugi Bunka Remmei, the Chūō Engeki Daigaku, etc. One chapter is devoted to an explanation of the various organizations in the theatre, puppet theatre, dancing, music, motion pictures, and literature established to further the aims of the Communist Party. The last chapter is on a short review of the prewar cultural policies and activities of the JCP. Three charts on these activities of the JCP appended. A useful reference book since there are so few.

e. Financial and economic policies

IV-493. FUTŌ KAZEI HANTAI DŌMEI. *Zeikin no karakuri to haraikata* (税金のからくりと払い方). Nihon Rōnō Tsūshin-sha. 1949. 73 p. CSt-H

On the mechanism of taxation by the League Against Unfair Taxation. It also includes instances in five areas of action against unfair taxation.

IV-494. *Gunji-teki shokuminchi yosan o abaku* (軍事的植民地予算を発く). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1950. 28 p. CSt-H

“Exposé of the military and colonial character of the national budget” is a communist attack on the 1950 budget of the Yoshida government.

IV-495. MATSUSHIMA, Harushige. *Ken zaisei o tsuku* (県財政をつく). Toyama Pref. 17 p. CLSU

IV-496. Nozaka, Sanzō. *Ashida naikaku no bōkoku seisaku o tsuku* (芦田内閣の亡国政策をつく). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1948. 23 p. [For limited distribution] CLSU

Copy of a speech delivered by a leading Communist, Nozaka, in the House of Representatives in the 2nd session of the Diet in 1948 attacking the Ashida government, its fiscal policy, and its policy for importing foreign capital.

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IV-497. SHIGA, Yoshio. *Yosan no kaikyū-sei* (予算の階級性). Shinri-sha. 1948. 82 p. 党活動家必携叢書 DLC; MH; NNC

IV-497.1. SHIGA, Yoshio. *Zaisei to infurēshon* (財政とインフレーション). Gyōmei-sha. 1948. 35 p. 宣伝教育群書 1 CSt-H; DLC; MH

Published with the consent of the JCP, on the economic situation in Japan, specifically the fiscal policy of the Japanese Government; the government at that time included the SDP.

IV-498. TOKUDA, Kyūichi and NOZAKA, Sanzō. *Minzoku no kiki to tatakau* (民族の危機と闘う). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1949. 90 p. CSt-H

Principally a criticism of the economic policies of the conservative government headed by Yoshida as expounded by the authors in Diet speeches in late 1948.

f. Fisheries

IV-499. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. GYOMIN-BU. *Gyomin ga ikite iru ni wa* (漁民が生きているには). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1949. 56 p. PC

Exposition of JCP fisheries policy, the organization of fishermen's unions, taxes to coincide with an attempt by the JCP in 1949 to organize and win over the fishing population.

g. Foreign policy

IV-500. HIRANO, Yoshitarō. *Shin-Chūgoku to Nihon no ummei* (新中国と日本の運命). Itō Shoten. 1949. 48 p. CLSU; CSt-H

Questions and answers on the relationship between China and Japan, from a pro-communist viewpoint.

IV-501. HORIUCHI, Kanjō. *Kōwa mondai no shōten o tsuku* (講和問題の焦点を衝く). Kyōyū-sha. 1950. 201 p. DLC; MH

A criticism of the JCP policy toward the peace settlement by the president of the Kyokutō Jijō Kenkyū-kai, an anti-communist Far East research organization, and former Japanese ambassador to China. The book was written and published in the beginning of 1950, before the outbreak of the Korean war. Appended is an excerpt from the decision of the enlarged Central Committee of the JCP concerning the Japanese peace settlement.

IV-502. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. *So-Dōmei wa shinryaku shite kuru-ka* (ソ同盟は侵略して来るか—Will the U.S.S.R. attack [Japan]?). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1951. 17 p. CSt-H

IV-503. NOZAKA, Sanzō. *Atarashii Chūgoku to Nihon* (新しい中国と日本). Shinri-sha. 1949. 121 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

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"The new China and Japan" is a series of essays, interviews and lectures on the JCP interpretation of events in postwar China. There are two sections on the outlook on Japanese trade with Red China.

- IV-504. NOZAKA, Sanzō. *Mata sensō wa okoru ka* (又戦争はおこるか)? Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1950. 46 p. CSt-H

Claiming a certain parallel between the prewar and postwar situation, Nozaka thinks that the postwar years are a prelude to World War III and offers his ideas on how this holocaust can be averted. This pamphlet was published in April 1950 just before the outbreak of the Korean War.

- IV-505. OGATA, Shōji. *Kōwa to So-dōmei* (講和とソ同盟). Nisso Shinzen Kyōkai. 1950. 32 p. PC

Ogata, formerly a ranking officer in the Russian field in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, justifies the conclusion of an overall peace treaty and the acceptance of conditions suggested by the U.S.S.R.

- IV-506. TAN, Tokusaburō, and others. *Daresu sōan ni kotaeru* (ダレス草案にこたえる). Zemmen Kōwa Aikoku Undō Kyōgikai. 1951. 48 p. CSt-H

A small pamphlet expressing opposition to the Dulles peace settlement by radical leftwing commentators and academicians.

h. Foreign trade

- IV-507. NOZAKA, Sanzō. *Chū-Nichi bōeki to Nihon no shōrai* (中日貿易と日本の将来). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. Kantō Chihō Iinkai. 1949. 30 p. CSt-H

On the problem of Sino-Japanese trade and the future of Japan, from the Communist point of view.

i. Labor union and workers

- IV-508. Itō, Ken'ichi. *Tō to kumiai—Hosoya Matsuta-shi ni atau* (党と組合—細谷松太郎氏に与ふ). Kiryū. Gyōmei-sha. 37 p. DLC

The Communist reply to the statement issued by Hosoya Matsuta in the *Nihon shūhō*, nos. 78-79 concerning his withdrawal from the JCP. The reply touches upon his expulsion from the party, faction activities, labor union independence, self-criticism, the personnel of the JCP, and operational techniques. Itō had been a prominent member of the JCP Central Committee during the postwar period. "Useful for the study of the methods by which the JCP has attempted to dominate the labor union movement in Japan." (Langer and Swearingen)

- IV-509. KIKUNAMI, Katsumi. *Rōdō kumiai-ron* (労働組合論). Nauka-sha. 1948. 130 p. CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

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On the Leninist conception of the role of labor unions and their relationship with the political parties. Kikunami, by profession a journalist and once a prominent member of the *Asahi Shinbun* in Tokyo was, at time of writing, assistant editor-in-chief of the JCP organ, *Akahata*.

IV-510. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. KANSAI CHIHŌ IINKAI CHŌSA-BU. *Sen'i rōdōsha wa ikani sakushu sarete iru ka* (繊維労働者はいかに搾取されているか—How is the textile worker being exploited?). 1949. 69 p. CSt-H

IV-511. NOZAKA, Tetsu [Sanzō]. *Rōdō kumiai-ron* (労組組合論). Dairen. Shin Bunka-sha. 1947. 65 p. DLC

The labor union in the political and economic struggle, and its position in the proletarian state by a leading member of the JCP upon the anniversary of the establishment of the Dairen Nihon-jin Rōdō Kumiai.

IV-512. *Rōdō kumiai no shidō-ken o nerau Nihon Kyōsan-tō* (労組組合の指導権をねらう日本共産党). Tokyo. 1954. 450 p. Compiled by Nikkan Rōdō Tsūshin-sha. DLC

Documentation on the efforts of the JCP to dominate labor unions in postwar Japan, especially in 1953. Directives, notifications, and other forms of direction are quoted from a variety of sources. The first chapter is on the labor union policy of the JCP during the postwar period, the second on the National Guiding Council for Labor Unions (Zenkoku Rōdō Kumiai Shidō-bu Kaigi), the third and fourth, the actual directives concerning labor union policy, and organizational activities. Appended is a chronology of the postwar labor movement divided into: Cabinet, international situation, occupation policies, politico-economic situation, decisions by the Cabinet and the Diet, activities of the JCP, directives of the JCP, the labor movement, and other pertinent events. There are also organizational charts on the JCP.

j. Medium and small business

IV-513. NOZAKA, Sanzō. *Chūshō shōkō gyōsha no ikiru michi* (中小商工業者の生きる道). Nihon Kyōsan-tō Shuppan-bu. 1948. 40 p.

CSt-H; MH; NNC

A speech, a statement, and an article by the JCP leader, Nozaka, on the JCP policy toward the small and medium businessman.

k. Military base problem

i. Bibliography

IV-514. *Kichi kankei bunken shūroku* (基地関係文献集録). 1955. 56 p. Compiled by Seji Keizai Kenkyūjo. PC

A bibliography of books, 112 periodical articles, and 1,667 newspaper articles published on the military base problem between 1952 and 1954. The periodical selections were based on the *Zasshi kiji sakuin* compiled by the National Diet Library, and news-

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paper articles from over 60 newspapers throughout Japan and not limited to leftwing publications.

ii. Books

- IV-515. INOMATA, Kōzō *and others, ed. Kichi Nihon* (基地日本). Wakō-sha. 1953. 354 p. DLC

A critical study of the problems of military bases maintained by the U.S. Security Forces in Japan. The first part consists of reports principally by teachers on conditions prevailing around these military bases. The second part is an analysis and proposed solution by several writers among them leftwing Socialists. They discuss the structure of a community adjacent to a base, extraterritoriality, the economy surrounding a base, effect on a fishing community, educational problems, and prostitution. This book is useful for obtaining the viewpoint of the leftwing Socialists and the basis of their antagonism toward U.S. military bases.

- IV-516. HOKURIKU SEIJI KEIZAI KENKYŪJO, *comp. Uchinada—shinjitsu no kiroku* (「内灘」—真実の記録). Kanazawa. Keisō Shobō. 1954. 239 p.

A detailed report on the struggle against the use of Uchinada in Ishikawa prefecture as a military training area.

- IV-517. KICHI MONDAI CHŌSA IINKAI, *comp. Gunji kichi no jittai to bunseki* (軍事基地の実態と分析). Kyoto. San'ichi Shobō. 1954. 280 p. DLC

An anti-American and pro-communist analysis of the military base problem in Japan. The first chapter takes up the metamorphosis of the Occupation and a general outline of the base problem based on statistics; the next three chapters pertain to the influence of the military base on the farmer, the fisherman, the worker around the base, the capitalist and the munitions industry; the sixth chapter is on the attitude of the various political parties quoting their policy statement on the military base problem. The appendix is on the hydrogen bomb and the Japanese fishing industry.

- IV-518. ONIUDA, Sadao. *Kichi Kujūkuri* (基地九十九里). Tōwa-sha. 1953. 246 p. DLC; NNC

The "Kujūkuri-hama military base" refers to the unadorned white sand beach which stretches for about 40 miles northeast of Tokyo facing the Pacific Ocean. The usage of this beach as a base for firing practice by the U.S. Security Forces was resisted by the local fishermen who were supported by the leftwing political parties. The area is somewhat isolated as a result of poor communications, has uninteresting topography, and is permeated with feudal relationships between the fishing boat owners and the fisherman.

- IV-519. OSADA, Arata, *comp. Genbaku no ko* (原爆の子). Iwanami Shoten. 1951. 306 p. DLC

"Children of the atomic bomb" is collection of compositions by young boys and girls on the atomic bomb and their experiences.

- IV-520. SHIMIZU, Ikutarō, *et al, comp. Kichi no ko* (基地の子). Kōbun-sha. 1953. 331 p. NDL

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Two hundred short compositions by grade school and junior high school boys and girls describing their experiences and what they saw in and around the military bases occupied by the U.S. Security Forces in Japan and the Japanese Self-Defense Forces. These were selected from 1,325 compositions sent to the compilers from 73 schools from Hokkaidō to Kagoshima. The compilers are generally identified with the more radical leftwing group, severely critical of U.S. policy.

- IV-521. MAMIYA, Shigesuke. *Fun'en no moto ni* (噴煙の下に). Riron-sha. 1955. 324 p. NDL

The U.S. military base at Myōgisan in Gumma Prefecture is the locale of this full length novel. The anti-military base demonstrations and organization developed by the leftwing political parties in this struggle were among the largest in the immediate post-peace-treaty years. The characteristic of this novel is the emphasis placed upon the activities and role played by students who participated in this "struggle." It is regarded as one of the best in depicting the organization, milieu, emotions, and issues in the continuing anti-military base movement fostered by the leftwing opposition forces in Japanese politics and society. The author has been identified with the leftwing literary movement from prewar years.

- IV-522. KIMURA, Kihachirō. *Kichi keizai* (基地経済). Rōdō Keizai-sha. 1953. 239 p. TUS

"Military base economy" was written by a member of the pro-communist political party, the Rōdōsha Nōmin-tō, to prove the detrimental effects of the re-militarization of Japanese economy. Kimura analyzed the post-treaty character of Japanese society, the meaning and content of a "military base economy," the military re-organization of the Japanese economy through a study of rearmament plans, public finance, the government's national budget, and the manufacture of munitions by Japan, and finally the relationship between the "military base economy" and the national livelihood. In general this study is a collection of revised articles which appeared in mass magazines such as *Sekai*, *Kaizō*, and *Chūō Kōron*.

- IV-523. UCHIYAMA, Mitsuo. *Kambu tōsō kara taishū tōsō e* (幹部斗争から大衆斗争へ). Hōritsu Jumpō-sha. 1954. 262 p. TUS

A record of the struggle of the Hokuriku Railway Workers Union by its chairman against the "Uchinada military base" on the Japan Sea coast. It was this union that in 1953 during the Korean War resolved not to transport military goods on its railroad. The first chapter is on the lessons the unions learned from its struggle against the Uchinada military base, the development of the union from a company union to a fighting union, and the 1952 general elections. The second chapter is on the struggle for a union contract which became the basis for the anti-military base struggle. The third chapter is on various problems which arose after the Uchinada struggle. The last chapter is the author's opinions on guiding a struggle from a mere leaders' struggle to a mass struggle in which the masses fully and willingly participate in fighting for a given cause.

1. Nationalization

- IV-524. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. CHŪO IINKAI CHŌSA-BU. *Jūyo sangyō kokuei jimmin kanri haya-wakari* (重要産業国営人民管理早わかり). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1948. 40 p. CSt-H

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JCP blueprint for the nationalization and people's control of important industries.

m. Organization

- IV-525. IWAMOTO, Iwao. *Kyōsantō-in no seikatsu* (共産党員の生活). Satsuki Shobō. 1949. 107 p. CSt-H; IEN; NNC

The private life of the party member by a member of the JCP control commission. Of special interest would be finance and discipline in which is discussed some of the methods used to obtain party funds.

- IV-526. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Jimmin no naka e* (人民の中へ). Iwasaki Shoten. 1947. 48 p. CSt-H

An appeal to JCP members by a member of the central committee of the JCP not to remain aloof but to mingle with the masses. Twenty-one articles are appended which describe a pattern to be followed by the model party member.

- IV-527. KONNO, Yōjirō. *Tō katsudō no benshō-hō* (党活動の弁証法). Shinri-sha. 1948. 67 p. 党活動家必携叢書 CSt-H; DLC

"The dialectics of party activities" is an official handbook of the JCP instructing its members on the strengthening of factory cells, and the district committee, the organizational meeting, the revitalization of inactive districts, and two examples of party activities in Kyushū and Hokkaidō. The preface is by Tokuda Kyūichi.

- IV-528. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. SENDEN KYŌIKU-BU. *Kyōsantō-in no gakushū* (共産党員の学習). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1949. 122 p. CSt-H; NNC; MH

A textbook for JCP members involving an understanding of the decisions of the convention and plenary session of the Central Committee, policy concerning the education of a Party member, experiences in educating new members, and self-study of staff members. There is also a list of necessary readings the basic ones of which are all either writings of Stalin, Marx, or Lenin; the reference works include works by Japanese Communists.

- IV-529. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. TŌKYŌ-TŌ IINKAI SENDEN KYŌIKU-BU. *Fashizumu-ka no tō-katsudo* (ファシズム下の党活動). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1951. 108 p. CSt-H; NNC

Statements by the Comintern and other foreign communists on party activities under a fascistic regime—the Yoshida government being regarded as one such regime.

- IV-530. SHIINO, Etsurō. *Tōitsu sensen to jimmin tōsō* (統一戦線と人民斗争). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. Kantō Chihō Iinkai. 1949. 56 p. CSt-H

"The united front and the people's struggle" is five reports on tactical problems, cooperation with the socialists in an election campaign, and the strengthening of the party organs from June 1948 to July 1949. Shiino became legal leader of the JCP after General MacArthur purged the Central Committee in June 1950.

- IV-531. TAKENAKA, Tsunesaburō and KASUGA, Shōichi. *Saibō katsudō haya-wakari* (細胞活動早わかり). Tokyo. Shinri-sha. 1947. 55 p. 党活動家必携 DLC; NNC

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An explanation of the mission, organization, and activities of the "cell," the lowest echelon of the Communist set-up. This pamphlet can be regarded as an official interpretation as the writers are veteran party officials in the prewar illegal movement and Central Committee members in the postwar period and experts in this type of Party activity. The pamphlet is also part of series known as "Indispensable to party activities" sponsored by the JCP.

- IV-532. TOKUDA, Kyūichi. *Soshiki mondai ni tsuite* (組織問題に就いて). Gyōmei-sha. 1946. 36 p. CSt-H (1949 ed.); NNC (1946 ed.)

A brief outline of the functions of cells, organizations, and factions, including the proposals made to the February 1946 National Organizational Conference.

- IV-533. TOKUDA, Kyūichi. *Tō-seikatsu no sasshin no tame ni* (党生活の刷新の為に). Jan. 1950. 34 p. CLSU; CSt-H; MH

"A criticism of the work of [JCP] party members and suggestions for improvement. Directed primarily at the lower echelons: the Cell, the District Committee and the Group Directorate. Useful for the study of organizational and operational techniques." (Langer and Swearingen)

n. Public health

- IV-534. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. KAGAKU GIJUTSU-BU. *Jimmin no kenkō o mamoru niwa* (人民の健康をまもるには—To protect the health of the people—JCP statement of its public health and medical policy). Nihon Kyōsantō. 1949. 46 p. CSt-H

o. Press

- IV-535. KASUGA, Shōjirō and KASUGA, Shōichi. *Kōjō shimbun no tsukurikata* (工場新聞の作り方). Shinri-sha. 1948. 46 p. 党活動必携 DLC; NNC

A booklet published under the supervision of the JCP Education and Propaganda Section on the function, distribution, editorial policy, financing, printing, and technical matters concerning the publication of the factory newspaper by the factory cell. The authors are experienced in this essential field of Communist propaganda from prewar years when they participated in the labor movement.

- IV-536. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. AKAHATA HENSHŪ-KYOKU. *Shimbun no tsukurikata* (新聞の作り方). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1949. 69 p. CSt-H

On the methodology of compiling a newspaper, writing of newspaper articles, standards for selection, and qualifications for a newspaper reporter.

- IV-537. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. KIKANSHI-BU KAI. *Zenkoku kikanshi kaigi hōkoku kettei-shū* (全国機関紙会議報告決定集). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1949. 77 p. NNC

A collection of reports of meetings on the Party organ. The reports are given by

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Tokuda Kyūichi and members of the party organ *Akahata* on the meaning of the local party paper, its editorial policy, management, communications, and network.

- IV-538. NIIJIMA, Shigeru. *Jānarizumu* (ジャーナリズム). Nauka-sha. 1950. 184 p. DLC

Communist commentary on journalism. Chapter 2 on the history of journalism contains some data on communist and pro-communist publications in prewar Japan, and chapter 3, on the state and trends in journalism, contains a discussion of events relating to the communist press from the middle of 1949 to Sept. 1950.

p. Rearmament

- IV-539. OKAKURA, Koshirō. *Nihon sai-gumbi* (日本再軍備). Getsuyō Shobō. 1952. 253 p. CSt-H

Though entitled "the rearmament of Japan," it is actually a review of U. S. policy toward Japan since 1945. The author attempts to prove that this rearmament was conceived at the end of the last war in order to attack China, Russia and Asia, that occupation policy was advanced along this line, this approach was accelerated with the Chinese Communist victory in China, and that World War III will occur unless Japanese rearmament fails.

- IV-540. SANO, Manabu. *Kyōsan-shugi sensō-ron* (共産主義戦争論). Aoyama Shoin. 1951. 284 p. CSt-H; DLC

An analytical study of the attitudes of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse-tung toward war, by a former leader of the JCP.

q. Religion

- IV-541. AKAIWA, Sakae. *Kirisuto-kyō to kyōsan-shugi* (キリスト教と共産主義). Kyoto. San'ichi Shobō. 1949. 146 p. DLC; MH; NNC

The sub-title, "the road I have travelled," is more descriptive of this book on communism and Christianity. The author describes his mental processes before he joined the JCP and continues his exposition on the relationship between Christianity and dialectical materialism, Christianity and racial independence, Christianity and other problems. In 1949, the Rev. Akaiwa made campaign speeches for the JCP, and he contends that to a "Japanese Christian, conscious of social problems and of the need for solving them, only the JCP holds out hope." (Langer and Swearingen)

- IV-542. Minshu-shugi Kagaku-sha Kyōkai. *Kyōsan-shugi to shūkyō no shōrai* (共産主義と宗教の将来). Shinkō Shuppan-sha. 1949. 133 p. CSt-H

The record of five speeches upon the future of religion and communism by an assistant professor at Tokyo University, two clergymen—of whom one later became a communist—and two members of the sponsoring Kyōkai.

- IV-543. YAMADA, Sakaji. *Kyōsan-shugi wa shūkyō o dō miru ka* (共産主義は宗教をどうみるか). Kyoto. San'ichi Shobō. 1949. 188 p. DLC; MH; MiU

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- IV-544. YAMADA, Sakaji. *Shūkyō to Kyōsan-shugi* (宗教と共産主義). Nauka-sha. 1949. 173 p. DLC

This and the preceding entry are communist interpretations of religion and communism. Both books have little material bearing directly on Japan and are rather abstract.

r. Repatriation

- IV-545. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. SENDEN KYŌIKU-BU. *Hikiage seisaku o abaku* (引揚政策を説く). Nauka-sha. 1949. 16 p. CSt-H

A communist pamphlet on the supposed enthusiasm for communism among Japanese repatriates from communist countries.

- IV-546. SŌREN KIKANSHA SEIKATSU YŌGŌ DŌMEI. *Shinjitsu o uttaeru* (真実を訴へる). Hachigatsu Shobō. 1949. 109 p. CSt-H

Communist views on the repatriation issue and methods of indoctrination of Japanese POW's in Soviet custody.

s. Unemployment

- IV-547. NIHON KYŌSAN-TŌ. SENDEN KYŌIKU-BU. *Keiki wa koko kara* (景気はここから—Explanation of the JCP unemployment policy). Nihon Rōnō Tsūshin-sha. 1949. 16 p. CSt-H

D. Periodicals and Newspapers

Periodicals and newspapers have been and still are one of the most important means used by the Japanese leftwing social movements in spreading their ideas. Consequently, they constitute an essential primary and secondary source for the study of these movements. Each school of thought did its utmost to publish a periodical, no matter how small, insignificant or financially inconvenient it might be. Coupled with the constant fear of suppression by the government, resulting in haphazard numbering of issues, irregularity, broken series, and constant changing of titles, anyone wishing to merely enumerate the parts to this mosaic of periodical publications and then further to locate them is faced with a difficult task. This compiler, therefore, admits that this survey is far from adequate and only signifies the first step in reconstructing the pattern of publications followed by the various schools of thought, political factions, cliques, and groups in the leftwing political movements,

Only the sectarian periodicals and newspapers of a general character have been selected for inclusion here. The more specialized periodicals are included in each appropriate chapter. The so-called general magazines (*sōgō zasshi*) such as *Chūō kōron*, *Kaizō*, *Sekai* have been excluded from this

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section since they are not so sectarian and they are often readily available in many university and other specialized libraries with significant Japanese collections. These magazines have been utilized many times by the competing schools of thought in, for example, the controversy over the development of capitalism in Japan, and the subsequent strategy and tactics to be followed by leftwing parties. They also often reflected the thinking of the liberal intelligentsia (but not necessarily the masses).

Only a few of the large number of prewar and postwar periodicals and newspapers published directly or indirectly by various leftwing political groups, or non-participant groups have been included in this sub-section. There may be other periodical publications equally as important as some mentioned here, but they may not be readily available or are so completely fragmentary that their value is greatly depreciated. Even among the items mentioned, it is clear that complete collections are rather scarce; incomplete series are more the rule than the exception.

In the United States, periodical publications are concentrated in two institutions: the Library of Congress and the Hoover Institute at Stanford University; microfilm reproductions of certain periodicals and newspapers are concentrated in the East Asiatic Library at the University of California (Berkeley). The collection in the Japanese Section of the Library of Congress has a wide range of fragmentary series not mentioned in this bibliography. The Hoover Institute has a relatively compact and select collection of periodical publications because of its special interest in various types of revolutionary movements. The East Asiatic Library has recently begun microfilming a large number of prewar leftwing periodicals and newspapers. Location information for most of the items in the Library of Congress and the Hoover Institute is based on a personal survey. Because the microfilming by the University of California was begun after this compiler had visited the East Asiatic Library, availability information, in this instance, is based upon data specially given him just before the completion of this bibliography.

In Japan, many scholars are trying to locate and collect scattered prewar periodical publications. Though incomplete, one such initial result was the microfilming of some organs of prewar proletarian political parties. This microfilm collection became the basis of part of the availability information of many of the prewar party organs mentioned in this subsection. No doubt by the time this bibliography is available, this collection will have been supplemented and greatly improved.

After the Pacific War ended and freedom of speech was restored in Japan the number of periodicals and newspapers of varied political hues mushroomed in 1945-1946. Most of these magazines enthusiastically supported the "democratization" program of the Allied Occupation, and actively propagated the general philosophy, policies, and programs of the radical leftwing in particular. Some of these periodicals are *Sekai hyōron*, *Jimmin hyōron*, *Minshu hyōran*, *Hyōron*, *Chōryū*, *Jimmin*, *Jiron*, *Shakai hyōron*, *Keizai hyōron*. But by 1949-1950 most of them began to disappear from the

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newstands and bookstores. Many are preserved in the Library of Congress although they are seldom complete. These periodicals have not been included in this bibliography.

The two principal leftwing parties in the postwar period, the SDP and JCP, have also published various types of publications both for internal and external party consumption. The JCP from about 1950 began to publish a number of clandestine organs which are difficult to locate and to collect. Rather than attempt to verify the various underground papers issued by the JCP, only the principal party organs such as *Zen'ei*, *Akahata*, and *Atarashii sekai* have been listed here. Such secret papers as *Kokumin no hoshi* (Star of the people), published for about 70 issues from March 1951 to May 1955 by the JCP military committee and distributed twice a month to party members involved in military activities, and *Heiwa to dokuritsu no tame ni* (For peace and independence) published to May 1955, have not been included. There are also those periodicals and newspapers not directly published by the JCP, such as *Heiwa*, *Heiwa no tomo*, and *Heiwa no koe* but which support the ideas of the JCP. These are available in CSt-H.

Although SDP publications are not shrouded in secrecy, the smallness of their circulation, their sporadic publication, and their internal party consumption character, make them almost as difficult to collect as if they were clandestine publications. Even when this compiler made a special effort to assemble some of the SDP periodical publications, he was only partially successful not because the party did not wish to release copies to an outsider but rather because members of the party and even the party headquarters did not possess complete collections of their own publications. Therefore, only the most important internal party publications, *Tōkatsudō*, *Jōhō tsūshin*, *Shakai tsūshin* have been included. The Left SDP has also published *Seikei shiryō* (political and economic materials), *Gyogyō tsūshin* (Fisheries letter), *Rōdō jōhō* (Labor news), *Nōmin Jōhō* (Agricultural News), *Wakaki gunretsu* (The young group). The united SDP has published such series as *Chihō jichi tsūshin* (Local government news), *Chūshō kigyō shiryō* (Materials on small and medium business). Only some issues of some of these series have been found: *Nōmin Jōhō* (nos. 1-5, 7-8, 10, 12-16 in DLC), *Chihō jichi tsūshin* (DLC has almost all of first 21 issues), *Chūshō kigyō shiryō* (nos. 1-3 in DLC). When the Diet was in session, both the former Left and Right SDP and the present united SDP published brief mimeographed day-to-day accounts of their Diet activities, policies, and strategy, called *Kokkai naihō*, *Kokkai sokuhō*, or *Kokkai nippō* (DLC has fair collections of each). The short resumes of party activities in the Diet are available for only a short period after publication, then they rapidly disappear; when this compiler tried to obtain copies only two weeks after publication many were already non-existent and seldom found again.

The internal SDP party newspaper was originally called the *Shakai shimbun*. Due to intra-party circumstances it has changed its name several times to *Shakai shūhō*, *Nihon Shakai-tō tōhō*, *Shakai shimpō*, or *Tōkatsudō*.

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The *Nihon shakai shimbun* and the *Shakai taimusu* have developed into independent newspapers supporting the Right and Left SDP respectively. They are independent so far as book-keeping is concerned, but they share their offices with the party and an inter-locking directorate would prevail between the newspaper and the party, and the paper would reflect the thinking of the leaders of the respective groups. Back issues of both newspapers are now practically impossible to secure.

In addition to the sectarian periodicals and newspapers there are a number of anti-communist periodicals which should be mentioned, such as *Kyokutō tsūshin*, *Kaibō*, and *Kōan jōhō*.

It is tragically apparent that university and other libraries quoted in this bibliography have shown little interest in collecting socialist publications—although they show a much greater potential of attaining power in Japan—as compared to the relatively greater interest in the JCP which is far removed from the seat of government.

IV-548. *Akahata* (アカハタ). Organ of the JCP. Published daily with some interruptions since 1945. Soon after the outbreak of the Korean War it was suspended but resumed publication in 1952. Good collections of this newspaper can be found in CSt-H and DLC.

IV-549. *Atarashii sekai* (新しい世界). Published monthly by the JCP from Aug. 1946. CSt-H has an almost complete collection of nos. 1-68 (Aug. 1946—June 1953).

IV-550. *Chōsa jihō* (調査事報). Published by the JCP Chōsa-bu. Edited by Nozaka Sanzō; later changed to Kazahaya Yosoji. Deals with economic, political, labor and social problems. CSt-H has an almost complete collection of the first 19 issues, Aug. 1946—Apr. 1949; DLC has only a few issues.

IV-551. *Dai-ni musansha shimbun* (才二無産者新聞). Published by Dai-ni Musansha Shimbun-sha. Supposed to have been published six times a month but seldom accomplished. DLC has an almost complete collection from no. 1 (Sept. 9, 1929) to no. 93 (Mar. 10, 1932) including many extra issues. The first 16 issues are also reproduced in *Tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu shiryō* (特別高等警察資料) no. 9, Apr. 1930, 133 leaves, compiled by the Shihō-shō (in DLC). CU has a few copies on microfilm.

IV-552. *Gakugei* (学芸). Published by Gakugei Hakkōsho. It is the successor to *Yuibutsu-ron kenkyū* and published only from April to Nov. 1938. CSt-H has all these copies.

IV-553. *Hankyō jōhō* (反共情報). Published by Kokusai Hankyō Remmei. An anti-communist magazine published monthly after the outbreak of the China Incident. CSt-H has an almost complete collection from vol. 1, no. 1 (Oct. 1938) to vol. 7, no. (June 1944).

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IV-554. *Heimin hōritsu* (平民法律). Published by Heimin Daigaku. Edited by Yamazaki Kesaya. English title: The People's Law. CSt-H has Vol. IX, nos. 1-3 (Feb.—May 1920); CU has a microfilm copy of the same issues.

IV-555. *Hihan* (批判). Published by Warera-sha and edited by Hasegawa Manjirō. Monthly from May 1930 to Feb. 1934. Successor to *Warera*. DLC has Vol. 1, nos. 1, 3-5, vol. 2, no. 11, vol. 3, nos. 3-12, vol. 4, nos. 1-10, vol. 5, no. 2 (Feb. 1934); CU has a microfilm copy of these issues.

IV-556. *Intanashonarū* (インタナショナル). Published by Sangyō Rōdō Chōsajo. Edited by Taniguchi Zentarō. English title: The International. Publication of the radical leftwing labor and economic research organization. DLC and CSt-H have almost complete collections from the first issue in Feb. 1927 to about July 1933.

IV-557. *Jōhō buhō* (情報部報). Only point that is clear is that it is a mimeographed communist publication. DLC has a supplement of Apr. 28, 1932, and nos. 3-5 (May-June 1932). The title of the last issue was changed to *Shiryō shūho* (資料週報).

IV-558. *Jōhō tsūshin* (情報通信). Internal party organ of the SDP; later same for the Right SDP when the SDP was split, 1951-1955. Published irregularly from Jan. 1950. Succeeded by *Shakai tsūshin* when SDP united in 1955. CSt-H has an almost complete collection from no. 2 to no. 148, the last issue.

IV-559. *Kaikyū-sen* (階級戦). *Kaikyū-sen* meaning “class war,” succeeded *Sekki*, after the Ministry of Home Affairs requested a change in the name of the *Sekki*, meaning “red flag” since to them it implied revolution. *Kaikyū-sen* was published twice in July and August 1923 both issues of which are available in TUK; CU has a microfilm copy of the two issues.

IV-560. *Keisatsu kenkyū* (警察研究). Published by Ryōsho Fukyūkai. Monthly from Jan. 1930—“Police studies”—the title translated—often contains articles on various aspects of the social movements in Japan such as thought offenses, the JCP, proletarian newspapers and magazines, and elections. Many of these articles are written by Japanese Government officials. DLC has an almost complete collection from the first issue to 1953.

IV-561. *Keizai hyōron* (経済評論). Published by Sōbunkaku in the prewar period and by Nihon Hyōron-sha in the postwar period. Monthly publication from Sept. 1934 to Oct. 1937 and republished in the postwar period. It has frequently published articles in the prewar period which supported the Kōza school of economic thinking in the controversy over Japanese capitalism. CSt-H has a complete prewar collection and some issues of the postwar publication.

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IV-562. *Kyōsan seinen* (共産青年). Published by the Nihon Kyōsan Seinen Dōmei. Irregularly published. First five issues are reproduced in *Tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu shiryō* (特別高等警察資料), no. 9, Apr. 1930, marked secret, 133 leaves, compiled by the Shihō-shō. This document is in DLC. In Feb. 1931 this publication changed its name to *Rēnin seinen* (レーニン青年).

IV-563. *Kyūen shimbun* (救援新聞). Organ of Kaihō Undō Giseisha Kyūenkai, later changed to Nihon Sekishoku Kyūenkai. Published irregularly from Dec. 21, 1929. DLC has 36 issues from no. 1 to Aug. 15, 1933, an extra issue.

IV-564. *Marukishizumu no hata no moto ni* (マルキシズムの旗の下に). A private magazine written by Fukumoto Kazuo, radical leftwing theoretician. His analyses provoked considerable controversy among the members of the clandestine JCP. In these issues, for instance, he analyses the mutual antagonism of the so-called left and rightwings. According to an introductory remark in volume 2 the first issue never seems to have been published. DLC has nos. 2-6 (June-Dec. 1926).

IV-565. *Marukusu-shugi* (マルクス主義). Published by Marukusu Kyōkai. Edited by Nishi Masao. Monthly for 56 issues from May 1924 to Apr. 1929. It is regarded as the "legal" party organ of the JCP during the 1920's. It carried many articles of the group of theorists and activists who followed the advocacies of the JCP. It was one of the principal vehicles of expression for the JCP camp in the strategy and tactics controversy and for the interpretations of the Japanese economy. DLC has a complete set except for no. 55; CSt-H has almost a complete collection including nos. 9-32, 33-37, 40-47, 50-53, 55-56; CU has a complete microfilm set except for nos. 52 and 55.

IV-566. *Marukusu-shugi no hata no moto ni* (マルクス主義の旗の下に). Published by Marukusu-shugi no hata no moto ni-sha. On first issue esperanto title is: Sub la standardo de Markisimo. Edited by Otaguro Toshio and Miura Ichirō, later changed to Nakamura Tokujirō. From Nov. 1931 edited by Puroretaria Kagaku Kenkyūjo Sovieto Dōmei Kenkyūkai and later by Puroretaria Kagaku Dōmei. Contains principally translations from German edition with some original essays by Japanese. DLC has an almost complete set from first issue in June 1929 to Sept. 1933, 25 issues in all; CSt-H has only four issues, vol. 1, nos. 1, 2, and 6, vol. 2, no. 3.

IV-567. *Minshu shakai-shugi* (民主社会主義). Organ of the Minshu Shakai-shugi Remmei, supporting organization of the rightwing of the SDP. Published monthly from Jan. 1953. DLC has nos. 1-41 (Jan. 1953-Sept. 1955).

IV-568. *Minshū shimbun* (民衆新聞). Published by Minshū Shimbun-sha, semi-monthly publication edited by Akamatsu Katsumaro. On Jan. 10, 1929

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name changed to *Shakai minshū shimbun* (社会民衆新聞), published by Shakai Minshū Shimbun-sha and organ of Shakai Minshū-tō. Editor changed to Koike Shirō; in 1930 it was Akamatsu again; and in 1932 Katayama Tetsu became the editor. These newspapers lasted from June 15, 1926 to July 15, 1932; the former for 34 issues, the latter for 38 issues. CU has an almost complete microfilm copy of the two series except for no. 14 in the first series, and nos. 1, 2, 9, 35 of the second series; TUK has an almost identical microfilm copy.

IV-569. *Musan kaikyū* (無産階級). Published by Musan Kaikyū-sha. Edited by Ichikawa Shōichi. Regarded as one of the early radical leftwing periodicals. Issued monthly from Apr. 1922. Later amalgated with two other magazines to form *Sekki*. CU has microfilm copy of vol. 1, nos. 1-5 (Apr.—Sept. 1922).

IV-570. *Musan seinen* (無産青年). Published by Musan Seinen-sha in the Rōdō Nōmin Shimbun-sha. Later it became the organ of the Nihon Kyōsan Seinen Dōmei. Though a publication of the radical leftwing it was able to publish 147 issues with many extras from Mar. 15, 1929 to Nov. 5, 1933. DLC has a comparatively complete collection; CU has a microfilm copy of this collection. The first 23 issues are also reproduced in a Japanese Government publication in DLC called *Tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu shiryō* (特別高等警察資料), no. 9, Apr. 15, 1930, Marked secret, 133 leaves, compiled by the Naimu-shō Keiho-kyoku.

IV-571. *Musansha kyōiku* (無産者教育). Published by Musansha Kyōiku Kyōkai and edited by Yamanouchi Fusakichi. Monthly from June 1929. From Mar. 1930 name of the periodical was changed to *Marukusu-shugi kenkyū* (マルクス主義研究) and from no. 4 of the same volume a German sub-title was added as follows: *Zeitschrift für Praxis und Theorie des Marxismus*. DLC has vol. 1, nos. 2-4, 6-7, vol. 2, nos. 1-9, and vol. 3, no. 1; CSt-H has vol. 1, nos. 1, 6-7.

IV-572. *Musansha shimbun* (無産者新聞). Published by Musansha Shimbun-sha and edited by Sekine Etsurō. English title: The Proletarian News. First published twice a month, then weekly, six times a month and even attempted, though unsuccessfully, daily publication. It represented the ideas, policies and strategy of the radical leftwing and was under constant government suppression but was able to publish 239 issues from Sept. 20, 1925 to Aug. 20, 1929, ending with a blazing red printed issue. CU has a complete microfilm copy except for no. 16 and several issues banned by the government; CSt-H has a fairly complete collection from no. 66 (Dec. 1926) to no. 212 (Mar. 1929); DLC has a fairly complete collection from no. 201 to no. 234.

IV-573. *Musan taishū shimbun* (無産大衆新聞). Published by Musan Taishū

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Shimbun-sha, actually organ of Musan Taishū-tō. Edited by Suzuki Mosa-burō. Published 7 issues from Aug. 26 to Dec. 19, 1928 on an irregular bimonthly schedule. CU and TUK have complete microfilm copies; CSt-H has nos. 1-2, 4-6 original form.

IV-574. *Naigai hyōron* (内外評論). Published by Naigai Hyōron Henshū linkai. Twice monthly. Each issue had a camouflaged cover but the contents actually pertained to JCP peace treaty policy, its military policy, the strengthening of illegal activities, resolutions on the unification of the party, training of staff members and a united front. CSt-H has three issues published in 1951: nos. 15 (Mar. 15), 16 (Mar. 22) and 27 (Sept. 6).

IV-575. *Naigai shakai mondai chōsa shiryō* (内外社会問題調査資料). Published by Naigai Shakai Mondai Chōsajo. Originally issued once a week then reduced to three times a month. It represents the conservative rightwing of the proletarian movement, such as Abe Isoo, Suzuki Bunji, Kamei Kan'ichirō. It is useful for its explanation of leftwing political party strategy and tactics, policies and philosophy. When eight organizations were amalgamated the title of the periodical was changed to *Naigai rōdō shūho* (内外労働週報) as of no. 458 (June 6, 1941); the publishing house was then changed to Naigai Rōdō Kenkyūjo. DLC has an almost complete collection from the first issue on Aug. 13, 1928 to April 28, 1944 (no. 603); CSt-H has an almost complete collection from nos. 182-234 (Apr. 1933-Nov. 1934).

IV-576. *Nihon rōnō shimbun* (日本労農新聞). Organ of Nihon Rōnō-tō. Published semi-monthly from Jan. 1, 1927 to Jan. 1, 1929 for 45 issues. Edited by Hirano Manabu. CU has a complete collection on microfilm except for nos. 20-21; CSt-H has nos. 2, 4-6, 8-10, 12, 20-23, 26-27, 31, 34-35, 38-39, 41, 45; TUK has same collection as CU.

IV-577. *Nihon shakai shimbun*. See *Shakai shimbun* no. IV-598.

IV-578. *Nihon shakai-shugi* (日本社会主義). Published by Nihon Shakai-shugi Kenkyūjo. Regards itself as organ of national socialism in Japan. Edited by Igarashi Takashi and Ishikawa Junjūrō. Monthly publication. DLC has a complete collection from first issue dated Oct. 1931 to Dec. 1934 except for 2 issues, vol. 1, no. 2 and vol. 4, no. 5; CU has a microfilm copy of this collection; CSt-H has vol. 1, nos. 1-3, and vol. 2, nos. 1-5, From vol. 2, no. 6 (June 1932) the name of the periodical was changed to *Kokka shakai-shugi*.

IV-579. *Nihon shakai undō tsūshin* (日本社会運動通信). Published by Nihon Shakai Undō Tsūshin-sha. English title: The social movement report. Weekly publication. Claims a neutral position in reporting all events in the social movements except anarchism, communism and the colonial liberation movements. Good source materials on policy statements, conventions,

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and daily events. DLC has nos. 1-82 (May 17, 1928-Dec. 23, 1929), and nos. 795-818 (July 2-Dec. 17, 1938).

IV-580. *Nihon taishū shimbun* (日本大衆新聞). Published by Nihon Taishū Shimbun-sha but in reality the organ of the Nihon Taishū-tō. Essentially the successor to *Nihon rōnō shimbun*. In the beginning, a weekly but from no. 27 an irregular monthly newspaper. As the several proletarian political parties amalgamated their newspapers accordingly changed names. Therefore, for the first 20 issues it was *Nihon taishū shimbun*: nos. 21-32 are entitled *Zenkoku taishū shimbun* (全国大衆新聞), organ of the Zenkoku Taishū-tō; nos. 33-35 (?) are entitled *Zenkoku rōnō taishū shimbun* (全国労農大衆新聞), organ of the Zenkoku Rōnō Taishū-tō; nos. 36-82 are entitled *Shakai taishū shimbun* (社会大衆新聞), organ of the Shakai Taishū-tō. The newspapers are numbered consecutively regardless of change of name. The editor of these newspapers is listed as Kōno Mitsu. CU has a microfilm copy from the first issue of Jan. 20, 1929 to Nov. 1933 (No. 55) except for nos. 9-10, 15, 19, 25, 28, 37, 39-42, 44-48, 51-54; TUK has an almost identical collection on microfilm as CU up to no. 43 (*Zenkoku taishū shimbun*); CSt-H has only the first issue; DLC has nos. 23-24, 26, 32 (*Zenkoku taishū shimbun*), 35-36 (*Zenkoku rōnō taishū shimbun*), 49-50, 55, 82 (*Shakai taishū shimbun*).

IV-581. *Ohara shakai mondai kenkyūjo zasshi* (大原社会問題研究所雑誌). Published by Dōjin-sha. But the English title is more indicative of its character: Journal of the Ohara Institute for Social Research. It was published irregularly, once or twice a year from Aug. 1923 to Nov. 1933 and continued in 1934 under a new title and volume number as *Gekkan Ohara shakai mondai kenkyūjo zasshi*. The Ohara Institute was a well-known prewar agency engaged in labor and social welfare research. This periodical was also occasionally used by the Rōnō School of economic thought in its controversy with the Kōza School. At the end of each issue there was usually a substantial bibliography of recent books and periodicals. DLC has an almost complete collection with only one or two issues missing; CSt-H has all except one of the latter edition, 1934-1936.

IV-582. *Puroretaria kagaku* (プロレタリア科学). Published by Puroretaria Kagaku Kenkyūjo. Edited by Ozaki Shōtarō. Esperanto title: La scienco proleta. It is successor to *Kokusai bunka*, and published from Nov. 1929 to Jan. 1934 (?). DLC has almost a complete set with only Dec. 1929 missing; CSt-H has a good collection including Dec. 1929. DLC has a few 1929 issues of *Kokusai bunka*.

IV-583. *Riron to jissen* (理論と実践). Published by Nihon Kyōsan-tō Chūō Dakkan Zenkoku Daihyōsha Kaigi Jumbi Iinkai, a faction in the JCP. First issue dated Aug. 25, 1934 and supposed to be monthly. DLC has first two issues. Number 1 also reproduced in *Shisō geppō*, no. 4, Oct. 1934, Shihō-shō. (in DLC).

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IV-584. *Rōdō nōmin shimbun* (労働農民新聞). Organ of the Rōdō Nōmin-tō. Published by Rōdō Nōmin Shimbun-sha from no. 44. Edited by Hososeko Kanemitsu. In the beginning issued twice a month, then changed to weekly, three times a month, and back to fortnightly. Published 129 issues from Jan. 1927 to June 1931. CU has a microfilm collection from the first to the last issue except for nos. 32, 82, 84, 87, 99, 110, 113-115, 117-119; CSt-H has a fairly good collection of originals including nos. 4-5, 8-9, 14-22, 25, 31, 35-39, 39-49, 51, 53, 57-58, 60, 63-71, 75-78 (Feb. 1929); DLC has nos. 53, 77-81, 83, 106-107, 109, 123-125 (Nov. 1930); TUK has an almost complete microfilm collection from nos. 3-125 (Dec. 1930).

IV-585. *Rōnō* (労農). Published by Rōnō-sha. Edited first by Kobori Jinji, later by Inamura Junzō. Monthly first published in Dec. 1927 and ended in Apr. 1932. This periodical was the organ of the so-called Rōnō School of Marxist strategy and tactics and interpretation of the Japanese capitalistic system. They carried on a lengthy controversy on these subjects with the advocates of the JCP standpoint. The principal leaders who contributed to this periodical were Sakai Toshihiko, Yamakawa Hitoshi, Arahata Kanson, Inomata Tsunao. DLC has a fairly complete collection from vol. 2, no. 4 (May 1928) to vol. 6, no. 4 (Apr. 1932); CSt-H also has an almost complete collection starting with the vol. 1, no. 1, vol. 2 nos. 1-11, vol. 3, nos. 1-2, 4-9, vol. 4, nos. 1-10, vol. 5, nos. 1-12, and vol. 6, nos. 1-4; CU has a complete microfilm collection. *Rōnō* was the successor to *Taishū* and was followed by *Zenshin* in July 1932.

IV-586. *Rōnō shimbun* (労農新聞). Published by Rōnō Shimbun-sha. One outlet of the Rōnō faction, the non-communist Marxist group. Edited by Nonaka Masayuki. Published semi-monthly from Nov. 1928 to July 1929 for 16 issues. DLC has nos. 6-8, 15; CSt-H has nos. 1-2; CU has a microfilm copy of nos. 1-2, 6-16.

IV-587. *Seiji hihan* (政治批判). Published by the Seiji Hihan-sha. Edited by Omachi Tokuzō. Monthly but irregularly published from Feb. 1927 to Feb. 1929 (?). It was begun under the ideological influence of Fukumotoism and interpreted Japanese capitalism from this standpoint. CLC has nos. 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 13; CSt-H has 1-7, 9-13; CU has a microfilm collection of nos. 1-11, and 13.

IV-588. *Seiji undō* (政治運動) and *Seiji kenkyū* (政治研究). Published by and organ of Seiji Kenkyūkai. Former edited by Miwa Jusō; latter edited by Shimanaka Yūzō. Issued monthly from Apr. 1924 to July 1925. Changed name to *Seiji kenkyū* in Aug. 1924. CU has microfilm copy of nos. 2-4 of *Seiji undō* and vol. 1, no. 1, vol. 2, nos. 1-4, and vol. 3, nos. 1-6 of *Seiji kenkyū*; DLC has vol. 3, nos. 1-6 in original form.

IV-589. *Sekki* (赤旗). First published in April 1923 for three issues, May

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and June 1923. They were numbered consecutively from one of its predecessors, *Zen'ei*. The *Sekki*, was an amalgamation of three magazines, the *Shakai-shugi kenkyū*, *Zen'ei* and *Musan kaikyū*. All three issues of *Sekki* are in TUK; the first issue of April 1923 is in CSt-H; CU has a microfilm copy of the three issues.

IV-590. *Sekki* (赤旗). The prewar edition of the JCP party organ was reprinted in four volumes by the San'ichi Shobō in 1954. The compilation begins with the first issue on Feb. 1, 1928 and ends with issue no. 198 (1936), and includes numerous "extras" published by the JCP at the time and a chronology of the party organ. Except for the first five issues the compilation is a photographic reproduction of the original newspapers; consequently they are a little difficult to read at times. The relative completeness of this collection (some copies are still missing) attests to the thoroughness of the JCP underground network during its dark days of pre-World War II. The Library of Congress and the Hoover Library have a number of copies of the original newspaper which are now crumbling with age; the issues in their collections supplement in places the missing issues in this four volume set. CSt-H has six issues published in 1928; DLC has 33 issues concentrated mostly in 1933. The prewar Japanese Government reproduced the first 27 issues in vol. 2, no. 3 of *Tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu shiryō*, no. III-167 in this bibliography; nos. 29-31 are reproduced in *Tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu shiryō* (in DLC), No. 9, Apr. 1930. 133 leaves, and compiled by Shihō-shō.

IV-591. *Senku* (先驅). Published by Gakugei-sha and edited by Hirota Yoshio. Monthly publication lasting only four issues from June, Aug-Oct. 1935. During this time it was utilized by the Rōnō school of economic thinking in its controversy over Japanese capitalism with the Kōza school. CSt-H and DLC have these issues.

IV-592. *Shakai hyōron* (社会評論). Published by Nauka-sha. Monthly from March 1935. Often carried articles on the controversy concerning the development of Japanese capitalism. CSt-H has all the issues for 1935-1936, and most of the issues for 1946-1949; DLC has a fair collection for the 1946-1949 period, but only a few issues for 1935-1936.

IV-593. *Shakai kagaku* (社会科学). Published by Kaizō-sha every three months from June 1925; date of last publication not clear. Each issue generally devoted to a special topic, such as one on the "theoretical controversy" in the leftwing camp in the middle 'twenties (vol. 3, no. 3, Aug. 1927). CSt-H has an almost complete collection from first issue to June 1930.

IV-594. *Shakai minshū shimbun*. See no. IV-568.

IV-595. *Shakai mondai kenkyū* (社会問題研究). Published first by Kōbundō in Kyoto (nos. 1-83) and later by Iwanami Shoten in Tokyo. Founded and

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edited by Kawakami Hajime as a monthly on social and economic problems from Jan. 1919. Except for no. 101 CSt-H has a complete set to Oct. 1930; DLC also has an almost complete set; NNC has a fair collection beginning with no. 50 and ending with no. 106.

IV 596. *Shakai seisaku joho* (社会政策研究). Published by Kyochokai. English title: The social reform. Monthly publication starting in Sept. 1920 tending to reflect more conservative thinking in the proletarian political and labor movements. CSt-H has a fairly good collection from nos. 1-294; CUY has a fairly good collection from 1933-1943; DLC has an almost complete collection from 1920-1931, and for 1944; MH has a fair collection from 1928-1941.

IV 597. *Shakai shichō* (社会思潮). Organ of the Nihon Shakai-tō. Published as monthly from Feb. 1947. CSt-H has an almost complete collection from second issue to Feb. 1952 (vol. 6, no. 2); DLC has complete collection to July 1951.

IV 598. *Shakai shimbun* (社会新報). Published by the Nihon Shakai-tō. Issued as weekly from Dec. 2, 1945. Later changed name to *Nihon sakai shimbun*, published independently by rightwing SDP leaders and supporters. CSt-H has nos. 58-192, June 30, 1947-Dec. 25, 1949 (no. 71, Sept. 29, 1947 missing); DLC has a fair collection from 1947-1951, and has an almost complete set from July 1954 to May 1958.

IV 599. *Shakai shimpō* (社会新報). Internal organ of the united SDP from Dec. 5, 1955. Published three times a month. DLC has nos. (Kaidai) 1-89 (Dec. 5, 1955-June 5, 1958).

IV 600. *Shakai shiso* (社会思想). Published by Shakai Shisō-sha and edited by Miwa Junō. First issued in 1922 (?) as monthly and continued to Jan. 1930. CU has a fairly good collection of this periodical on microfilm starting in 1923; DLC has a few issues in 1928, complete in 1929 and 1930.

IV 601. *Shakai shugi* (社会主義). Published by Shakai-shugi Kyōkai. Edited by Ōuchi Hyōe and Yamakawa Hitoshi. It is generally regarded as the unofficial organ of the leftwing social democrats of post World War II. It also represents the thinking of the Rono School of economic thinking in the controversy over the development of capitalism in Japan. As successor to *Zenshū* (postwar ed.) it was first published from June 1951 as a monthly and continued to this day. CSt-H has nos. 1-24; nos. 1-44 are in DLC.

IV 602. *Shakai shugi kenkyū* (社会主義研究). Published by Heimin Daigaku. Edited by Yamakawa Hitoshi, Arahata Kanson, Sakai Toshihiko. English title: The study in Socialism. Began publication as a monthly from April 1919 to March 1923 and was one of the magazines which acted as a revival agent in the immediate post World War I years. CSt-H has a fairly complete

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set from vol. 1, no. 1 to vol. 4, no 3 (Oct. 1922); CU has a microfilm copy of this periodical except for vol. 1, nos. 1, 6.

IV-603. *Shakai taimusu* (社会タイムス). Published by Shakai Taimusu-sha as successor to a newspaper of the same name which supported the leftwing of the SDP. Consecutively numbered following last number of its predecessor. DLC has nos. 821-928 (May 22, 1956-June 19, 1958).

IV-604. *Shakai taishū shimbun*. See no. IV-580.

IV-605. *Shakai tsūshin* (社会通信). Internal party organ of the SDP. Successor to *Jōhō tsūshin* of Right SDP. Published irregularly; numbered consecutively following last number of its predecessor, *Jōhō tsūshin*. DLC has nos. 150-281. (Nov. 25, 1955-Feb. 25, 1958).

IV-606. *Shinsō* (真相). Published by Jimmin-sha as a monthly from Mar. 1946. Generally regarded as supporting the radical leftwing. CSt-H has an almost complete collection.

IV-607. *Susume* (進め). Published by Susume-sha. Monthly from 1923 (?). Edited by Fukuda Kyōji. English title: The socialist monthly. CSt-H and DLC have fair collections for vols. 7, 8 and 9.

IV-608. *Taiheiyō rōdōsha* (太平洋労働者). Organ of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. Japanese edition of "Pan-Pacific Workers." Published monthly from Feb. 1930. DLC has copies for 1930, one issue for 1931, Apr.-Nov. 1932 (July missing), Aug. 1933, and Jan.-May 1934 (Apr. missing); CSt-H has a few copies in vols. 1 and 3.

IV-609. *Taishū* (大衆). Published by Taishū-sha. Edited by Kuroda Hisao. Began publication as monthly from Mar. 1926 to Oct. 1927 when it became *Rōnō*. English title: The mass. DLC has vol. 1, nos. 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, vol. 2, nos. 2, 3, 5-8; CU has a complete microfilm copy of 18 issues. CSt-H has vol. 1, nos. 5-8, vol. 2 nos. 1, 4.

IV-610. *Taiyō* (太陽). Published by Hakubunkan. Monthly but published irregularly. Though first came out in late 1890's only the issues of the middle and late twenties are of interest in the study of the prewar proletarian movement. During this period it was used principally by Inomata Tsunao, Noro Eitarō, Sano Manabu, and Omori Yoshitarō to refute Takahashi Kamekichi in the early stages of the controversy on Japanese capitalism. CSt-H and CtY have some issues for the middle twenties.

IV-611. *Tasūha* (多数派). Organ of Nihon Kyōsan-tō Chūō Dakkan Zenkoku Daihyōsha Kaigi Jumbi Iinkai, a faction in the JCP. Possibly successor to *Riron to jissen* published in 1935. Only nos. 6-8 (Feb., June, and Sept. 1935) of *Tasūha* are available in DLC.

IV-612. *Tōkatsudō* (党活動). Internal party newspaper of the Left SDP when the SDP was split, 1951-1955. Succeeded by *Shakai shimpō* in 1955.

PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

Published three times a month with many extras from Nov. 1, 1951 (No. 1) to Oct. 10, 1955 (No. 128) when SDP was united. Succeeded by *Shakai Shimpō*. CSt-H has an almost complete collection from nos. 20 to 43. (June 1, 1951-Mar. 30, 1953); DLC has an almost complete collection.

IV-613. *Tōkensetsusha* (党建設者). First published on June 15, 1932 as a publication on theory. According to the first issue, the only one available, it is supposed to be a collection of experiences of organizers and agitators in industry, military barracks and the farms. The "Party builder"—the translated title—was the organ of the central committee of the JCP.

IV-614. *Warera* (我等). Published by Warera-sha and edited by Hasegawa Manjirō. Monthly first published in 1919 (?). Predecessor to *Hihan*. CSt-H has only a few scattered issues: Nov. 1921, Feb., Apr., 1925, Oct.-Dec. 1926, Feb.-Apr., June-July 1927.

IV-615. *Yuibutsu-ron kenkyū* (唯物論研究). Organ of Yuibutsu-ron Kenkyūkai. Edited by Hasegawa Ichirō and later by Tozaka Jun. Esperanto title varies: *Studo de materialismo* or *studo de materiismo*. Monthly publication often utilized by the Kōza School of Marxist thinking. CSt-H has a complete set of 65 issues from Nov. 1932 to Mar. 1938, thereafter becoming the *Gakugei*; DLC has no. 3 (Jan. 1933)-14, 38-65 (Mar. 1938).

IV-616. *Zen'ei* (前衛). Published by the Zen'ei-sha. Monthly from Jan. 1922 to Mar. 1923 (13 issues). A complete set is available in TUK; CSt-H has the issues for Jan., Mar., Apr., June and Aug. 1922; CU has a complete microfilm copy.

IV-617. *Zen'ei* (前衛). Published in the postwar period as the monthly organ of the JCP from Feb. 1946. Almost complete sets are available in CLSU, CSt-H, DLC and MH. A partial index of important articles in this organ is given in various places in *Japanese Communism, an annotated bibliography* by Paul F. Langer and A. Rodger Swearingen.

IV-618. *Zenkoku rōnō taishū shimbun*. See no. IV-580.

IV-619. *Zenkoku taishū shimbun*. See no. IV-580.

IV-620. *Zenshin* (前進). Published by Zenshin-sha. Edited by Tsukamoto Sankichi. Issued monthly as successor to *Rōnō*, organ of the Rōnō School of Marxist thinking in prewar Japan. DLC and CU (on microfilm) have complete sets from July 1932 to July 1933.

IV-621. *Zenshin* (前進). Published by Itagaki Shoten in the postwar period, again as the organ of the rejuvenated postwar Rōnō school of Marxist thinking which supports the leftwing of the SDP. Except for nos. 1, 2 and 6 DLC has a complete collection; CSt-H has a complete set, Aug. 1947-Sept. 1950.

CHAPTER V

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF JAPANESE COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM

It is well known that the JCP has relations with and is influenced by the international communist movement. The prewar Japanese Government was extremely sensitive about the communist movement and its international relations; it was ruthless in pursuing the communists and in obtaining the minutest details concerning their activities. Prewar Japanese Government documents on this subject have become available only because of the termination of the Pacific War. In recent years the postwar Japanese Government is no less sensitive about communist activities but any studies that may have been made are under the indelible "confidential" stamp.

Each of the following documents are devoted entirely to or emphasize some aspect of the international relations of the Japanese communist movement. The books consist of the reminiscences of former communists concerning their experiences in the international communist movement, anti-communist exposes of international intrigue, alleged communist plans to take over Japan at a future date, and statements by communist leaders. These selections are not meant to be exhaustive for most studies of the communist movement mentioned elsewhere in this bibliography contain some information on this subject.

The international relations of the socialist movement are completely different in character from those of the communists. The former do not lend themselves to a fascinating study of international collusion. The Japanese socialists are members of the Socialist International and the Asian Socialist Conference but there is no comprehensive and thorough study, to the best of this compiler's knowledge, of the international relations of the socialists as part of a coordinated world-wide socialist movement. The Japanese socialists have compiled their own reports of the international socialist conferences they have attended. But these reports, in the crucial area of opinions expressed by the left and right wings of the party, may differ slightly in their subjective interpretations. The Right SDP has compiled two such reports for the third world conference (1953) of the Socialist International, and the first Asian Socialist Conference (1953). They have been included under "foreign policy" in Chapter IV-3-C (IV-420 and IV-424) as the differences of opinion on certain issues between the Left and Right SDP seemed to be of greater prominence to them for inter-party considerations and internal political consumption than the international relationships represented by their participation in these conferences. These reports are, however, records of their activities out-side Japan *vis-a-vis* other socialist

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parties. Reports of these conferences by the Left SDP may be found in the party gazette, *Tōkatsudō*. After seven leaders of the British Labor Party visited Japan in 1954, the Right SDP published an account* of the visit, and a resume of the various meetings held between the two parties. These party pamphlets are indicative of the dearth of information for and lack of interest in the study of the international relations of the Japanese socialist party as compared to the extraordinary concern shown in the communist party.

A. Books

- V-1. CHU, T'ien-hui. *Kyōsan jin'ei no tai-Nichi senryaku* (共産陣営の対日戦略). Fuji Shobō. 1953. 243 p. DLC

Purports to be an expose of communist designs on Japan—especially those of the Chinese Communists. The book sets forth in fair detail the tactics to be used by Communists in Japan: tactics for the occupation of cities, the object of repatriating Japanese from China, bacteriological warfare, etc. Chu, a former professor of Fuhtan University in China, is noted at the end of the book as having been attached to the headquarters of General Liu Po-ch'eng in 1949 and also secretary of the communist people's government of the city of Nanking.

- V-2. DEREVIANKO, Kuzma. *So-ren wa Nihon ni nani o nozomu* (ソ連は日本に何を望む). Kyōdō-sha. 1949. 137 p. Translated and edited by the Nisso Shinzen Kyōkai. DLC

"What does the U.S.S.R. desire in Japan" is a series of speeches by the Soviet representative to the Allied Council of Japan during the Allied Occupation of Japan.

- V-3. HAYASHI, Torao. *Nozaka imbō o abaku* (野坂陰謀を発く). Kyoto. Dōri-sha. 1950. 93 p. CSt-H

The main section of the book purports to be the confession of one Kobayashi Yonosuke who acted as secret emissary between the Comintern and Japan during the 1930's. He died in 1940. The appendix is an alleged description of the 19th central committee meeting held on April 30, 1950 at which certain significant JCP policy decisions were supposed to have been made.

- V-4. KAZAMA, Jōkichi. *Mosukō to tsunagaru Nihon Kyōsan-tō no rekishi* (モスコーとつながる日本共産党の歴史). Temma-sha. 1951. 2 v. CSt-H (v. 1); MH

A history of the JCP in its relations with Moscow; volume 1 begins with the Russian Revolution and the Japanese social movements, the Far Eastern People's Conference and the Japanese representatives, the labor movement and the establishment of the JCP, from the Ichikawa conference to the dissolution of the JCP, the period of the "Communist Group," Fukumoto-ism and the 1927 thesis and March 15, 1928 arrests, the 6th conference of the Comintern, and the April 16, 1929 arrests.

* Nihon Shakai-tō. Seisaku Shingikai and Kokusai-kyoku. *Eikoku Rōdō-tō shisetsu-dan o mukaete* (英国労労党使節団を迎えて). 1954. 73 p.

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V-5. KAZAMA, Jōkichi. *Mosukō kyōsan daigaku no omoide* (モスコウ共産大学の思い出). Sangen-sha. 1949. 299 p.

CLSU; CSt-H; CtY; DLC; MH; MiU; MnU; NNC

"Kazama, ex-communist and former secretary-general of the JCP, attended the University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow from 1925 to 1930. His memoirs include information on the following subjects: 1) Methods employed by the Comintern in smuggling Party workers into and out of Japan; 2) Organization, curriculum, personnel and objective of the Moscow Communist University (many of its graduates now occupy high positions in satellite nations); 3) Role played by a number of important figures in the international communist movement (among them Janson (Yanson), Bukharin, Eidus Lozovsky, Shvernik, Piatnitsky, Safarov, Molotov, Ulbricht, Foster, Browder, Katayama; 4) Operations, functions and personnel of the Profintern; 5) Biographical data concerning Korean and Formosan communists, and 6) Background information on the 1927 Thesis and the 1930 Draft Thesis.

"Although written after World War II, the work is unusually accurate, even in details, and constitutes a valuable source for the study of the JCP's international relations." (Langer and Swearingen)

V-6. NABEYAMA, Sadachika and SANO, Hiroshi. *So-ren no tai-Nichi hōryaku to Nikkyō no chika katsudō* (ソ連の対日方略と日共の地下活動). Jiyūnin Kyōkai. 1951. 31 p.

CSt-H

An anti-communist pamphlet on the Soviet strategy toward Japan and the underground activities of the JCP in the form of questions and answers.

V-7. TEIKOKU ZAIGŌ GUNJIN-KAI. HOMB. *Nihon ni okeru Sorempō no saku-dō* (日本に於けるソ連邦の策動). 1933. 148 p.

CSt-H

Translation of part of the memoirs of a former counsellor in the Russian Embassy in Tokyo concerning Russian infiltration of and ultimate designs on Japan. The Teikoku Zaigō Gunjin-kai, or Imperial Ex-Servicemen's Association, was ultra-nationalistically inclined.

V-8. TEIKOKU ZAIGŌ GUNJIN-KAI. HOMB. *Kominterun no Nihon ni oyoboseru eikyō* (コミンテルンの日本に及ぼせる影響). n.p. 1933. 10 charts

CSt-H

A collection of interesting charts showing the relationship of the JCP with the Comintern through policies, directives, JCP platforms, and JCP action based upon theses from 1922 to 1933.

V-9. TERADA, Saburō. *Hokuyō gyogyō mondai Kyōsan-tō jiken o kōsatsu shite Nichi-Ro kokkō danzetsu o ronzu* (北洋漁業問題共産党事件を考察して日露国交断絶を論ず). n.p. 1931. 53 p.

CSt-H

On the severance of Russo-Japanese relations upon considering the fishing negotiations with Russia and the JCP incident in Japan. The author attempts to prove the conspiratorial nature of the Russian Embassy in Tokyo.

V-10. TOKUDA, Kyūichi. *Watakushi wa nani o yōsei-shita ka* (私は何を要請したか). Nihon Kyōsan-tō. 1950. 33 p.

CSt-H; NNC

Excerpts from testimony given by Tokuda to the Japanese House of Councillors

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committee on the repatriation in an attempt to refute the rumor that he had suggested to the Russians that conservative or "reactionary" Japanese POW's not be returned to Japan.

B. Documents

V-11. GAIMUSHŌ. OBEI-KYOKU. *Kyōsan undō kenkyū shiryō-shū* (共産運動研究資料集). No. 3 1928. 159 p. Marked secret. CSt-H

Part II describes the activities of the Communist International toward Japan: the Japan thesis adopted by the International (the "July thesis"), Buharin's speech on Japan, opposition to Japan's despatch of troops to China, and the infiltration and propagandizing of Japanese in Vladivostok and Kamchatka, etc.

V-12. GAIMU-SHŌ. S 1.3.4.0-1 *Miscellaneous documents relating to Communist Party propaganda to Japan* (*Kyōsan-tō senden kankei zakken: Tai-Nichi senden kankei*). Sects. 1-10: Feb. 1926—Aug. 1942. 4743 p. Reels S20-S24.

Army reports on attempts to communize the Army; activities of seamen's unions; surveillance of Japanese communists outside Japan especially around Vladivostok and in the United States. The above is part of a microfilm collection of papers of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Library of Congress.

V-13. GAIMU-SHŌ. S 9.4.5.1-1 *Miscellaneous documents relating to information regarding Japanese socialism and other dangerous doctrines* (*Hompō ni okeru shakai-shugi sonota kiken shugi kankei jōhō zassan*). Sects. 1-2: July 1925-Sept. 1930-Sect. 3 Mar. 1936—Aug. 1938. 1049 p. Reels S354-S355.

The anti-war movement; Korean and Japanese student movements including liaison between the Japanese and Chinese student movements; a printed report on thought activities in Korea, Formosa, Kwantung Leased Territory and Sakhalin; Russian propaganda to Japan including a study and diagram showing Soviet liaison network with Japanese groups from the USSR Government to grass roots organizations in Japan. The above is part of the microfilm collection of papers of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Library of Congress.

V-14. GAIMU-SHŌ. SP 63. *Collection of material on the communist movement: Items relating to the Third International. The nature and activities of Inprecorr (International Press Correspondence). The relationship between the Third International and Japan. The Entente Internationale Contre la III^e Internationale. Bucharin's speech on the Japanese Communist Party* (*Kyōsan undō kenkyū shiryō-shū: Dai-san Intānashonaru kankei shiryōshū. Dai-san Intānashonaru no honshitsu narabi ni katsudō. Imprekōru no hontai. Dai-san Intānashonaru to Nihon to no kankei. Dai-san Intānashonaru Hantai Kokusai Dōmei. Nihon Kyōsan-tō ni kansuru Buhārīn no enzetsu*). Research papers compiled by the Bureau of European and American Affairs, May 1928. 235 p. Reel SP16.

The last two items are of immediate interest. The above is part of a microfilm

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collection of papers of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Library of Congress.

V-15. GAIMU-SHŌ. SP 225. *Survey of Japanese entering the U.S.S.R. and Manchuria (Nyū-So, nyū-Man sha chōsa)*. Oct. 1938. 61 p. Reel SP143.

A study by the General Staff of the Kwantung Army of persons entering the U.S.S.R. from Manchuria and entering Manchuria from the U.S.S.R. The dates covered are January 1937–July 1938, and January 1936–July 1938 respectively.

The above is part of a microfilm collection of papers of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Library of Congress.

V-16. GAIMU-SHŌ. S 9.4.5.2-(22-32) *See no. III-130*.

V-17. KANTŌ KEMPEITAI SHIREIBU. *Zaiman Nikkei kyōsan-shugi undō* (在満日系共産主義運動). 1944. 851 p. Marked confidential. CSt-H

A detailed study of the communist movement among Japanese in Manchuria. The research section of the SMR seemed to be well peopled with leftwing thinkers some of whom have made clear their philosophies in the postwar period. The relationship between the JCP and these activities and the Chinese Communist Party are noted.

V-18. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Beikoku Kashū chihō hōjin kyōsan-shugisha ni kansuru ken* (米国加洲地方邦人共産主義者に関する件). 1938. 9 p. Marked secret. Mimeographed. CSt-H

V-19. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYKU. [an incomplete list of communists and pro-communists among the Japanese residents in the United States] Type-written. [1939]. 36 p. DLC

Two lists of Japanese communists in the United States giving their names, addresses, occupations, and political affiliation. The lists were apparently compiled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to aid the Special Higher Police in combating communism.

V-20. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shōwa...nen-jū ni okeru gaiji keisatsu gaikyō* (昭和...年中に於ける外事警察概況). Marked secret.

DLC (1935, 1937-39)

Annual counter-intelligence reports on the activities of foreigners in Japan and foreign countries. The annual reports are generally divided into several countries or world regions. Some issues present data on the international ties of the communist movement among Japan, the U.S.S.R., China, and the United States. For instance, there are sections describing the activities of the Soviets towards Japan through the Comintern, through news agencies, trade delegations, and diplomatic missions in Japan, and through Soviet activities inside Russia. There is also a study of communism among Japanese in the United States and communist propaganda material printed in the United States for distribution in Japan. Appended to each report are many charts and tables on the activities of foreigners in Japan.

V-21. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shōwa 3-nen-jū Roryō-nai ni okeru tai hōjin sekka senden* (昭和三年中露領内に於ける対邦人赤化宣伝). 1929. 153 p. Marked secret. CSt-H; DLC

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Reports on the communization of Japanese in the U.S.S.R. during 1928. The objects of Russian Soviet propaganda were the seamen who visited Russian Far Eastern ports, such as Vladivostok, and seasonal Japanese fishermen in the Kamchatka area. The report states that these efforts of the Soviet propaganda machine were achieving some success through the many simply written pamphlets and leaflets in Japanese, motion pictures, and other means. The report also notes that many seamen and fishermen acted as couriers and conveyors belts between communist organizations in Japan and abroad. At the end of each chapter is a brief description of police measures to combat these developments.

V-22. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Kominterun shin-hōshin no waga kuni ni okeru han'ei jōkyō—Kominterun no waga kuni ni taisuru sakudō jōkyō*. See no. III-159.

V-23. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Chōsen-jin no kyōsan-shugi undō* (朝鮮人の共産主義運動). Jan. 1940. 249 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 71 and supplement JJ

The relationship of the JCP and the Chinese Communist Party, the Comintern, the Profintern to the communist movement among Koreans in Japan, the character, strategy and tactics of this movement by a judge of the Tokyo Criminal District Court.

V-24. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Kominterum tai-Nichi bōryaku no ichi dammen* (コミンテルン対日謀略の一断面). July 1942. 179 p. Marked secret. 思想資料パンフレット 16 CSt-H; DLC

Excerpts from the record of questioning of Itō Risaburō on the communist strategy against Japan. Itō studied at the Communist University for the Toilers of the East in Russia for three years and returned to Japan in 1935 to report on revolutionary conditions. Itō tells of his ideas during his youth, the secret organization known as "Puromuko," the International Communist Party and the JCP, his experiences, studies, classmates, etc., at the Communist University for Toilers of the East, the route home from Moscow, his finances, and activities after he returned to Japan.

CHAPTER VI

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

World War I accelerated the growth and organization of the Japanese labor movement. Industry was stimulated, inflation occurred, resulting in social unrest and an unprecedented number of strikes. Soon after the War ended the theoretical radical intellectuals and the practical labor movement leaders came together to form a common organization. Subsequently, the problem of the formation of a communist party and the creation of a proletarian leftwing political party were raised. The leading labor federation in the early 'twenties, the Sōdōmei, announced a change of direction in 1924. It called for mass political action, and the acceptance of the democratic and parliamentary process. Later it split and the labor movement has been plagued ever since with the split between the militant leftwing and communist dominated unions and the more moderate unions. In the 'thirties and 'forties when the independent labor organizations were replaced by ultra-nationalistic patriotic associations this competition was temporarily suspended.

In both the pre- and post-World War II years the unions have been an important source of support for the proletarian political parties. They have proved to be a more reliable source of political support at elections than the farmers unions. With the removal of political restrictions on the activities of labor unions in the postwar years, they have taken an active part in supporting the leftwing political parties. In the early postwar years a large segment of the labor union movement was influenced by the communists. But their hold gradually waned so that the dominant federation of labor unions, Sōhyō, now supports the socialists, especially the left wing of the party.

Relatively more attention has been paid to the colorful activities of the labor movement than to, for example, the agrarian movement. The prewar security agencies of the Japanese Government seem to have been more sensitive about labor movement activities than about those of the farmers union movement. They were concerned with the developing concerted and organized strength of the labor unions. As in the case of other aspects of the leftwing movements, the annual publication of the *Naimushō* (II-6) on these movements is an excellent governmental source of the prewar labor movement. The Ministry of Labor (*Rōdō-shō*) has compiled a most useful documentary series on the postwar labor movement (VI-134). It covers a wide gamut of topics including employer-employee relations, organizational activities, union conventions, contracts, labor administration, and political party relations. In general, government documents are concerned with special topics not considered independently by activists or scholars. However, because of the detailed information government officials tended to

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collect, some of these documents may shed additional light on such specialized problems as the labor movement during the China Incident (VI-138), particular strikes (VI-143), the seamen's union (VI-137), the Zenhyō labor federation (VI-140).

The most useful non-governmental yearbook would be the *Nihon rōdō nenkan* (II-25), compiled by the Ohara Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjo.

Many of the books on the history of the labor movement were written by participants with a biased interpretation. The better studies of the labor movement, even those by scholars, are more or less influenced by leftwing philosophies. While some are blatantly biased, others are more moderate. Some of the authors who are non-participants and whose studies are regarded as the more reliable and accurate histories are as follows: Kishimoto Eitarō (VI-40), Murakami Kanji and others (VI-62), Murayama Shigetada (VI-63), Suehiro Izutarō (VI-95), Watanabe Tōru (VI-110). Several of these studies are centered around a particular organization or topic. Murakami and others wrote on Sōhyō, presently the dominant labor federation in Japan; Murayama, on a history of strikes in Japan; and Watanabe on the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Kyōgikai. Because of considerable communist influence in the last mentioned labor federation, generally known as Zenkyō, the prewar Japanese Government kept it under strict surveillance and has compiled a lengthy report on this subject entitled "communist influences in the labor movement." (VI-124). Although biased, the two volume study by Taniguchi Zentarō (VI-106) is regarded as one of the outstanding studies on the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Hyōgikai in the 'twenties. It is interesting to note that there are no authoritative studies, to the best of this compiler's knowledge, on the more conservative labor unions, such as the Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei. The history of the labor and agrarian movements included in *Nihon shihon-shugi kōza* (IV-230) is one of the better known postwar studies but it is biased and not necessarily regarded as accurate. It is part of a series written to validate the 1951 JCP platform.

Studies of labor policy and conditions during the war years including the China Incident are relatively scarce. Only a few studies by Morito Tatsuo (VI-60), Okōchi Kazuo (VI-83), and the Shōwa Kenkyūkai (VI-93, VI-94) have been included.

The outline of the principal streams of thought in the Japanese postwar labor movement are given in VI-84. A useful collection of factual data on the principal labor unions in postwar Japan is given in VI-92.

In the postwar period, Sōhyō has been the most dominant labor federation in size, and in political influence. In response to Sōhyō influence in party councils the socialists have often adopted policies advocated by Sōhyō. Several items explaining Sōhyō philosophy, economic programs, and wage policies have, therefore, been included (VI-68—VI-71). During its first five years Sōhyō was directed by an energetic secretary-general, Takano Minoru. Six of his books on the labor movement, strategy and tactics, the Japanese peace settlement have been included (VI-98—VI-103). In 1955 he was defeated for re-election.

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Without the restraints of governmental suppression, scholars in postwar Japan have been making some valuable analytical studies of the labor movement. The three volumes (VI-79—VI-81) edited by Okōchi Kazuo would be the most useful in this respect. Fujibayashi Keizō's study (VI-22) is an example of the more conservative approach. The studies directed by Okōchi analyze the unions in general, their characteristics, organization, political relations, finances, and wages; five industry wide unions are then scrutinized for the type of labor force they possess, historical formation of the union, their position in the economy and other problems; lastly, the worker and his environment, source of the labor force, the livelihood and consciousness of the worker are included. In the early postwar years, a social science study group at the University of Tokyo conducted a valuable statistical survey of postwar labor unions. As the analytical part of the two volumes was highly regarded it was re-published in 1956. To the best knowledge of the compiler, this is the only attempt to make such a thorough survey of approximately 1000 unions in the postwar period. Since a decade has now passed, a second survey would be extremely useful in appreciating the changes that have taken place during these turbulent years.

Although not directly listed in this chapter, Kazahaya Yasoji's study (IV-179) on the effects of the introduction and rapid advance of capitalism in Japan may be profitably studied for the prewar period.

A. General References

1. Yearbooks

VI-1. *Kumiai undō benran* (組合運動便覧). Jiji Tsūshin-sha. 1947. 238 p.
Compiled by Jiji Tsūshin-sha. CST-H

A handbook on the labor movement containing general reference information, the organization, policy, programs, etc. of the various labor groups and the policies of the Allied Occupation and pertinent laws governing the movement.

VI-2. *Nihon rōdō nempō*. See no. II-24.

VI-3. *Nihon rōdō nenkan*. See no. II-25.

VI-4. *Nihon shakai undō no gensei*. See no. II-44.

VI-5. *Rōdō iinkai nempō* (労働委員会年報). Chūō Rōdō Gakuen. 1946
Compiled by Chūō Rōdō Iinkai Jimu-kyoku. English title: Yearly Report
of Labor Relations Board. DLC (1946); MiU (1946-47); TUK (1946-)

The annual report of the Board, which includes a report on its activities and a description of each principal labor dispute handled by this Board. An English table of contents is appended.

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VI-6. *Rōdō nenkan* (Chūō Rōdō Gakuen). See no. II-21.

VI-7. *Rōdō nenkan* (Kyōchō-kai). See no. II-22.

VI-8. *Rōdō nenkan* (労働年鑑). 1920. Compiled by Rōdō Nenkan Henshūjo.
DLC; NNC

According to Kagawa Toyohiko who writes the preface, the *Rōdō nenkan* was the first labor yearbook to be published in Japan. (He called it a "textbook" for the labor movement.) The yearbook follows a conservative approach in analysing yearly activities. The topical breakdown is different from subsequently published yearbooks: International labor laws, domestic labor laws, labor unions, their history and governing laws and regulations, labor statistics, employer associations, labor-capital conciliation, the labor movement, working conditions, and facilities for laborers. Each division includes a report on activities in foreign countries as well.

VI-9. *Rōdō nenkan* (Sangyō Rōdō Chōsajo). See no. II-23.

VI-10. *Rōdō tōkei nempō* (労働統計年報). 1948. Compiled by Rōdō-shō Daijin Kambō Rōdō Tōkei Chōsa-bu. English title: Year Book of Labor Statistics.
TUK

A basic bi-lingual compilation on Japanese labor statistics. Each issue generally contains many charts, and statistics on the indices of the labor economy, employment and unemployment, labor productivity, hours of work, wages, cost of living, social insurance, labor accidents, labor standards, labor unions, labor disputes and a section on international labor statistics.

VI-11. *Rōdō undō nempō* (労働運動年報). Compiled by Naimu-shō Shakai-kyoku. Marked confidential. CST-H (1922, 1927-36); CtY (1927);
DLC (1923-28, 1930-31, 1933)

A government yearbook on the labor movement, divided into three or four sections: the labor movement, (including the various labor organizations, their membership, thought tendencies, organizations, activities, conventions, and methods used in maintaining themselves), labor disputes, the labor committee, and the farmer's movement. With the 1928 issue the section on the labor committee is put in the appendix. In the same issue a compact history of the proletarian political parties movement (about 200 pages) is added. The 1924 issue is titled: ...*rōdō undō gaikyō* (労働運動概況).

VI-12. *Shakai undō nenkan*. See no. II-26.

2. Dictionaries

VI-13. *Rōdō kumiai un'ei jiten* (労働組合運営辞典). Rōdō Bunka-sha. 1949. 217 p. Compiled by Okado Yoshio and others. DLC

The "dictionary of the labor union management" is composed of several sections each written by different persons. The sections are: fundamentals, organization, management, collective bargaining and contract, education, politics, wages, management consultation committee, propaganda, struggle, finance, labor laws, unification and break-up, and the international labor movement. The complete texts of pertinent labor laws are appended.

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- VI-14. *Rōdō undō—Iwanami shō-jiten* (労働運動—岩波小辞典). Iwanami Shoten. 1956. 216 p. Compiled by Okōchi Kazuo. PC

A concise dictionary of labor movement terms, such as organizations, persons, incidents of the pre- and postwar periods. Technical terms concerning labor and economic problems are also included in so far as they pertain to the labor movement.

- VI-15. *Rōdō yōgo jiten* (労働用語辞典). Rōdō Bunka-sha. 1949. 280 p. Compiled by Fujibayashi Keizō. DLC

The dictionary of labor words includes very useful brief biographies of about 150 leaders, past and present, in the labor and leftwing political party movements. Useful especially for the postwar period when biographies are not always available for newcomers.

B. General Histories

1. Books

- VI-16. ABE, Ryūichi, *comp.* *Toyama dentō sōgi no shinsō* (富山電燈争議の真相). Osaka. Dōzen Jimusho. 1928. 122 p. DLC

Analytical account of the labor dispute at the Toyama Dentō K.K. (Toyama Electric Light Co.), including the causes, a day-to-day account, mediation by the governor of Toyama Prefecture, and the activities of the various proletarian political parties in the dispute.

- VI-17. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. *Nihon rōdō undō hattatsu-shi* (日本労働運動発達史). Bunka Gakkai Suppan-bu. 1925. 190 p. CST-H; DLC; MiU

A 40-year history of the labor movement in Japan from the formation of the Shakai-tō in 1883 to 1924 from a proletarian rightwing point of view. The Meiji period is divided into two parts: from 1883 to the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, a period when labor unions were first starting to appear; part two is from 1895 to 1912 during which period the labor movement was suppressed by the "ruling class because of its own tendencies toward imperialism." The Taisho period from 1912 to 1924 is the third period in this book. When this book was published the author was already an outstanding figure in the labor and proletarian political party movements. It justifies the rightwing position and is believed to be the basis of a more "objective" study of Japanese social movements published by the author in the postwar period (See no. III-3). Appended are the platforms and regulations of the then principal labor unions: Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei, Kikai Rōdō Kumiai Rengōkai, Insatsukō Kumiai Rengōkai, Kangyō Rōdō Sōdōmei, Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Rengō, Chūbu Rōdō Kumiai Rengōkai, Kaigun Rōdō Kumiai Remmei, Shiden Jūgyōin Jichikai. A revised edition was published under the same title in vols. 4, 6, 7, 9, and 10 of *Shakai Mondai Kōza* (See no. IV-72).

- VI-18. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. *Rōdō kumiai undō* (労働組合運動). Kagaku Shisō Fukyūkai. 1924. 162 p. CST-H; DLC

A short text on the nature, types, organization, international organization, finances,

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objectives, activities (i.e. propaganda and research), and political participation of labor unions. At this time Akamatsu was secretary of the Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei, the then outstanding labor organization containing elements of the extreme left and the right.

- VI-19. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro. *Tenkan-ki no Nihon shakai undō*. (転換期の日本社会運動). Kōseikaku. 1926. 224 p. DLC; NNC

Collection of essays published during 1924-25 in various magazines and newspapers by the author concerning the great division between the Hyōgikai and the Sōdōmei in the mid-'twenties. In 1924 the Sōdōmei issued the change of direction declaration, and in 1925 the organization split. The author presents the guiding principles of the Sōdōmei. The polemics sustained in the magazine *Marukusu-shugi* between Asō and Shiga, a prominent Communist, were included to depict more clearly the cleavage. Various political declarations of this time concerning this problem are appended.

- VI-20. AMADATSU, Tadao and SAKAYORI, Toshio, comp. *Nihon no rōdōsha* (日本の労働者). Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai. 1954. 250 p. DLC

A study of the Japanese worker by forty workers and about ten intellectuals. The study covers working conditions, living conditions, and "struggles" in the steel, coal mining, munitions, automobile, explosives, and textile industries, the railroads, medium and small factories, and the day laborer. Living conditions include housing, food, livelihood (wages, supplementary occupations), clothes and children. The last chapter on "struggles" concern low wages, injuries, social security, war economy and the rationalization of industry. This is one of the few books analysing postwar working conditions in Japan. (cf. *British worker* by Ferdinand Zweig).

- VI-21. DOBASHI, Kazuyoshi. *Rōdō undō no hanashi* (労働運動のはなし). Ichiyō-sha. 1948. 244 p. CtY; CU; DLC; MH

Twelve essays on the labor movement by a leftwing leader of the communications union, who had been against the government's attempt to decrease personnel. Later he became a JCP member of the House of Representatives. An account of his life activities is in the first chapter. Other chapters are on the labor movement and political action, the democratization of the unions, the operation of a union, the future of the labor union, and an interesting evaluation of his fellow leaders in the labor movement.

- VI-22. FUJIBAYASHI, Keizō. *Waga kuni rōdō kumiai no kadai to tokushitsu* (わが国労働組合の課題と特質). Rōdō Gyōsei Kenkyūjo. 1949. 344 p. CSt-H; DLC

A collection of articles written in the postwar years depicting the characteristics of the Japanese labor movement. The author, professor on labor affairs at Keio University, believes there has been a complete lack of a clear exposition of the real conditions of the Japanese labor union movement. Contents: the characteristics of the labor movement, trends in labor union activities, and the attitude of the labor movement, trends in labor union activities, and the attitude of the labor unions toward the revision of the labor laws.

- VI-23. FUROPA, Ganta. *Saiken-go no sayoku rōdō kumiai undō* (再建後の左翼労働組合運動). Rōnō Shobō. 1931. 480 p. CSt-H; DLC

The title on the inner pages is more descriptive of the nature of the book: How should the fighting worker fight in the factory?—activities of red labor unions in factories. Contents: short history of the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Kyōgikai

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(Zenkyō), the strategy and tactics to be used in the factory, publication of news bulletins, and posters, the organization of study groups, mobilization of the masses in the factory, "red" sports, the red self-defense corps, strike tactics, and the factory committee. Furopa Ganta may also be read as Puropaganda (propaganda) and is believed to be the collective pseudonym for persons in the communist dominated labor organization, the Zenkyō.

- VI-24. FUSE, Tatsuji. *Dentō sōgi no shin-senjutsu* (電灯争議の新戦術). Kibokaku. 1933. 179 p. CSt-H; DLC

New practices to be used in electric light labor disputes. Actually a revised extension of the ideas advocated in an earlier study on a similar subject. Contents: an outline of the new tactics, a legal battle wherein the workers were the victors, and the Suwa electric light labor dispute which became the basis for the legal battle, and questions and answers on electric light labor disputes.

- VI-25. FUSE, Tatsuji. *Dentō gasu ni taisuru hōritsu senjutsu* (電灯ガスに対する法律戦術). Asano Shoten. 1932. 160 p. CSt-H

Handbook on the tactics, justification, and organization of the struggle for the lowering of electric and gas rates. There is also a chapter on the procedure to be followed in the legal battle in the courts. Fuse was one of the lawyers for the defendants in the JCP Incident Trials.

- VI-26. HARA, Tetsuo. *Kanebō zaiaku-shi* (鐘紡罪悪史). Senki-sha. 1930. 126 p. DLC

Report on the undesirable working conditions prevailing at the Kanegafuchi Textile Co. with tables, statistics, and inflammatory descriptions.

- VI-27. HIGUCHI, Taiichi. *GHQ no rōdō shidō hōshin* (GHQ の労働指導方針). Itagaki Shoten. 1948. 227 p. DLC

Collection of memoranda, statements, press interviews held by members of the Allied Occupation during 1945-48 on labor policy.

- VI-28. HOSOTANI, Matsuta. *Minshu-teki tōitsu sensen* (民主的統一戦線). Kinrō Jihō-shō. 1948. 60 p. 組合運動パンフレット 4 DLC

Ten essays on a democratic unified front by a former communist labor leader. After leaving the JCP in 1947, Hosotani sided with the Minshuka Dōmei faction working for democracy in the Sambetsu Kaigi, the communist dominated labor federation.

- VI-29. HOSOTANI, Matsuta. *Nihon rōdō undō-shi* (日本労働運動史—History of the Japanese labor movement). Dōyū-sha. 1948. 2 v.

CSt-H; DLC (v. 1); MH; NNC (v. 1).

- VI-30. Ii, Yashirō. *Tenkan-ki no rōdō undō* (転換期の労働運動). Saiwai Shōbo. 1948. 231 p. CtY; DLC; MiU; MH

Analysis of the post-war labor movement in Japan from 1945 to 1948 by a labor representative on the Central Labor Relations Board. Ii was a public official with

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the Ministry of Transportation. The principal topics are the voice of labor on the Board, the development of the labor movement, the various labor disputes, the abortive Feb. 1, 1947 strike, the labor movement betrayed, the government workers labor dispute and issuance of the government order prohibiting government employees from striking, and the new stage of the labor movement. It claims he participated in these various strikes from the point of view of a JCP member.

- VI-31. KAMEDA, Tōgo. *Rōdō kumiai nōto* (労組組合ノート). Shinri-sha. 1949. 311 p. CtY; DLC; MH; MiU

A communist interpretation of the Japanese social system. In the introduction the author states that "all evil in Japan emanates from the so-called Emperor system" (p. 6). Other points of emphasis the author wishes to make are the relations between unions and political parties, conciliation, and criticism of the Katayama Cabinet. He also considers organization, struggle for economic reconstruction, the united front, and educational activities. Kameda was chairman of the all Japan chemical workers union and a member of the JCP.

- VI-32. KAMEDA, Tōgo. *Rōdōsha no seiji seikatsu* (労働者の政治生活). Shin-ri-sha. 1950. 305 p. CSt-H; DLC; MiU

"The political life of the worker," subtitled the second labor union notebook, is a companion volume to *Rōdō kumiai nōto*. Kameda gives a communist interpretation to the functions of the labor unions, democracy, revolution, political parties, the SDP, introduction of foreign capital, the united front. Also included is a short evaluation of a few of his principal social democratic opponents in the labor movement.

- VI-33. KAMIJŌ, Aiichi. *Rōdō undō yawa* (労働運動夜話). Ittō Shobō. 1950. 260 p. DLC

The recollections of thirty years in the social democratic movement in Japan by a rightwing participant. He discusses Abe Isoo, strike tactics, theoretical controversy of the right and leftwings, and the labor movement in general. A short biography is appended. Kamijō was a SDP member of the House of Councillors in the postwar period.

- VI-34. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Mindō-ha rōdō kumiai-ron hihan* (民同派労組合論批判). Gyōmei-sha. 1948. 54 p. Compiled by Nihon Kyōsan-tō Senden Kyōiku-bu. 宣伝教育群書 2 DLC

Communist refutation of the labor union theories advanced by Yamakawa Hitoshi and Hosotani Matsuta. Specifically, it is a criticism of the Mindō—democratization—faction in the labor movement. The five articles were originally printed in the party organ, *Zen'ei*. Appended are translations of the resolution on the political party and labor union at the Stuttgart convention, Comintern regulations and the resolution of the 4th national congress of the JCP on this subject.

- VI-35. KASUGA, Shōichi. *Rōdō kumiai kōwa* (労組組合講話). Gyōmei-sha. 1948. 283 p. DLC; MH; MiU

"Lectures on labor unions" is on the theory, practice, function, and characteristics of labor unions by a JCP labor specialist. The book was intended mainly for factory workers, and, according to the author, the examples cited are mostly from the Japanese scene. The book was also written partly in response to labor union theories

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advocated by Takano Minoru, and Hosotani Matsuta who spearheaded a democratization movement against communist domination of the labor movement.

- VI-36. KATAYAMA, Tokuji. *Densan suto no shinsō-ki* (電産ストの真相記). Kōgyō Shimbun-sha. 1946. 208 p. CSt-H; NNC

A critical report on the electrical workers strike in Japan in 1946 by one of the leaders of the union and of the strike.

- VI-37. KAWASAKI, Sanzō. *Sengo rōdō undō no chōryū* (戦後労働運動の潮流). Kankai Shimpō-sha. 1951. 383 p. CSt-H

On the Japanese labor movement from the end of the war to the signing of the peace treaty in 1951. The first chapter is on the labor movement in general; chapter 2 pertains to activities of the government workers labor union, and a supplementary statement dwells on the characteristics of the government workers labor union movement. This book was compiled from materials assembled by the Research Bureau of Board of Personnel (Jinji-in) of which the author was director.

- VI-38. KAZAHAYA, Yasoji. *Nihon Shakai Seisaku-shi*. See no. IV-179

- VI-39. KIKUKAWA, Tadao. *Rōdō kumiai soshiki-ron* (労働組合組織論). Musan-sha. 1931. 159 p. DLC

The meaning, substance, component elements, type of formation, and function and tactics of labor unions. Kikukawa was active in the prewar student movement; after graduation from college he participated in the labor union movement, became a member of the central committee of the Zenkoku Rōdō Kumiai Dōmei, and a member of the control committee of the Zenkoku Taishū-tō.

- VI-40. KISHIMOTO, Eitarō. *Nihon rōdō undō-shi* (日本労働運動史). Kōbun-dō. 1950. 200 p. CtY; MH; NNC

Well documented history of the labor movement and proletarian political parties from the Meiji period to 1926. The author is a professor at Kyoto University.

- VI-41. KOBAYASHI, Gorō. *Akahata wa katsu ka—waga kuni rōdō kumiai undō no bakuro* (赤旗は勝つか—我国労働組合運動の暴露). Ichigen-sha. 196 p. CSt-H

A critical expose of the labor movement during the late twenties by a newspaper reporter. Each chapter describes a different type of union: the "illegal" labor union federation under communist influence, the Zenkyō; the "legal" labor union federation under communist influence but affiliated with the Rōnō-tō; two centrist group labor federations, the Zenkoku Rōdō Kumiai Dōmei, and the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Sōrengō; the social democratic labor union federation, the Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei, the anarchist union federation, the Zenkoku Rōdō Kumiai Jiyū Rengōkai; and finally the Tokyo Kōtsū Rōdō Kumiai (Tokyo transportation workers union) regarded by the author as the epitome of the Japanese labor movement at the time.

- VI-42. KOGA, Susumu. *Saikin Nihon no rōdō undō* (最近日本の労働運動). Shuhōkaku. 1924. 218 p. DLC

Historical report of the Japanese labor movement centering around the Nihon Rōdō

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Sōdōmei since 1919 with a particular emphasis on the years 1923-24. The chapter headings are 1) an introduction; 2) the recent labor movement; 3) the content and observations of the change of direction in the movement; 4) the personnel, slogans, etc. of the Sōdōmei; 5) the recent tendency of strikes.

VI-43. KOIZUMI, Yasutarō. *Sayoku rōdō kumiai undō* (左翼労組運動). Marukusu Shobō. 1929. 338 p. rev. in 1930. CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

Communist interpretation of the labor movement during the late twenties. Koizumi is the pen-name of Mitamura, prominent communist labor leader and prewar member of the JCP Central Committee. Koizumi later defected from the JCP with Sano and Nabeyama. The book consists mainly of articles written during 1927-1928 by one Nomura Jōji in *Marukusu-shugi* and *Rōdōsha*.

VI-44. KONO, Mits. *Nihon rōdō undō shōshi* (日本労働運動小史). Nihon Tekkōgyō Keieisha Remmei. 1947. 74 p. DLC; MiU; NNC

A cursory review of the labor movement through the Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa periods. Only one section of the last chapter is devoted to the postwar movement. Kono is a prominent leader of the SDP and generally identified with the rightwing of the SDP.

VI-45. KONO, Mits. *Waga kuni ni okeru rōdō mondai* (我国に於ける労働問題). Heibon-sha. 1931. 461 p. English title: Problems of Economy. 実際経済問題講座 13 CtY; DLC

Although entitled "Labor problems in Japan" it is principally a history of the labor movement in Japan, and includes eight magazines articles on several issues that arose during the twenties such as the Peace Preservation Law, the change of direction in the proletarian leftwing movement and political action.

VI-46. KOURA, Rokusuke. *Waga kuni ni okeru rōdō undō senjutsu no kaibō* (我国に於ける労働運動戦術の解剖). Ganshōdō. 1929. 401 p. NNC

An analysis of the tactics of the labor unions in Japan by one who claims a neutral position. However, Koura acknowledges the guidance and assistance received from a section chief in a certain coal mining company. As can be gauged from the table of contents of 16 pages, a wide range of subjects is covered. The first part is of a general nature on proletarian political parties and labor unions. The remaining three parts are on the daily tactics of the labor unions (organized activities, finances, union solidarity, leadership training and political activity), labor dispute tactics (the opportunity for the outbreak of disputes, preparations, beginning of the disputes, strikes, settlements, special tactics) and a criticism of the famous Noda labor dispute and the lessons learnt therefrom.

VI-47. KURODA, Shin'ichi. *Fukuoka densha rōdō sōgi-shi* (福岡電車労働争議史). Fukuoka. Rōshi Rengō Tsūshin-sha. 1936. 148 p. DLC

Study of the September 1936 street-car strike in Fukuoka according to its causes, negotiations, unions tactics, contents of bills and posters.

VI-48. KYŌCHŌ-KAI. *Hōmpō rōdō undō chōsa hōkoku* (本邦労働運動調査報告). 2 v. issued each year. Marked confidential. CSt-H (1924); DLC (1923); MiU (1922); NNC (1922-24)

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Report on various labor events of interest, especially disputes. Several labor disputes are described with news worthy items of demonstrations, and meetings included. There is also a list of labor disputes, and pertinent data on the establishment of labor unions. Labor statistics are also given.

- VI-49. KYŌCHŌ-KAI. OSAKA SHISHO. *Saikin rōdō kumiai undō-shi* (最近労組運動史). Osaka. 1927. 607 p. CST-H; DLC

History of the labor union movement from 1922 to 1926. Also included is an analytical study of the leftwing political parties.

- VI-50. KYŌCHŌ-KAI. RŌDŌ-KA. *Noda rōdō sōgi no temmatsu* (野田労組争議の顛末). 1928. 91 p. NNC

An analysis of the Noda labor dispute by a conservative labor research organization.

- VI-51. KYŌCHŌ-KAI. *Senji rōdō jijō* (戦時労組事情). 1944. 365 p. TUK

"The war-time labor situation" is a review of the broad labor problem during World War II. It begins with a brief outline of industry, followed by an explanation of labor policy, working conditions, the labor problems in the coal mining industry, the education of factory youths, social insurance, small and medium sized industries, agriculture and social conditions in general.

- VI-52. KYŌCHŌ-KAI. RŌDŌ-KA. *Tokyo-shi Denki-kyoku rōdō sōgi* (東京市電気局労組争議). [1934.] 64 p. 争議 7 TUK

An account of the Tokyo street-car workers strike. The first 40 pages are on the wage problem in this strike. The second part is a chronological account of the strike.

- VI-53. KYŌIKU MONDAI KENKYŪKAI. *Kyōin no seiji katsudō* (教員の政治活動). Meiji Tosho K.K. 1954. 150 p. Compiled under the direction of Takase Sōtarō. NDL

"The political activities of teachers" is a compilation of essays on the enactment of laws to maintain the "political neutrality of education," discussion concerning these laws in the Diet, explanation of the two laws in question, the extent to which political activity of teachers is curtailed giving specific examples, and three statements critical of the laws by the Japan Education Association (Nihon Kyōiku Gakkai), and the Japan Teachers Union (Nihon Kyōshokuin Kumiai). The issue of political activity among teachers was urgently debated around the turn of 1953-1954. The regulatory laws were presented to the Diet in Feb. 1954 (19th session) and passed in May 1954. Takase Sōtarō was formerly Minister of Education and a conservative member of the House of Councilors.

- VI-54. MACHIDA, Tatsujirō. *Rōdō sōgi no kaibō* (労組争議の解剖). Daiichi Shuppan-sha. 1929. 233 p. DLC

Analysis of Japan's labor disputes by a counsellor of the conservative Kyōchō-kai, an organization interested in the social movements. The first section is a description of three well known labor disputes showing the causes, demands, solution, and the general course of events. The second section is on the tactics employed by the unions and the capitalists. The third section is on the ways and means of conciliation between

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the disputing factions. Several charts and tables are appended concerning labor disputes, their results, causes, number of workers involved, etc.

- VI-55. MASUMOTO, Uhei. *Rōshi kaihō-ron* (労資解放論). Hōbunkan. 1926. 604 p. TUK

Most books on labor relations, the labor movement, and other related activities are generally based on a leftwing point of view. Books defending the thinking of the capitalist or written by him are very few. This book is included as an example of the latter. The author is anti-socialist and advocates conciliation between the competing forces of labor and capital.

- VI-56. MASUMOTO, Uhei. *Kōjō yori mitaru Nihon no rōdō seikatsu* (工場より見たる日本の労働生活—The worker's life from the point of view of the factory). Dōbunkan. 1919. 400 p. CSt-H; CU; DLC

- VI-57. MATSUOKA, Komakichi. *Noda dai-rōdō sogi* (野田大労働争議). Kaizōsha. 1928. 405 p. CSt-H; DLC

Record of the famous Noda labor dispute in Japan by a prominent labor leader of the rightwing. In the early post-war years Matsuoka headed the Sōdōmei. He states in his preface that he has tried to avoid propaganda, and a particularly one-sided approach. To this end, he has included as appendices several critiques of the labor dispute including the company version of the disagreement. Divided into ten chapters, it is an historical account of the Noda Shōyu Co., the town of the same name, and the family which owns the company. Subsequently there is a description of the labor union movement and company oppression, the development of the labor union, the outbreak of the great labor dispute, and an appraisal of the tactics employed by and the attitudes of both the labor union and the company. The last chapters pertain to child labor, the solution of the dispute and the economics thereof, and lessons learned from the great Noda labor dispute.

- VI-58. MATSUURA, Seiichi. *Sennai saibō soshiki-ron* (船内細胞組織論). Kobe. Nihon Kai'in Kumiai Kyōiku Shuppan-bu. 1933. 369 p. DLC

Collection of articles published in the seamen's magazine *Kai'in* from 1927-1933 concerning the organization of cells in ships. Although the word "cell" is used it is not a communist textbook, for it is sponsored by the conservative Seamen's Union, and has a police censorship comment to the effect that it is not communist. The methodology, tactics and attitudes of the seamen's union toward their problems and disputes, giving examples, and attitudes of various political parties are included.

- VI-59. MORINAGA, Eizaburō. *Seisan kanri no hōritsu mondai* (生産管理の法律問題). Kenshin-sha. 1948. 188 p. Compiled by Nihon Sangyō Rōdō Chōsa-kyoku. 産労叢書 2 DLC

Soon after the termination of the Pacific War "production control" by the labor unions was used somewhat extensively as a tactical measure in a labor dispute. This tactic was later discredited. Morinaga, a member of the leftwing lawyers association, attempts to prove the legality of production control. He analyzes production control as a labor dispute tactic, in its relation to statements issued by the government, the legal basis of this tactic, and civil and criminal proceedings concerning production control. Throughout the book many specific instances where this tactic was used are cited in support of his legality contention.

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- VI-60. MORITO, Tatsuo. *Doitsu rōdō sensen to sangyō hōkoku undō* (独逸労働戦線と産業報国運動). Kaizō-sha. 1941. 212 p. DLC

On the German labor movement and the patriotic labor movement in Japan by a rightwing socialist later, the Minister of Education in the postwar Socialist government in 1947. The book is divided into a discussion of the German and Japanese labor movements, with documentary material on the German and Japanese patriotic labor movements in two appendices. Morito states that the German movement was a cogent model and point of reference in the establishment of the Japanese patriotic labor movement (p. 27).

- VI-61. MORITO, Tatsuo. *Rōdō kumiai no kadai* (労組の課題). Kimishima Shobō. 1947. 114 p. DLC; MH

The responsibility of the union in the reconstruction of the country, the Kyūoku Minshu Remmei and the labor union movement, democracy and the labor union, labor rights under the new constitution, are discussed by Morito, a leading rightwing member of the JCP.

- VI-62. MURAKAMI, Kenji, IIDE, Takesaburō and SHIMIZU, Hajime. *Sōhyō* (総評). Tōyō Keizai Shimpō-sha. 1954. 216 p. PC

An interesting account of the decline of the labor movement from the abortive Feb. 1, 1947 strike when it was influenced by the radical leftwing to the formation and fourth national convention (1953) of Sōhyō. Special emphasis is placed upon the various strikes that occurred during this period. The writers are newspapermen who covered the labor movement.

- VI-63. MURAYAMA, Shigetada. *Nihon rōdō sōgi-shi* (日本労争議史). Kasumigaseki Shobō. 1947. 244 p. Enlarged edition. CSt-H; CU; DLC; NNC

Also published in shorter form in 1930 (116 p.) by Bummei Kyōkai entitled *Nihon rōdō sōgi-shi gaikan* (日本労争議史概観) CSt-H; DLC

Principally an analysis of prewar labor disputes in Japan from the Meiji period to 1940. Murayama was a professor at the Chūō Rōdō Gakuen; and is now a professor at Hosei University. The publishers are generally regarded as dominated by the radical leftwing.

- VI-64. MURAYAMA, Shigetada. *Waga kuni ni okeru rōdō sōgi no kako to genzai* (わが国に於ける労争議の過去と現在). Osaka. Nittō-sha. 1931. 134 p. DLC

The author, then an unofficial staff member of the Kyōchō-kai, analyzes the past and present of labor disputes in Japan. The labor movement is divided into three periods, first, the dawn period to 1896; second, from 1896 to 1914, the outbreak of World War I, generally a period of suppressed activity; third, from 1915 to 1930, a period of increased activity. However, the major part of the book is devoted to labor disputes which occurred from 1919 to 1930 (p. 40-143). Ten charts are appended showing labor dispute statistics concerning number of participants, causes of disputes, factories involved etc.

- VI-65. MYŌREI, Kisaburō. *Suto sōjō jiken no temmatsu* (スト騒擾事件の顛末). 1949. 242 p. NNC

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Explanation of the strikes on the national railways, the decision of the National Railway Workers Union to use violence, the Hiroshima iron works incident, and the Taira incident, by the staff director of the special investigation committee in the House of Representatives. After the factual presentation there is an analysis of the incidents in their relation to the Allied Occupation, JCP tactics, social unrest, political activity, and police action. It is a good documentary source.

- VI-66. NABEYAMA, Sadachika. *Sayoku rōdō kumiai to uyoku to no tōsō* (左翼労組と右翼との斗争). Kibōkaku. 1931. 522 p. CSt-H; DLC

Collection of statements by Nabeyama while he was editor-in-chief of the *Rōdō shimbun*, organ of the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Hyōgikai as they appeared in nos. 1-20 (June 20, 1925—May 5, 1926); directives and policy statements while he was chief of the education section of the Hyōgikai; while he was on the organ of the Osaka Electrical Union when it was affiliated with the Sōdōmei and while he was a member of the Kakushin Dōmei. The collection is not claimed to be exhaustive due to police interference and loss of documents.

- VI-67. NIHON HYŌRON-SHA HENSHU-BU. *Mitaka jiken kōhan kiroku* (三鷹事件公判記録). 1950. 130 p. DLC; MH; NNC

Record of the court trial concerning the Mitaka Incident. The first five days of the trials are condensed into one third the original length for readability. At the time of printing the trial was still in progress, consequently this not a complete record.

- V-68. NIHON RŌDŌ KUMIAI SŌ-HYŌGIKAI. *Chin age no riron-teki konkyo* (賃上の理論的根拠). Hitotsubashi Shobō. 1956. 222 p. TUK

This is a justification and theoretical basis of Sōhyō's wage demands, their interpretation of the Japanese economy, and rebuttal to the advocacies of the business federation, Nikkeiren, contained in its report entitled *Tōmen no chingin mondai to kadai*, a criticism of labor's demands.

- VI-69. NIHON RŌDŌ KUMIAI SŌ-HYŌGIKAI. *Dai...-kai taikai gijiroku* (第...回大会議事録). 1950t. DLC (1954-1955)

Record of the national conventions of the largest labor federation in Japan, Sōhyō. The proceedings of the fifth and sixth conventions are printed in pocket book size, but for earlier conventions only mimeographed copies were made and they are difficult to obtain. Since the Sōhyō and the Left SDP have maintained intimate relations over the years, certain Sōhyō conventions, such as those held in 1953 and 1954 are of particular significance in connection with the general plan of strategy and tactics and world outlook developed by the labor federation and the Left SDP. The Left SDP decided upon a lengthy platform in 1954 and the interaction between the party and the labor unions in the formulation of this policy statement were not inconsiderable.

- VI-70. NIHON RŌDŌ KUMIAI SŌ-HYŌGIKAI. CHŌSA-BU. *Heiwa keizai no tataakai no kōsō* (平和経済の戦ひの構想). 1953. 25 p. 総評資料 22 TUK

"The Peace Economy Plan" advocated by Sōhyō, as against what they regard the "militarization" of the Japanese economy through the implementation of the Mutual Security Agreement. The first part broadly describes their ideas, while the second part contains the theoretical backing of their advocacies with charts, statistics, and tables.

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- VI-71. NIHON RŌDŌ KUMIAI SŌ-HYŌGIKAI. *Nihon heiwa keizai no riron* (日本平和経済の理論). 1954. Aoki Shoten. 175 p. TUK

"The theory of the peace economy in Japan" is Sōhyō's counter-plan to what they call the "militarization" of the Japanese economy through the MSA set-up. It is a collection of essays by Left SDP members and pro-communist theorists on the characteristics of the present Japanese economy and politics, exploitation in a military economy, the worker's struggle, and the substance of the "peace economy" as related to the Italian experience, the international exchange of technology and Sino-Japanese trade in a peace economy. It is not a detailed "labor plan" but a general outline and reflects the type of thinking which influences Sōhyō in its militant attitude towards relations with the U.S.

- VI-72. NIHON RŌDŌ SŌDŌMEI.*dai 13-kai taikai gijiroku* (第13回大会議事録). Kagaku Shisō Fukyūkai. 1924. 252 p. CSt-H

The proceedings of the 13th national convention of the Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei in 1924. This convention was an important turning point in the Japanese labor movement.

- VI-73. NIHON SHAKAI MONDAI KENKYŪJO. *Rōdō sōgi Noda kessen-ki* (労働争議野田血戦記). Nihon Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjo. 1928. 442 p. CSt-H; DLC

Report on the great labor dispute at the Noda Shōyu Manufacturing Company.

- VI-74. *Nihon shihon-shugi kōza: rōdōsha to nōmin*. See no. IV-230.

- VI-75. NODA, Ritsuta. *Rōdō undō jissen-ki* (労働運動実戦記). Bungaku Annai-sha. 1936. 560 p. CSt-H; DLC

- VI-76. NODA, Ritsuta. *Hyōgi-kai tōsō-shi* (評議会斗争史). Chūō Kōron-sha. 1931. 790 p. CSt-H; DLC; IEN

The former book, "Real fighting record in the labor movement" is a partial autobiography from the author's childhood to the breakup of the Sōdōmei and the establishment of the communist dominated Kyōgikai.

The latter, "History of the struggle of the Hyōgikai" is a history of the Hyōgikai as personally experienced by Noda until the mass arrests of March 15, 1928 when the author was also apprehended by the authorities. He wrote this latter volume after he was released from prison in 1929.

- VI-77. NODA SHŌYU K.K. *Noda sōgi no temmatsu* (野田争議の顛末). Noda Chiba-ken. 1928. 366 p. CSt-H; DLC

The company's statement on the causes, developments, and settlement of the Noda labor dispute. A shorter 172-page report was also published by the company giving a daily account of the dispute, and even the weather for each day. (*Noda sōgi no keika nichiroku* 野田争議の経過日録, 1928, CSt-H; DLC).

- VI-78. NOSE, Iwakichi. *2.1 zenesuto* (2.1 ゼネスト). Rōmu Gyōsei Kenkyūjo. 1953. 252 p. DLC

Study of the abortive strike of February 1, 1947. It starts with the declaration by the unions concerning a general strike and ends with the radio broadcast suspending

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the strike and announcements by labor and the government. It gives a step by step description of the negotiations that led up to the anti-climax, JCP direction of the preparations, the government's attitude, the various meetings with SCAP officials.

VI-79. OKŌCHI, Kazuo, *ed. Nihon no rōdō kumiai* (日本の労組). Yūhi-kaku. 1954. 336 p. DLC

VI-80. OKŌCHI, Kazuo, *ed. Nihon rōdō kumiai-ron* (日本労組論). Tōyō Keizai Shimpō-sha. 1954. 247 p. PC

VI-81. OKŌCHI, Kazuo and SUMIYA, Mikio, *ed. Nihon no rōdōsha kaikyū* (日本の労働者階級). Tōyō Keizai Shimpō-sha. 1955. 350 p. TUK

The above three volumes form, in a way, a trilogy on Japanese labor unions and workers: one study of five individual unions, another of the labor unions in general, and lastly, of the component elements of the union, the worker and his environment. Each volume is a cooperative product of many scholars with a variety of political hues from various universities under the overall guidance of Prof. Kazuo Okōchi.

Nihon no rōdō kumiai (Japanese labor unions) analyzes the special type of labor union peculiar to Japan, its relationship to capitalism, and the limitations that cause wage labor to take on a special Japanese form; the characteristics of the organization of postwar labor unions, their collapse and reconstruction; union finances; the basic wage form, especially as it has developed in the national railways; the unions and politics, taking each major postwar labor federation and describing its relation to politics and political activities; labor contracts; labor disputes; and the historical divisions of the postwar labor movements. A chronology of the postwar labor movement is appended.

Nihon rōdō kumiai-ron (The theory of Japanese labor unions) is an economic analysis of five industry-wide labor unions in postwar Japan. According to the preface, the authors have tried to describe the characteristics of each industry-wide labor union, the position of the unions in the Japanese economy, and the special type of labor force in these unions, the historical formation of these unions, and finally the development, or rather retreat of the unions after the adoption by the government of "nine principles." The five industries are coal mining, electric workers, national railways, communications, textiles. This book gives a new approach to the study of postwar labor unions as it does not follow the conventional chronological approach.

Nihon no rōdōsha kaikyū (The Japanese working class) is comprised of three principal parts on the source of Japanese labor, the labor force, and livelihood and consciousness. The source of the Japanese labor force is analyzed through the dissolution of the farm population, the economically unfortunate in the cities, and the mobility of the labor force. Part two investigates the worker in the large enterprises and in small and medium enterprises, and day laborers and temporary workers. The last chapter on livelihood and consciousness takes up the living standards of the worker's family and his housing problems.

VI-82. OKŪCHI, Kazuo. *Reimei-ki no Nihon rōdō undō* (黎明期の日本労組運動). Iwanami Shoten. 1952. 221 p. 岩波新書 115 PC

An excellent short history of the labor movement during the Meiji era. Though in pocket book form, it presents a concise and well documented analysis of the movement's early years. It presents many insights into the nature, strength and weaknesses of the labor movement which may be extended to include the present.

VI-83. OKŌCHI, Kazuo. *Senji shakai seisaku-ron* (戦時社会政策論). Jichō-

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sha. 1941. 375 p.

TUK

A collection of essays on wartime social policy previously published in periodicals. The first on the fundamental problems of a wartime social policy which concerns the labor market, unemployment, wages, working hours and other problems. The latter half concerns the effect of the war on the national livelihood.

VI-84. Ota, Kaoru, *et al.* *Rōdō undō no magari kado* (労働運動のまがりかど). Hitotsubashi Shobō. 1955. 290 p. TUK

Five essays by five leaders of the labor movement in Japan in 1955. The first essay is by Ota Kaoru, vice-president of Sōhyō, the largest labor federation supporting the leftwing in the SDP, on the united labor front, improvement in productivity, and his reply to criticisms of Sōhyō. Koga Atsushi of the Sōdōmei, discusses productivity, improvement of labor-management relations, and the rejection of formalism; Hosoya Matsuta of Shin-Sambetsu writes on postwar labor union problems, militant social democracy, Diet struggles and mass struggles, JCP tactics and the united labor front. Hosoya was formally with the JCP but withdrew his membership after the abortive Feb. 1, 1947 strike. The last two are by Wada Haruo, secretary-general of the Zenrō Kaigi, which was created when a number of unions defected from Sōhyō disagreeing with its leftist policies. Haraguchi Yukitaka, chairman of the All-Japan Metal Mining Workers Union, writes on the international movement, the Asian labor movement, the political party and the union, union education and productivity. This is a useful book since it gives, within one cover, the outline of the principal streams of thought in the Japanese postwar labor movement.

VI-85. SAITŌ, Ichirō. *Rōdō sensen tōitsu no sho-mondai* (労働戦線統一の諸問題). Nihon Rōnō Tsūshin-sha. 1948. 133 p. DLC; MH

"Problems of the united front" is a study of the united front as a struggle tactic, a criticism of the ideas advocated by Hosotani Matsuta of the Minshuka Dōmei, the united front movement centering around the Zenkoku Rōdō Kumiai Renraku Kyōgikai, formed after the abortive Feb. 1, 1947 strike, and the united front activities of the industry-wide labor unions, and other unions in the various localities. Saitō is critical of the conservative labor leaders and adheres more to the Labor-Farmer Marxist interpretation.

VI-86. SAITŌ, Ichirō. 2.1 *suto zengo* (2.1 スト前後). Rōdō Tsūshin-sha. 1955. 348 p. TUK

History of the labor movement from the end of the Pacific War to just after the abortive Feb. 1, 1947 strike. The author, believed to be a member of the JCP at the time, joined the Sambetsu Kaigi in the latter part of 1946 when large scale preparations for the general strike were being readied. This book was originally written for publication by Aoki Shoten but at the last minute was cancelled, because it was critical of the JCP. Appended is a "record of the interference of the Occupation in the Feb. 1 strike" consisting of the record of interviews between Japanese labor leaders and GHQ officers.

VI-87. SAMBETSU KAIGI, JIMUKYOKU. *Minshuka [Dōmei ni tsuite no tōgi* (民主化同盟に就いての討議). 1948. 112 p. CSt-H

Proceedings of the staff meeting (*kanjikai*) and of the 6th central executive committee meeting of the Sambetsu Kaigi held in Feb. 1948 concerning the Minshuka Dōmei—

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the faction demanding a democratization of the labor federation which was dominated by the JCP.

- VI-88. SAMBETSU KAIGI. JŌHŌ SENDEN-BU. *Kanken no bōkō* (官憲の暴行). San'ichi Shobō. 1949. 252 p. CST-H; DLC

A history of the suppression of the labor movement during the postwar period. The report covers thirteen incidents beginning with the Yomiuri newspaper incident in the early postwar period to Aug. 1948. Appended is a useful chart listing the various incidents according to day, month and year.

- VI-89. SAMBETSU KAIGI. *Rōdō undō dan'atsu jiken hōkokusho* (労働運動弾圧事件報告書).

A rare document compiled as a report by the then communist dominated labor federation, the Sambetsu Kaigi, to the Japanese government on the interference of the local military government units of the United States occupation administration of Japan. It reports on the early years of the Occupation and is believed to be the only one of its kind. It is regarded by Japanese scholars of the labor movement to be an important item in the study of the postwar labor movement but cannot be found at this time.

- VI-90. *Sambetsu Kaigi wa dō tatakau ka* (産別会議はどう闘ふか). Shinri-sha. 1949. 254 p. Edited by the Sambetsu Kaigi. NNC

A Sambetsu interpretation of the decisions reached at the second national convention of the Sambetsu Kaigi held in Nov. 1947. The decisions cover a wide range of topics including an evaluation of domestic and international trends, Sambetsu strength, production revival (*seisan fukkō*), regional struggles, organization and the united front, political activities, women and youth, educational and cultural activities, newspapers, social security, and finances.

- VI-91. SANGYŌ RŌDŌ CHŌSAJO. *Nihon rōdō kumiai undō no gensei* (日本労組運動の現勢). Kibōkaku. 1926. 52, 22 p. DLC

A statistical survey of labor union strength as of October 1, 1925—the same day as the national census. This report was based on the replies received from 298 unions out of 210 unions which were given questionnaires. Chapter 1 is on the labor force in general and the “organized worker.” Chapter 2 is on the increase in union membership, the organized worker and his position as compared to the world situation. The distribution of unions is divided into diffusion of strength, degree of concentration in large unions, distribution in large unions, distribution of union membership among unions, and the geographical and industrial distribution of unions. The next chapter is on the female labor force and its degree of organization. The last chapter is on the unification movement in the labor union movement.

The appendices consist of a list of officers and other pertinent information on the principal unions, their publications diagrams and charts complement the statistics in the text.

- VI-92. SHAKAI UNDŌ TSŪSHIN-SHA. *Rōdō kumiai sōran* (労組組合総覧). 1953-54. 2 v. TUK

A very useful collection of factual data on the principal labor unions in postwar Japan. A brief history of the union, its formation, membership, officers, diagram of

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union organization, and union geneology are given.

Vol. 1 is on Sōhyō and its affiliated unions. In the chapter on Sōhyō itself, the basic platform and activities program for the years, 1950-53 are included. Though not a complete reproduction this is a handy summary since copies are difficult to obtain after several years have elapsed. Vol. 2 is on Zenrō, Shin-Sambetsu, and independent unions.

VI-93. SHŌWA KENKYŪ-KAI. *Chōki kensetsu ni okeru waga kuni rōdō seisaku* (長期建設に於ける我国労働政策). Tōyō Keizai Shimpō-sha. 1939. 252 p.

TUK

VI-94. SHŌWA KENKYŪ-KAI. *Rōdō shin-taisei kenkyū* (労働新体制研究). Tōyō Keizai Shimpō-sha. 1941. 574 p.

TUK

Two reports of the labor study group of the Shōwa Kenkyū-kai on Japanese labor policy and the "new labor system." The Shōwa Kenkyūkai was organized under Prince Konoye's influence and composed of persons of many political hues. Some of the persons comprising the labor study group joined the JCP or the Left SDP in the postwar era, others are economists and professors.

The former report is an interim study explaining the fundamental principles of a labor policy. The latter report is on the implementation of these basic principles "in accordances with the existing situation." The first part, a general report of the group, is on labor supply, labor protection, and the industrial patriotic movements and their organization. The remaining four parts are individual reports on organization, wages, strikes, Koreans, the factory situation, women workers, small and medium sized industries, and inflation. These reports were planned to be subtly critical of the oppressive measures enforced by the prewar Japanese Government. Before the labor study group completed its deliberations the Shōwa Kenkyū-kai was dissolved. Its director was Ozaki Hidemi who was involved in the famous Sorge spy case.

VI-95. SUEHIRO, Izutarō. *Nihon rōdō kumiai undō-shi* (日本労働組合運動史). Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Undō-shi Kankō-kai. 1950. 256 p.

CU; DLC; MiU; NNC

Reprinted in 1954 (345 p.) by Chūō-Kōron-sha, adding chronology and index.

DLC

An analytical history of the Japanese labor union movement by a former chairman of the postwar Central Labor Relations Board and professor at Tokyo University. The book was originally written for a foreign audience. The structure of the book follows a somewhat different approach: the development of the labor and socialist movements from 1868 to 1949 are traced with an emphasis on the interpretation of social phenomena in relation to the labor movement. After each section concerning the pre- and postwar movements is a topical discussion of many aspects, such as the reason for low unionization in prewar days, the internal structure of the labor unions, the form of organization of the finances of labor unions. The last chapter is devoted to labor legislation in the postwar period.

Suehiro was the first chairman of the Central Labor Relations Board during the difficult early years of the postwar labor movement including the abortive Feb. 1, 1947 strike. This book is regarded as an authoritative study by many persons on both sides of the leftwing political movement.

VI-96. SUZUKI, Bunji. *Nihon no rōdō mondai* (日本の労働問題). Kaigai Shokumin Gakkō. 1919. 287 p.

DLC

The philosophy and solution of the labor movement in Japan by the outstanding conservative labor advocate of conciliation with the capitalist. It is a record of his

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activities and thoughts while participating in the movement for ten years. Specifically he discusses the labor movement as an idea, the "self-awakening" of the capitalist and worker, the factory and labor union laws, his attendance at an American labor convention, and the Paris Peace Conference, and finally his solution for the labor movement.

- VI-97. SUZUKI, Ichizō. *Kokutetsu tōsō hiroku—shigunaru wa kiezu* (国鉄斗争秘録——シグナルは消えず). Satsuki Shobō. 1949. 181 p. CSt-H; MH

The "untold" history of the struggles of the National Railways Workers Union, from Sept. 1946 to 1949 as told by the vice-chairman of this union in narrative form. It is written with a pro-communist slant.

- VI-98. TAKANO, Minoru. *Rōdō kumiai jissen-ron* (労働組合実践論). Rōdō Shuppan-sha. 1953. 220 p. TUK

An organizational plan for the mobilization of the masses by the secretary-general of Sōhyō, the principal labor federation. The plan aims at the post-treaty relations with the U.S. Specifically, it discusses the administrative agreement with the U.S. and the worker organization of the "peace struggle," guidance of the masses, lessons learnt from mass strikes, the election campaign for the worker, and the organization of mass resistance.

- VI-99. TAKANO, Minoru. *Rōdō kumiai un'ei-ron* (労働組合運営論). Kawade Shobō. 1952. 295 p. 新労務叢書 6 CSt-H; DLC

"Management of labor unions" in this case means the tactics and strategy for the advancement of the management and organization of unions. Specifically the author regards the book as a statement of his labor philosophy, the tactical and strategic considerations which entered into the formation of the Sohyo, the controversy surrounding a united labor front, the peace settlement and the labor union movement, and the problem of the tactics of organization.

- VI-100. TAKANO, Minoru. *Shin rōdō undō no riron* (新労働運動の理論). Kyōdō Shuppan-sha. 1948. 345 p. CtY; DLC; MH; MiU

Takano claims that due to the theories he expounded the Rōdō Kumiai Minshu-ka Remmei was formed. The book itself is a collection of newspaper and periodical articles written by the author from 1945 to 1947. The chapter headings are: What is a democratic labor union?; problems of organization and a united front; rehabilitation of industry and labor unions; the labor unions and the political party and the government; and the 17th May Day.

- VI-101. TAKANO, Minoru. *Shin rōdō undō no mokuhyō* (新労働運動の目標——The targets for the new labor movement). Rōdō Shuppan-sha. 1948. 62 p. MiU

- VI-102. TAKANO, Minoru. *Shin rōdō undō no senryaku* (新労働運動の戦略——The strategy of the new labor movement). Maki Shoten. 1948. 263 p. MH

- VI-103. TAKANO, Minoru. *Tai-Nichi kōwa to kongo no rōdō undō* (対日講和と今後の労働運動——The peace settlement and the future of the labor movement). Gaikoku Bunka-sha. 1952. 132 p. CSt-H

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VI-104. TANAKA, Kojirō. *Darakan wa ikani-shite rōdōsha o sakushu-shita ka* (ダラ幹は如何にして労働者を搾取したか). Daiichi Shuppan-sha. 1931. 163 p.

DLC

VI-105. TANAKA, Kojirō. *Ichī rōdōsha no kokuhaku* (一労働者の告白). Shakai Undō Orai-sha. 1931. 120 p.

DLC; MH

Two exposé books on the "exploitation of the workers by the decadent rightwing leaders of the labor movement." (The latter book is a continuation of the first). The ire of the author is concentrated on the rightwing labor organization, the Sōdōmei. The author claims to be a former principal member of the Sōdōmei.

VI-106. TANIGUCHI, Zentarō. *Nihon Rōdō kumiai Hyōgikai-shi* (日本労組合評議会史). Takagiri Shoin. 1948. 2 v.

CSt-H; CtY (v. 1); DLC (v. 1); IEN; MH;

MiU (v. 1); NNC

Originally published in 1932 (2 v.) by Kyōseikaku (Kyoto) under pen-name, Isomura Hideji.

CSt-H; DLC; IEN (v. 1)

Also published by Aoki Shoten in 1953 (青木文庫 No. 157 163).

A history of the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Hyōgikai, a radical leftwing labor organization. The study covers the inception of the organization to its eventual dissolution by the government in 1928. When the book first appeared in 1932 it was immediately banned by the government. The first volume originally appeared in serial form in *Shakai Mondai Kenkyū* edited by Kawakami Hajime. Although the main divisions of the book are by year or half year, the contents are presented in topical form, giving reasons for actions and criticising the actions taken in the light of subsequent experiences and later developed theory. The author was a founder of the Hyōgikai and a member of the communist delegation in the Diet in the postwar period. The introduction and recommendation was written by a member of the JCP Control Commission. A third volume was contemplated to include representative documentary material on the Hyōgikai, but this volume has not been found. The Hyōgikai was established in May 1924 and ordered dissolved by the government in April 1928. It was the first leftwing labor union of the "true" Marxist category according to the author, and was the forerunner of the "Zenkyō." The analysis follows a Marxist-Leninist approach, and adheres to the class struggle theory.

VI-107. TOKYO DAIGAKU, SHAKAI KAGAKU KENKYŪJO. *Sengo rōdō kumiai no jittai* (戦後労組の実態). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1950. 2 v.

CSt-H; CU (v. 1); DLC; NNC

The analytical volume was re-published in 1956 by Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan-kai (388 p.) entitled *Rōdō kumiai no kōsei to soshiki—sengo rōdō kumiai no jittai* (労組の構成と組織——戦後労組の実態).

TUK

An unusual and valuable statistical study of the postwar labor unions by a social science study group in Tokyo University. It is composed of two parts, the final report and accompanying tables and charts. The date of the detailed survey was Aug. 1947 and covered about one thousand labor unions. The percentage of completed questionnaires was 42%, considered satisfactory by the study group in view of the turbulent labor conditions and frequent strikes at the time. The final report is divided into 14 chapters on formation of labor unions in the postwar era, characteristics of the central figures in the establishment of these labor unions, the organization of the postwar labor union, the type and method of selection of union officials, characteristics

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of union officials, other information concerning union officials (i.e. as to whether they carry on union affairs during working hours), organs of the union, youth sections and youth action corps, women's sections, collective bargaining, management councils, cultural activities of the unions, labor disputes, relations with labor union federations, and union finances.

- VI-108. TOKYO NICHU NICHU SHIMBUN-SHA. *Yūai-kai no soshiki to sono naijō* (友愛会の組織と其内情). Tokyo Kankō-sha. 1921. 148 p. DLC

The Yūai-kai, its organization and internal conditions, the first of a series produced under the direction of Yoshino Sakuzō of Tokyo Imperial, Horie Kiichi of Keio, and Kitazawa Shinjirō of Waseda Universities.

- VI 109. WATANABE, Masanosuke. *Sayoku rōdō kumiai no soshiki to seisaku* (左翼労組の組織と政策). Kibōkaku. 1930. 400 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

The national and local organization of labor unions, the organization of individual labor unions, the women's section in labor unions, the problems of factory committees, the methods of organizing unorganized workers, and historical materials pertaining to these problems. The policies of the leftwing labor unions and their fight with the rightwing are discussed.

- VI 110. WATANABE, Tōru. *Nihon rōdō kumiai undō-shi* (日本労組運動史). Aoki Shoten. 1954. 485 p. DLC

A sympathetic history of the labor union movement in Japan centering around the Communist influenced Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Kyōgikai, commonly known as the Zenkyō, from 1929 to 1936. The financial sponsorship and publication of this book was through funds from the Ministry of Education.

A very useful appendix is included on the regulations, action program and amendments, principal documents of the Zenkyō, and a description of the various organs of the Zenkyō and participating labor unions, and a chronology of Zenkyō activities. The author is assistant professor at Kyoto University.

- VI-111. YAMANAKA, Tokutarō. *Nihon rōdō kumiai-hō kenkyū* (日本労組合法研究). Moriyama Shoten. 1931. 173, 6 p. CSt-H; DLC

Study of the Japanese labor union law of the pre-1945 years. The book stresses an analytical study of the labor union law from 1926 to 1931, while only briefly touching upon the previous periods, as these were described in an earlier work by the same author. The first chapter deals with a history of the labor union law, followed by an analysis of the labor union law as proposed by the Hamaguchi Cabinet, the development and reasons of the opposition of the capitalists, the movement for a labor union law by the various labor organizations and political parties. The last chapter gives a description of the labor policy of the various proletarian parties. A useful bibliography is appended. In 1926, Yamanaka published a monograph with the same title but published by Iwanami Shoten (302, 29 p. DLC; NNC) covering the history of the drafting of the prewar labor union law from 1920 to 1923, and observations on the draft of the Bureau of Social Affairs and the government's final draft.

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B. Documents

- VI-112. GAIMU-SHŌ. S 9.4.2.0-1 *Miscellaneous documents relating to Japanese workers (Hompo rōdōsha kankei zakken)*. Sect. 1: Feb. 1927-Oct. 1935; Sect. 2: Aug. 1936-Feb. 1941. 815 p. Reel S338. DLC

Newspaper clippings from American, British, and Russian newspapers on the Japanese labor movement; reports on the labor movement in Formosa, the organization of Japanese harbor workers, working conditions for Japanese in the U. S., Korean working conditions in Japan; various communications from prefectural governors to the Home Ministry on the labor movements in the prefectures. The above is part of a microfilm collection of archives of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Library of Congress

- VI-113. GAIMU-SHŌ. S 9.4.2.0-4 *Miscellaneous documents relating to labor organizations and unions in Japan (Hompo ni okeru rōdō dantai narabi ni dō-kumiai kankei zakken)*. Aug. 1925-July 1938. 475 p. Reel S339. DLC

Newspaper clippings and correspondence on Katō Kanjū's visit to the U.S.; labor unions comprised of Chinese working on Japanese ships; Korean associations in Japan; Russian press coverage of the suppression of labor unions in Japan; reports on committee meeting of the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Hyōgikai. The above is part of a microfilm collection of documents of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Library of Congress.

- VI-114. GAIMU-SHŌ. S 9.4.3.0-6 *Miscellaneous documents relating to Japanese labor: The labor movement (Hompo rōdō kankei zakken: undō kankei)*. Sect. 1: May 1927-May 1933; sect. 2: Jan. 1934-June 1937. 811 p. Reel S344-S345. DLC

Reports on the magazine *Senki*, the revival of the Hyōgikai, and the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Kyōgikai from March 15, 1928 to Feb. 11, 1931, May Day activities, Russian press comments on the Japanese situation, and on Korea. The above is part of the microfilm collection of documents of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs now in the Library of Congress.

- VI-115. KEISHI-CHŌ. CHŌTEI-KA. *Shōwa 9-nen Tokyo-shi Denki-kyoku rōdō sōgi naradini dō-Chōtei Iinkai no gaikyō* (昭和 9 年東京市電気局労働争議ならびに同調停委員会の概況). 1935. 440 p. Marked confidential. CSt-H; DLC

Police report of the Tokyo city electrical workers dispute in 1934, the outbreak of the dispute, the mediation committee, settlement, opinions and statements by labor and management, the editorial opinions of the principal Tokyo newspapers.

- VI-116. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Han-Taiheiyō rōdō kaigi no enkaku* (汎太平洋労働会議の沿革). 1930. 696 p. Typed and handwritten. DLC

History of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union. The analysis begins with the establishment of the Profintern. Other than the description of the meetings of the Union and the addresses of the various delegates, the resolutions of the Union, activities of the Secretariat, the publication of its organ *Pan Pacific Worker* are analyzed.

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- VI-117. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Rōdō hōan ni kansuru shiryō* (労働法案に関する資料). 1926. 353 p. Marked confidential. DLC

Documentary material concerning the labor union law draft, labor dispute mediation law, and amendments to the Police Law from July 1925 when they were submitted to the Gyōsei Chōsakai to the adjournment of the 51 st session of the Imperial Diet in March 1926. The collection includes the laws in draft form as presented by the government, the political parties and other organizations, the opinions of business organizations, labor groups, academic groups and newspaper editorials concerning these laws.

- VI-118. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Rōdō kumiai hōan setsumeishi shiryō* (労働組合法案説明資料). n.d. n.p. Mimeographed. DLC

Explanatory materials on the unsuccessful labor union bill, including a copy of the bill, and explanation thereof, anticipated questions and answers in the Diet, and an explanation of each article of the bill.

- VI-119. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Rōdō sōgi no gaikyō* (労働争議の概況). 1919. 94 p. DLC

Report of labor disputes as of Dec. 1919 showing causes, results, number of workers involved, geographical distribution of strikes, etc., and a description of nine different strikes during 1919. Labor dispute statistics are appended.

- VI-120. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shōwa ...nen-jū ni okeru shakai undō no jōkyō*. See no. II-6.

- VI-121. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shōwa 9-nen Tokyo shiden sōgi kankei shimbun kirinuki-shū* (昭和 9 年東京市電争議関係新聞切抜集). newspaper clippings. [1934]. 3 v. DLC

Collection of newspaper clippings of the famous Tokyo streetcar strike during 1934. Volume I pertains to press and editorial comments. Volume II and III concern general reporting of the strike.

- VI-122. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Tokkō geppō*. See no. II-19.

- VI-123. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu shiryō*. See no. III-167.

- VI-124. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Waga kuni rōdō undō no naka de katsu-yaku-shita kyōsan-shugi* (我国労働運動の中で活躍した共産主義). 1934. 231 leaves. Typewritten. DLC

History of the activities of communists in the Japanese labor movement. Specifically a history of the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Hyōgikai, and the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Kyōgikai, their roles and missions and theory, and their international relations with an emphasis on an analysis of the Kyōgikai (p. 59-201).

- VI-125. NAIMU-SHŌ. SHAKAI-KYOKU. *Rōdō kumiai-hō* (労働組合法). 1938. variously paged. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. DLC

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Miscellaneous materials on the unsuccessful labor union bill of the 1920's assembled in 1938. Some of the 18 items collected are: Opinions of newspapers, individuals, labor organizations, political parties on the labor union bill, research paper of the administrative committee (Gyōsei Chōsa-kai), questions and answers in the 51 st session of the Diet, limitations on the membership of labor unions.

- VI-126. NAIMU-SHŌ. SHAKAI-KYOKU. *Rōdō kumiai ni kansuru chōsahyō* (労働組合に関する調査表). 1931. 86 p. Marked secret. DLC

Statistical data on labor unions as of Dec. 31, 1930 according to membership, type of industry, location, etc. Principal union groupings, with affiliated unions, officers and membership are given. The bulk of the report consists of a listing of each union in each prefecture noting membership and date of establishment.

- VI-127. NAIMU-SHŌ. SHAKAI-KYOKU. *Rōdō sōgi chōtei gaihyō* (労働爭議調停概況). 1931. 60 p. Mimeographed. DLC

Survey of labor disputes in 1931 where mediation was used.

- VI-128. NAIMU-SHŌ. SHAKAI-KYOKU. *Rōdō sōgi gaihyō* (労働爭議概況). 1929. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. DLC

Annual report on labor disputes beginning with an overall survey followed by an analysis of the outbreak of labor troubles, the type of industry involved, the methods used in the dispute, the relation between the labor union and the dispute (including the political parties, and union finances), disputes involving Koreans, and a description of the principal disputes during the year covered.

- VI-129. NAIMU-SHŌ. SHAKAI-KYOKU. *Saikin ni okeru rōdō undō no gaiyō* (最近に於ける労働運動の概要). 1931. 68 p. DLC

General outline of the development of the labor union and labor disputes from the Meiji period.

- VI-130. NAIMU-SHŌ. SHAKAI-KYOKU. *Tokyo-shi denki-kyoku rōdō sōgi chōtei iinkai no gaihyō* (東京市電気局労働爭議調停委員会の概況). Mar. 1933. 301 p. Marked confidential. DLC

Outline of the activities of the labor dispute conciliation committee in the labor dispute concerning the Electric Bureau of Tokyo city in 1932.

- VI-131. NAIMU-SHŌ. SHAKAI-KYOKU. *Waga kuni ni okeru rōdō iinkai no gaihyō* (我国に於ける労働委員会の概況). 1933. 161 p. Marked confidential. DLC

An analytical survey of the functions, activities of the "labor committees" including examples of their operations in ten prefectures.

- VI-132. OSAKA-SHI. SHAKAI-KA. *Rōdō kumiai undō* (労働組合運動). Kyoto. Kōbundō. 1924. 385 p. CtY; CSt-H; DLC

The labor movement in the Osaka area from January to June 1924.

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VI-133. OSAKA-SHI. SHAKAI-BU. CHŌSA-KU. *Saikin rōdō sōgi temmatsu* (最近労争議頭末). Kyoto. Kōbundō. 1924. 2 v. DLC (v. 2); TUK (v. 1)

Analysis of seven labor disputes which occurred between Sept. 1922 and Aug. 1923, preceded by a general description of the causes, characteristics, and the labor movement background.

VI-134. RŌDŌ-SHŌ. *Shiryō rōdō undō-shi* (資料労働運動史). Rōmu Gyōsei Kenkyūjo. CSt-H (1945-51); DLC (1945-48, 50-55)

An indispensable documentary reference work on the postwar movement and the proletarian political party movement. For each year there is a volume of about a 1000 pages divided into six parts:

1) *Union activities vis-a-vis employers*. Strikes, their causes, collective bargaining, strike tactics, manner of settlement, production control, violence, public opinion, labor committees, opinions of the government, SCAP, political parties, and others.

2) *Organizational activities*. The formation, dissolution, amalgamations, union regulations, platforms, declarations, officers, international relations of the unions, and unification of the labor movement.

3) *National conventions of the labor unions*. The details of committee meetings and conventions of farmer and labor groups. In volume I (1945-46) this section is included in part I.

4) *Contracts*. Analysis of the outstanding contracts concluded during a particular year.

5) *Labor administration*. Interpretations of labor laws, SCAP and Japanese government statements on labor laws, the complete texts of the principal labor laws.

6) *Political party relations*. The influence of the political party on the labor movement and vice versa, with a special stress on the activities of the political party and its relations with the labor union.

VI-135. RŌDŌ-SHŌ. RŌSEI-KYOKU. *Tan'i rōdō kumiai kiyaku-shū* (単位労働組合規約集). 1950. 253 p. TUK

Collection of 15 "better organized" labor union constitutions selected from various industries throughout Japan.

VI-136. RŌDŌ-SHŌ. *Tōkei kara mita waga kuni no rōdō sōgi* (統計から見た我が国の労争議). 1950. 560 p. 内外労働資料 29 MiU

An analysis of Japanese labor disputes through statistics. Part I is an historical analysis of labor disputes from 1897 to the late forties; Part II, on the number of participants, scope of disputes, number of days lost, etc.; Part III, an international comparative study and the standards used in compilation of Japanese statistics; Part IV, statistics.

VI-137. SHIHO-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KU. *Nihon ni okeru kaijō rōdō undō ni tsuite* (日本に於ける海上労働運動に就いて). 1931. 252 p. Marked secret. 司法研究 才 14 輯報告書集 5 CSt-H; DLC

An analysis of the conservative Japanese seamen's union. "Although only nine years elapsed since the establishment of the union it held a dominant position and was the largest among Japan's industrial unions" at the time. The analysis begins with a description of Japan's maritime position, and is followed by the international

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development of the seamen's movement, Japanese seamen's organizations, their working conditions, the relations between Japanese and communist seamen's unions, such as the the Vladivostok International Seamen's Club, and seamen's disputes. The history, activities, platform, and relationships of the various seamen's unions and associations are also presented. The analyst was a prosecutor of the Kobe District Court.

VI-138. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shina-jihen ka ni okeru rōdō undō* (支那事变下に於ける労働運動). 1941. 578 p. 思想研究資料特輯 87 JJ

A voluminous study of the labor movement, proletarian political parties, and labor movement, proletarian political parties, and labor disputes in Japan during the China Incident by a judge of the Nagoya District Court. About 550 pages are devoted to the labor movement describing the activities of the movement in general, and developments in each principal labor union. There is also a long section on the history, platform, officers, and dissolution of the principal labor unions in Japan. Only about 30 pages are allotted to the political parties. The last two chapters are on labor disputes and the patriotic labor associations. Both leftwing and nationalistic organizations are included in this survey.

VI-139. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Zenhyō torishirabe shiryō* (全評取調資料). 1938. 346 p. (Part I). Marked secret. 思想資料パンフレット 5 JJ

Record of questioning by the police and prosecutor of two prewar labor leaders regarding the establishment and character of the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Hyōgikai formed on Nov. 18, 1936. These leaders's were intimately connected with the three organizations which united to form the Hyōgikai.

VI-140. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Zenhyō torishirabe shiryō* (全評取調資料). Dec. 1938. 485 p. (Part II). Marked secret. 思想資料パンフレット 7 JJ

Part II of the study on the establishment of the Zenhyō in 1936, is a collection of documents on the platform, policies, activities, directives, and minutes of the national conferences of the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Hyōgikai and the three labor organizations that united to form it. This is a useful documentation of one prewar labor federation that would be rather difficult to obtain through other means.

VI-141. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Kyū-Zenkyō sasshin dōmei-kei to saiken undō kankei shiryō* (旧全協刷新同盟系と再建運動関係資料). 1941. 98 p. Continuation June 1942. 104 p. Marked secret. 思想資料パンフレット特輯 JJ

These two volumes contain two essays by Kamiyama Shigeo, a prominent postwar JCP leader, on the then present situation and the fundamental task of the Japanese working class, and on various theoretical problems in regard to the absolutist monarchical system. The former essay is useful for the communist interpretation of the situation in the 1930's. It was written from memory as the original report was destroyed after presentation to a select group planning to rejuvenate the JCP.

The latter essay also by Kamiyama, a central member of the former Zenkyō Sasshin Dōmei, a radical labor faction, was written from memory as the original was also destroyed after presentation to a select group. The focal points of the essay are an interpretation of state authority, and the Emperor system. It is critical of not only the central party leadership, but also the Rōnō faction, the dissolutionists, and the recanters.

VI-142. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shisō geppō*. See no. II-3.

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VI-143. SHIZUOKA-KEN. KEISATSU-BU. *Nihon Gakki Seizō Kabushiki Kaisha rōdō sōgi temmatsu* (日本楽器製造株式会社労働爭議顛末). 1926. 209 p. Marked secret. DLC

Police account of the labor dispute at the Japan Musical Instruments Mfg. Co. in Shizuoka Prefecture. The tactics, the violence used by both sides, the battles of words, the extra-legal methods, the mediation procedures, and police control are all described.

C. Union Regulations

VI-144. NAIMU-SHŌ. SHAKAI-KYOKU. RŌDŌ-BU. *Shuyō rōdō kumiai kiyaku-shū* (主要労働組合同規約集). 1929. 178 p. TUK

Collection of regulations of 23 labor unions, 3 farmers unions and 2 proletarian political parties, the Shakai Minshū-tō, and the Nihon Taishū-tō.

VI-145. NAIMU-SHŌ. SHAKAI-KYOKU. RŌDŌ-BU. *Rōdō kumiai kōryō kiyaku-shū* (労働組合同綱領規約集). 1935. 280 p. TUK

Collection of regulations and platforms of 36 labor unions, 3 farmers unions, and 9 political organizations principally ultranationalist. The only proletarian political party listed is the Shakai Taishū-tō.

D. Histories of Individual Unions and Labor Movements
in Certain Geographical Areas

VI-146. ARAI, Tsuneyasu. *Nikkyōso undō-shi* (日教組運動史). Nihon Shuppan Kyōkai K. K. 1953. 326 p. TUK

History of the teacher's union in Japan. This union is one of the largest unions in Japan and is a member of the leftwing labor federation, Sōhyō. The teacher's union is a strong backer of the leftwing of the SDP, and as such its political voice carries great weight. It often comes into direct conflict with the conservative government which tries to limit its activities through legislation. This history covers the period from the end of the Pacific War to April 1952. It is divided into six parts: from Aug. 1945 to just after the abortive Feb. 1, 1947 strike, from the 1947 elections to Mar. 1948, from Apr. 1948 to March 1949, Apr. 1949 to March 1950, April 1950 to March 1951, April 1951 to April 1952. Each section is prefaced by a brief review of social, political and labor movements followed by a detailed account of each year's activities according to topics. The book is prefaced by the chairman of the national teacher's union.

VI-147. KAJINISHI, Mitsuhaya, *et al.* *Seishi rōdō-sha no rekishi* (製絲労働者の歴史). Iwanami Shoten. 1955. 212 p. 岩波新書 218 TUK

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A concise history of the textile workers, who are mainly women in Japan, from the first textile workers in the late Tokugawa period to 1955. The study is divided into five parts: late Tokugawa to the Sino-Japanese War, Sino-Japanese War to World War I, World War I to the 1927 panic in Japan, 1927 to the end of World War II, and the ten postwar years. The study was sponsored by the textile workers union in 1953-1954. The authors are professors, the chairman of the union and one woman.

- VI-148. KANAGAWA-KEN. RÔDÔ-BU. RÔSEI-KA. *Kanagawa-ken rōdō undō-shi* (神奈川県労働運動史). Yokohama. 1953. 522 p. TUK

Detailed history of the labor movement in Kanagawa prefecture during the first six occupation years, 1945-1951. It is divided into a general review, the labor union movement, principal strikes, organization, May Day activities, statistics, and chronology.

- VI-149. KOKUTETSU RÔDÔ KUMIAI. BUNKYÔ-BU. *Kokutetsu rōdō kumiai undō-shi* (国鉄労組運動史). [Tokyo]. 1954. 3 v. TUK (v. 3)

Documentary history of the national railway workers union from 1900 to June 1953. Volume I covers 1900 to Oct. 1949; volume 2, Oct. 1949 to Dec. 1951; Jan. 1952 to June 1953.

- VI-150. OKAYAMA-KEN. RÔDÔ UNDÔ-SHI SHIRYÔ Henshū Iinkai. *Okayama-ken rōdō undō-shi shiryō* (岡山県労働運動史資料). Okayama. Okayama-ken Chūō Rōdō Gakkō. 1951. Vol. I (362 p.) TUK

History of the labor movement in Okayama prefecture from early Meiji to 1937.

- VI-151. Seimō RÔDÔ KUMIAI. *Go shūnen-shi* (五週年史). 1931. 147 p. DLC

History of the first five years of the rope manufacturing workers union.

- VI-152. TEISHIN-SHŌ. *Teishin rōdō undō-shi* (通信労働運動史). Tsūshin Bunka Shinkōkai. 1949, 1951. 2 v. CST-H; CU; DLC; IEN; MiU NNC (v. 1)

A voluminous pre- and postwar history of the communication workers union in Japan. The first volume contains 1300 pages, the second, 450 pages. The history was not compiled by the labor union but by the labor bureau of the Ministry of Communications and claims to present not a solution, but "objective facts" on the communication workers union. As can be seen from the size of the prewar section (94 p.) the emphasis is definitely on the postwar movement. The postwar movement is divided according to annual conventions which are then subdivided into the various struggles conducted by the union on a national or localized scale. Items not directly concerned with a struggle but occurring within a given period are included in that period. While the first volume covers the period from the end of the war to about March 1949, the second continues from that date for another year. The preface to the second volume states, however, that it has been compiled from the "standpoint of the Ministry of Electrical Communications," the original Ministry having been divided into two separate Ministries of Postal Services and Electrical Communications in June 1949, at the behest of General MacArthur. The communication workers union was one of the more active labor unions in the postwar period and had a radical leftwing leadership; its chairman declared his membership in the JCP in December 1948. Even after the Ministries were split, the labor union remained for a while united; later, through internal dissension, it also split. This history, though biased to

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some degree, is an excellent reference work and one of the few specialized histories. A chronology is appended to each volume, together with many useful documents on union regulations, newspaper, finances, and others.

- VI-153. TOKYO TEIKKŌ KUMIAI. KAWAGUCHI SHIBU. *Kawaguchi imono-gyō ni okeru rōdō undō 10 nen-shi* (川口鑄物業に於ける労働運動十年史). Kawaguchi. 1934. 2 v. Mimeographed. DLC

A ten year history of the unions in the "match-box" cast iron industry in Kawaguchi. This study is highly regarded because it is the history of the unionization of a segment of Japanese industry which is generally regarded as difficult to unionize.

- VI-154. YŪSEI-SHŌ. DAIJIN KAMBŌ. JINJI-BU. KANRI-KA. *Yūsei rōdō undō-shi* (郵政労働運動史). 1953. 726 p. TUK

History of the postal workers union in Japan from April 1949 to May*1951. This is a continuation of an earlier history of the communications workers union, entitled *Teishin rōdō undō-shi*. The report was based on materials available in the Ministry of Postal Affairs and clearly states it is written from the management point of view but tries to convey facts rather than analyze the movement. Part I is devoted to a presentation of the political, economic and labor situation in Japan. Part II in general follows the content outline of the *Teishin rōdō undō-shi*. (VI-152).

- VI-155. ZENKOKU MITSUI TANKŌ RŌDŌ KUMIAI RENGŌKAI. *Eiyū naki 113-nichi no tataikai* (英雄なき 113 日の斗ひ). Rōdō Hōritsu Jumpō-sha. 1954. 303 p. TUK

"The 113 days struggle without a hero" is a detailed and documented report and evaluation of the Mitsui coal miners union fight from August to November 1953 against personnel retrenchment. The white paper starts with a self criticism ranging from a review of struggle slogans, limitations of the struggle, mass movements, and organization of each individual union. Part 2 is on struggle preparations including organizational preparedness, tactics, and livelihood security. Part 3 is an account of the struggle itself from collective bargaining, and court fight. Part 4 reports on the activities of the miners wives association and the youth corps and other miscellaneous episodes. Various charts, tables and relevant documents are appended. This strike was famous for its new type of struggle based on the geographical area and utilizing the family as a struggle unit.

- VI-156. ZENKOKU SEN'I SANGYŌ RŌDŌ KUMIAI. HŌSEI-BU. *Omi kenshi hōtei tosō kiroku* (近江絹絲法廷斗争記録). Rōdō Hōritsu Jumpō-sha. 1955. 479 p. TUK

Record of the legal struggle of the Omi silk workers unions in 1954. This strike lasted for 106 days and since it aimed at obtaining basic democratic rights it was commonly known as the "strite for human rights." They fought for such items as freedom of marriage, secrecy of communication and observation of the labor standards law.

- VI-157. ZEN-NIHON KYŌIKU KUMIAI KYŌGIKAI TOSŌ-SHI HENSHŪ IINKAI. *Kyōiku kumiai undō-shi* (教育組合運動史). Shūkan Kyōiku Shimbun-sha. 1948. 407p. DLC; IEN; NNC

History of the teachers union movement from 1945 to the unification of the movement in 1948.

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E. Periodicals and Newspapers

Only a few periodicals on the labor movement have been selected for inclusion. Collections of actual copies of newspapers and periodicals tend to concentrate in two institutions, the Library of Congress and the Hoover Library at Stanford University. Recently, however, the East Asiatic Library at the University of California (Berkeley) has been collecting a large number of prewar periodicals and newspapers on microfilm. Although information concerning this microfilm collection was obtained during the last stages of the compilation of this bibliography, as many items as possible have been included here.

Prewar periodicals are, in general, scarce and difficult to find. As compared to union organs, prewar non-union periodicals are relatively more plentiful. A fair number have found their way to the United States. In the Library of Congress, the compiler found many fragmentary sets of numerous periodicals and newspapers published by labor unions, labor federations and other organizations; these have not been included in this section. An unfortunate characteristic of many collections is their incompleteness; few libraries have few complete sets of either pre- or postwar periodicals and newspapers.

In the postwar period, the periodicals of immediate significance would be those of the national labor federations and the larger labor unions. Even within the comparatively short period of the past ten years many newspapers and union organs are now rare items.

A selection of the available anarchist newspapers and periodicals have been included in Chapter III-D.

As the ramifications of the labor movement are great, it is not practical to list all the periodicals and newspapers containing material on the labor movement; many of the periodicals and newspapers mentioned in Chapter IV-D contain information on the labor movement.

1. Prewar Periodicals and Newspapers

a. Union organs

VI-158. *Kai'in* (海員). Published monthly by Nihon Kai'in Kumiai. DLC has almost complete set from Sept. 1929 to Dec. 1934 (missing 1932 completely).

VI-159. *Kangyō rōdō shimbun* (官業労働新聞). Published by Kangyō Rōdō Shimbun-sha as organ of Kangyō Rōdō Kansai Dōmeikai. Edited by Murai

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Kōnosuke. Issued bimonthly. First and last publication dates not clear. CU has a microfilm copy of nos. 63-108 (Jan. 1925—Dec. 1926), except for missing nos. 71, 76, 81, 97, 98, 105.

VI-106. *Kumiai kaigi* (組合会議). Published by an organ of Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Kaigi. Edited by Kamijō Aiichi. Issued as bimonthly for 11 issues from Jan. to Dec. 1938. Succeeded by *Rōdō kokusaku*. CU has a complete microfilm copy except for one issue, Mar. 1938, which was not published.

VI-161. *Nihon rōdō shimbun* (日本労働新聞). Organ of Zenrō Tōitsu Zenkoku Kaigi, and edited by Katō Kanjū. DLC has nos. 1-4 (Dec. 1, 1931—Feb. 1, 1932), 11-15 (Jan. 1, 1933—July 10, 1933).

VI-162. *Rōdō* (労働). Organ of Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei. Edited by Suzuki Bunji; from Oct. 1922 changed to Matsuoka Komakichi. Published monthly for 193 issues from Jan. 1920 to Dec. 1935. Numbered consecutively from its predecessor, *Rōdō oyobi sangyō* from no. 101 to no. 293. Succeeded by *Kumiai kaigi*. CU has a microfilm copy.

VI-163. *Rōdō kokusaku* (労働国策). Published by and organ of Nihon Rōdō Kokusaku Kyōkai. Edited by Kamijō Aiichi. Numbered consecutively from its predecessor, *Kumiai kaigi*, from no. 12 to no. 26 (Jan. 1939—June 1940); July, Sept. 1939, and Jan. 1940 not issued. CU has a complete microfilm copy.

VI-164. *Rōdō oyobi sangyō* (労働及産業). Organ of Yūaikai. Edited by Suzuki Bunji. Published monthly as successor to *Yūai shimpō* from no. 39 to no. 100 (Nov. 1914—Dec. 1919). Succeeded by *Rōdō*, organ of Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei. CU has a complete microfilm copy.

VI-165. *Rōdōsha shimbun* (労働者新聞). Published by Rōdōsha Shimbunsha as organ of Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei Kansai Rōdō Dōmei. Edited by Kagawa Toyohiko. Issued monthly in the beginning; later changed to bimonthly. First and last publication dates not clear. CU has a microfilm copy of nos. 35-130 (Mar. 1921—Mar. 1925), except for missing nos. 38, 40-58, 60, 78-80, 83, 91, 109, 113, 124, 129.

VI-166. *Rōdō shimun* (労働新聞). Organ of Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei Kantō Chihō Hyōgikai. Published twice monthly from Jan. 17, 1925 for nine issues and then re-numbered for 52 issues to Mar. 1928 when *Rōdō shimbun* became organ of Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Hyōgikai after June 1925. CU has a microfilm copy of nos. 1-9, 1-30, 40, 42-44, 46-47, 50-52.

VI-167. *Rōdō shimbun* (労働新聞). Originally to be issued twice a month, but actually irregularly published. Published from Dec. 5, 1928 to about Nov. 1934. First six issues published by Rōdō Shimbun-sha as successor to a newspaper of the same name and organ of the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai

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Hyōgikai. From no. 7 *Rōdō shimbun* became the organ of the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Kyōgikai. DLC has reproductions of nos. 1-11 (Dec. 5, 1928—Feb. 8, 1930) included in *Tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu shiryō*, no. 9 (Apr. 15, 1930), compiled and published by Naimu-shō Keiho-kyoku, and about 65 copies of the original newspaper from nos. 4 to 100 (Nov. 7, 1933) including numerous extras; CU has a microfilm copy of about 65% of these issues, starting with no. 1.

VI-168. *Yūai shimpō* (友愛新報). Published by Shuei-sha as organ of Yūaikai. Edited by Suzuki Bunji. Monthly to Aug. 1913 and bimonthly thereafter. Published for 38 issues from Dec. 1912 to Oct. 1914. Later became *Rōdō oyobi sangyō* and then *Rōdō*. CU has a complete microfilm copy.

*b. Non-union periodicals**i. General*

VI-169. *Dai-ni musansha shimbun*. See no. IV-551.

VI-170. *Intanashonaru*. See no. IV-556.

VI-171. *Kaikyū-sen*. See no. IV-559.

VI-172. *Marukusu-shugi*. See no. IV-565.

VI-173. *Musansha shimbun*. See no. IV-572.

VI-174. *Nihon kōtsū rōdō shimbun* (日本交通労仲新聞). Published by Nihon Kōtsū Rōdō Shimbun-sha. DLC has nos. 8 (Oct. 29, 1931), 15, 21, 23, 24-25, 44, 55, 60, 108 (Apr. 28, 1940).

VI-175. *Puroretaria kagaku*. See no. IV-582.

VI-176. *Rōdō mondai tsūshin* (労仲問題通信). Published weekly by Nihon Shakai Mondai Tsūshin-sha on politics and labor. DLC has fairly complete collection for 1930-33.

VI-177. *Rōdōsha* (労働者). Published by Rōdō-sha. Edited by Yoshida Hajime. Irregularly published from Apr. 1921; date of last publication not clear. Except for nos. 2 and 4, CU has a microfilm copy of nos. 1-10 (Apr. 1921—May 1922).

VI-178. *Rōdōsha* (労働者). Published by Rōdō-sha. Edited by Kamimichi Hisazō. Issued monthly from Jan. 1926 to Mar. 1928. CU has a microfilm copy of vol. 1, no. 1, vol. 2, nos. 1-2, 4-11, 13-14.

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VI-179. *Rōdō shūhō* (労働週報). Published by Rōdō Shūhō-sha. Edited by Abe Ryūichi. Publication regularity changed from weekly, bimonthly, monthly back to weekly. Published for 39 issues from Feb. 1922 to Mar. 1923. CU has a complete microfilm copy.

VI-180. *Rōdō shūhō* (労働週報). Published weekly from Oct. 1930 to Sept. 1939 by Rōdō Jijō Chōsajo. DLC has a few issues for 1931 and 1932, almost complete set for 1933-1935 and 1938-1939.

VI-181. *Rōdō tsūshin* (労働通信). Published three times a month by Shakai Mondai Kenkyūkai. DLC has a fairly good collection from 1929 to 1934.

VI-182. *Sangyō rōdō jihō* (産業労働時報). Published monthly by Sangyō Rōdō Chōsajo from June 1929 to Apr. 1933. The Chōsajo is generally regarded to have been under the influence of communists. This publication was guided and edited by Nozaka Sanzō and Kazahaya Yasoji both of whom later became well known communists in Japan. The contents of the periodical was not of a theoretical nature, like *Marukusu-shugi*, but devoted most of its space to a study of actuality, such as the labor movement, and working conditions. DLC has nos. 1-2, 4-49; CSt-H has nos. 10-11, 13-20, 22-24, 26-27, 29-33, 35-41, 43, 45, 47-49.

VI-183. *Sekki*. See no. IV-589.

VI-184. *Shakai seisaku jihō*. See no. IV-596.

VI-185. *Shakai undō tsūshin* (社会運動通信). Published by Shakai Undō Tsūshin-sha on a daily basis. During the late thirties the regularity of publication was changed to once a week. The title in English varies: News of the movement of workers, peasants, social democrats, and communists in Japan; Correspondence of the workers, peasants, state socialists, social-democrats, and communists in Japan. It is regarded as an excellent source for material on the prewar social movements. It is said that the information contained in each issue was either given to the paper (later a weekly) or sold to them by the participants in the leftwing movements. The *Tsūshin* was then sold to leading companies and their executives. DLC has an incomplete collection beginning with no. 84 (Jan. 15, 1930); 1930-1931 are fairly complete; 1932-33 sporadic; 1934 almost complete; 1935 very few. TUK has nos. 84-2, 272 (Jan. 15, 1930-June 30, 1937).

ii. Government periodicals

VI-186. *Hompō rōdō undō geppō* (本邦労働運動月報). Published monthly by Naimu-shō Keiho-kyoku. 1912-22 available at DLC. Marked confidential. Topical analysis of the labor movement with chronology and statistics. Each month gives the developments in three to eight important events in the labor movement.

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VI-187. *Rōdō jihō* (労働時報). Published monthly by Naimu-shō Shakai-kyoku. DLC has almost complete set from Apr. 1928 to Mar. 1943; CST-H has from Jan. 1925 to Dec. 1936. Each issue is generally divided into protection of workers, information from abroad, current notes, trade unions, labor statistics, international labor organization, labor legislation, conciliation and summarized yearly review of the domestic situation in one issue.

2. Postwar Periodicals and Newspapers

a. Union organs

The following periodicals and newspapers published by the labor unions are generally available in the Shakai Kagaku Kenkyūjo (Social Science Research Institute) of the University of Tokyo.

National labor federations

	<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Regularity</i>	<i>Date of first issue</i>	<i>Name of publishing organization</i>	<i>Abbreviated title</i>
VI-188.	Sōhyō 総評	weekly	Mar. 26, 1950	Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Sō-Hyōgikai (General Council of Trade Unions—日本労 働組 合総評議会)	Sōhyō
VI-189.	Zenrō 全労	every 10 days	Feb. 15, 1946	Zen-Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Kaigi (All Japan Congress of Trade Unions—全日本労 働組 合会 議)	Zenrō
VI-190.	Rōdō 労 働	every 10 days	May? 1946	Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Sōdōmei (Japan General Federation of Trade Unions—日本労 働組 合総 同 盟)	Sōdōmei
VI-191.	Sambetsu 産 別	weekly	Sept. 26, 1946 (Issue no. 2)	Zen-Nihon Sangyō-betsu Rōdō Kumiai Rengō (All Japan Congress of Industrial Unions—全日本産 業 別 労 働組 合 連 合)	Sambetsu

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National labor unions
Sōhyō affiliated unions

	<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Regularity</i>	<i>Date of first issue</i>	<i>Name of publishing organization</i>	<i>Abbreviated title</i>
VI-192.	Tanrō 炭労	every 10 days	Oct. 18, 1947	Nihon Tankō Rōdō Kumiai (Japan Federation of Coal Mine Workers Unions—日本炭坑労仲組合)	Tanrō
VI-193.	Gōsei kagaku 合成化学	weekly	Dec. 18, 1950	Gōsei Kagaku Sangyō Rōdō Kumiai Rengō (Federation of Synthetic Chemical Workers Union—合成化学産業労仲組合連合)	Gōka rōren
VI-194.	Tekkō rōren 鉄鉱労連	weekly	Jan. 1, 1951	Nihon Tekkō Sangyō Rōdō Kumiai Rengōkai (National Federation of Iron and Steel Workers Union—日本鉄工業労仲組合連合会)	Tekkō rōren
VI-195.	Kokutetsu shimbun 国鉄新聞	weekly	June 1, 1946	Kokutetsu Rōdō Kumiai (National Railways Workers Union—国鉄労仲組合)	Kokutetsu
	“kazokuban”	twice a month	Oct. 1, 1946	Kokutetsu Rōdō Kumiai (National Railways Workers Union—国鉄労仲組合)	Kokutetsu
VI-196.	Shitetsu shimbun [First called “Sōren nūsu”; from about Nov. 1947 changed to “Shitetsu	weekly	Jan. ? 1947	Nihon Shitetsu Rōdō Kumiai Sō-Rengōkai (Japan General Federation of Private Railway Workers Union—日本私鉄労仲組合総連合会)	Shitetsu Sōren

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	<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Regularity</i>	<i>Date of first issue</i>	<i>Name of publishing organization</i>	<i>Abbreviated title</i>
	rōdō''; changed on Sept. 6, 1952 to "Shitetsu shimbun"] 私鉄新聞				
VI-197.	Zentei shimbun 全通新聞	weekly	Oct. 20, 1950	Zen-Teishin Jūgyō-in Kumiai (All Communications Employees Union—全通信従業員組合)	Zentei
VI-198.	Densan 電産	every 10 days	May ? 1947	Nihon Denki Sangyō Rōdō Kumiai (Japan Electric Power Workers Union—日本電気産業労働組合)	Densan
VI-199.	Nikkyōso <i>kyōiku shimbun</i> 日教組教育新聞	weekly	May 20, 1949	Nihon Kyōshokuin Kumiai (Japan Teachers Union—日本教職員組合)	Nikkyōso
VI-200.	Zenkō 全鉱	weekly	Sept. 1, 1947	Zen-Nihon Kinzoku Kōzan Rōdō Kumiai Rengōkai (All Japan Federation of Metal Mine Workers Union—全日本金属鉱山労働組合連合会)	Zenkō
<i>Zenro affiliated unions</i>					
VI-201.	Zen-tankō 全炭鉱	every 10 days	Apr. 30, 1949	Zēnkoku Sekitan Kōgyō Rōdō Kumiai (National Coal Mine Workers Union—全国石炭鉱業労働組合)	Zen-tankō
VI-202.	Zenkin Dōmei 全金同盟	monthly	Apr. 1, 1951	Zenkoku Kinzoku Sangyō Rōdō Kumiai Dōmei (National	

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<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Regularity</i>	<i>Date of first issue</i>	<i>Name of publishing organization</i>	<i>Abbreviated title</i>
			Federation of Metal Workers Union—全国金属産業労働組合同盟)	
VI-203. Zensen 全織	weekly	Apr. 1, 1949	Zenkoku Sen'i Sangyō Rōdō Kumiai Dōmei (National Federation of Textile Industry Workers Union—全国繊維産業労働組合同盟)	Zensen
VI-204. Kai'in 海員	monthly	Apr. 25, 1946	Zen-Nihon Kai'in Kumiai (All Japan Seamen's Union—全日本海員組合)	Kai'in
<i>Sambetsu affiliated unions</i>				
VI-205. Kinzoku Rōdōsha 金属労働者	weekly	Sept. 7, 1946	Zen-Nihon Kinzoku Rōdō Kumiai (All Japan Metal Workers Union—全日本金属労働組合)	
VI-206. Jikatabi じかたび	weekly or 2-3 times a month	Oct. 13, 1952 (No. 11)	Zen-Nihon Jiyū Rōdōsha Kumiai (All Japan Free Workers Union—全日本自由労働者組合)	Zen-Nichi Jirō
<i>Non-affiliated unions</i>				
VI-207. Denki rōren 電気労連	twice a month	June 15, 1952	Zen-Nihon Denki Kiki Rōdō Kumiai Rengōkai (All Japan Federation of Electric Machine & Equipment Workers Union—全日本電気機器労働組合連合会)	Denki Rōren
VI-208. Zen-ginren 金銀連	?	Aug. 1, 1947— July 26,	Zenkoku Ginkō Jūgyōin Kumiai Rengōkai (National	Zen-ginren

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<i>Name of publication</i>	<i>Regularity</i>	<i>Date of first issue</i>	<i>Name of publishing organization</i>	<i>Abbreviated title</i>
		1956	Federation of Bank Employees Union— 全国銀行従業員組合連合会)	
VI-209. Kikansha shimbun 機関車新聞	weekly	May 23, 1956	Nihon Kokuyū Tetsudō Kikansha Rōdō Kumiai (National Railway Locomotive Engineers Union—日本国有鉄道機関車労組)	Kikansha Rōso
VI-210. Kami pa rōren 紙パ労連	weekly	Sept. 1, 1948	Zenkoku Kami Parupu Sangyō Rōdō Kumiai Rengōkai (National Federation of Paper & Pulp Industry Workers Union—全国紙パルプ産業労組聯合会)	Kami pa rōren

*b. Non-union periodicals**i. General*

VI-211. *Chūō rōdō jihō* (中央労仲時報). Published monthly by Chūō Rōdō Iinkai Jimu-kyoku. 1946t. TUK

Monthly report of the activities of the Central Labor Relations Committee. It is useful for its report on the labor disputes mediated by the Committee.

VI-212. *Rōdō keizai jumpō* (労仲経済旬報). Published by Rōdō Keizaisha three times a month. 1947t. TUK (from 1953)

A labor review published every ten days, the political slant of which lies somewhere between the Left SDP and the JCP. If used judiciously this periodical can be of value to the student of Japanese labor.

VI-213. *Rōdō mondai kenkyū* (労仲問題研究). Chūō Rōdō Gakuen. Monthly. 1946-51. CSt-H

The complete set of 49 issues of the postwar successor to the prewar periodical

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Shakai seisaku jihō. When the publisher, Chūō Rōdō Gakuen, was disbanded, the publication was terminated.

ii. Government documents

VI-214. *Rōdō kumiai chōsa hōkoku* (労働組合調査報告). Rōdō-shō Daijin Kambō Rōdō Tōkei Chōsa-bu. 1947t. Annual. TUK

Annual survey of the labor unions in Japan. Begins with an analysis of union membership, organization, dues, federations, collective bargaining agreements, and union finances. Part II is a listing of major labor federations and national organizations giving their location, union membership and number of unions. Part III is a collection of statistics which complement the analytical section. The statistical headings are bi-lingual. This survey is basic for obtaining official figures on the state of labor union organization in any one year. The analytical section though comparatively short is a useful summary of labor organization and its trends.

VI-215. *Rōdō tōkei chōsa geppō* (労働統計調査月報). Rōdō-shō Rōdō Tōkei Chōsa-bu. 1949t. Monthly. TUK

"Monthly Labor Statistics and Research Bulletin" contains a review of the labor economy, trends in labor statistics, special articles, foreign labor conditions, a bibliography on labor problems, and at the end, labor statistics. Rather than articles on the political labor movement *per se*, the devoted to more technical labor problems.

CHAPTER VII

THE AGRARIAN MOVEMENT

Upheavals of agrarian discontent are not a recent phenomena in Japan; they occurred at intervals prior to the Meiji era. But it was only after World War I that attempts were made to channel the pent-up dissatisfactions of the farmers through newly formed farmers unions. These unions were among the prime movers in establishing the first proletarian political party in the mid-twenties. Although the prewar proletarian political parties obtained a considerable portion of their support from the rural population, where the influence of the farmers unions was greatest, the labor unions gradually became more important than the farmers unions as a source of support.

Immediately after World War II, the agrarian movement, especially the farmers unions, surged forward with great vigor and enthusiasm. The land reform program was energetically pushed by such unions; but when the reform program came to an end, the driving force of the farmers unions almost completely disappeared, except in certain special areas. Having overcome the most obvious obstacle (the landlord, through the re-distribution of land and associated changes) the farmers unions have been unable to substitute the faraway national government, and the "monopoly capitalists," who are supposed to exert pressures in devious ways on the farmers, as objects of contempt and foci of struggles. These unions are trying to rally the farmers around the taxation problem and the threat of the resurgence of their former landlords, thereby reenergizing the inert farmers unions. In the postwar period, the leftwing political parties have not relied upon rural support for their electoral successes; labor unions have been their mainstay. Since support from labor unions may be reaching a point of diminishing returns, the political parties are beginning to pay more attention to the rural vote.

The emphasis of this chapter is on activities, philosophies, policies, and developments concerning the farmers unions and on the tenant farmer disputes. The political aspects of the farmers union movement as an integral part of the leftwing social movements rather than agricultural economics have been stressed. (For agricultural policies of the various leftwing political parties see Chapter IV-C). Certain aspects of agricultural economics are treated in the controversy over the development of capitalism in Japan. For instance, the extent to which agriculture was governed by feudalistic influences in the post-Meiji period was one of the crucial issues in this controversy (See Chapter IV-B).

While there is a very large amount of material concerning the agrarian movement, it seems Japanese scholars have only recently become conscious

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of a lack of "scientific and empirical" studies of the agrarian movement.* Most records, studies and materials have emanated from governmental authorities which "regulated" or tried to "guide" the agrarian movements and the activists and practitioners of the organized movement who opposed the government. It is deplored that disinterested observers have usually been far removed from the regions and interests of this contest. Consequently, the types of materials now available are regarded as presenting a rather one-sided interpretation.

Government documents, such as those published by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry on tenant farmer disputes, (*Nōchi nempō*, VII-62), are regarded as conscientiously reporting the obvious facts without concern for the delicate points of the dispute, and without a feeling for the nuances of the contest. Although their value for socio-political research is limited, they constitute a valuable record of collective experiences. On the other hand, the Ministries of Home Affairs and Justice were alert to the possible political implications of the agrarian movement. Studies by these governmental agencies are not widely known nor thoroughly evaluated by Japanese scholars. The annual report compiled by the Ministry of Home Affairs on social movements in Japan (II-6) would yield considerable data on the farmers union movement.

Studies of the agrarian movement, especially of the farmers union movement, by non-participants are not as numerous as for the labor union movement. According to the afore-mentioned brief commentary, studies by activists or researchers close to the movement were concerned not with factual information, and the analysis of union development nor with the lack of such treatments regarding a particular rural community but rather with the energetic, forceful and so-called "significant" activities of the professional worker in union headquarters. A tendency to study the agrarian movement from a more analytical and empirical viewpoint has only recently developed in contrast to the more formalistic and doctrinaire approach. The communist camp, it seems, has been more active in studying the agrarian movement. The SDP, though recognizing in theory the political value of the rural vote has not studied the farmers movement so thoroughly and has not wooed the rural vote to its advantage in the postwar period. In prewar years several persons identified with the Social Democratic camp wrote on the movement but failed to published anything of note in the postwar years. One empirical study in this chapter on the effect of the land reform program (VII-34) was conducted under the supervision of a radical leftwing researcher. An excellent but voluminous documentary account of the land reform program in postwar Japan including the effects of the program upon the farmers union movement has been compiled by the Nōchi Kaikaku Kiroku

* There is a short informative commentary on materials (principally books and documents) and the state of research in this field in *Nōchi kaikaku to nōmin undō* (VII-2), p. 198-20.

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Linkai (The Land Reform Recording Committee) (VII-26).

The government's land policy and the prewar activities of the Agricultural Association (Nōkai) are studied in two items (VII-29, and VII-32) by conservative analysts. The agrarian movement is described in its relation to the Japanese economy and its international position by leftwing economists and students of the agrarian movement of varying hues in VII-23.

Though written from a communist point of view, Vols. 2 and 3 of *Nōgyō nōmin mondai kōza* by Kawai Etsuzō (VII-29) is the only study that concentrates on agricultural policies advocated by the postwar political parties (from the conservative parties to the JCP) and on the various types of organizations working for the allegiance of the rural population.

Histories of the agrarian and farmers unions movement by Aoki Keiichirō (VII-8), Inaoka Susumu (VII-13), Kimura Yasuji (VII-17), Onishi Toshio (VII-33), Shōbara Tatsu (VII-35) and Yamaguchi Bushū (VII-39) are considered the better histories.

A. Bibliographies

VII-1. KOKURITSU KOKKAI TOSHOKAN. CHŌSA RIPPŌ KŌSA-KYOKU. *Nōmin undō kankei bunken mokuroku kō* (農民運動関係文献目録稿). 1956. 177 p. Mimeographed. PC

An unannotated bibliography of books and magazine articles on the farmers movement in Japan. It was compiled by the National Diet Library at the request and with the assistance of the Nōmin Kumiai-shi Kankōkai headed by Sugiyama Motojirō, a socialist member of the House of Councillors. The emphasis has been placed on studies made of the farmers movement from 1920 to 1942. Approximately 2300 items have been included in this list. The first part consists of books and government documents, the second of periodical articles, a reproduction of two recent lists compiled by the Ohara Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjō. The last section is the same as no. VII-23.

VII-2. *Nōchi kaikaku to nōmin undō* (農地改革と農民運動). Jichōsha. 1955. 244 p. Compiled by Sonraku Shakai Kenkyūkai. PC

Chapter 7 entitled "Nōmin undō ni kansuru shuyō na bunken to shiryō" (p. 198-217) is a bibliography mainly of books, mimeographed and printed, from the early Meiji period to the postwar period. The bibliography is prefaced by comments on the basis of selection, and on the state of research on the agrarian movement in Japan. The scope of the bibliography is limited to the rather narrow interpretation of the agrarian movement, the tenant farmer disputes, land problems in the prewar period, and the relations between the state, bureaucracy, corporations and the farmer in the postwar period. The content outline of the bibliography is roughly as follows: The agrarian movement in the early Meiji period; government documents, principally the Nōchi nempō; court records of the application of the tenant mediation law; records of police and other law enforcement agencies; semi-governmental agencies and other associations interested in agrarian problems; and numerous reports on the postwar land reform program; pre- and postwar studies, and periodical literature published

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by active participants in the farmers unions; books, monographs, reports, yearbooks, etc. by researchers; and finally documentary reports by the farmers themselves.

- VII-3. *Nōmin undō-shi kankei bunken mokuroku* (農民運動史関係文献日録). 1954. 42 p. Mimeographed. Compiled by Nōmin Undō-shi Kenkyūkai. 農民運動史研究資料 4. TUS

Bibliography on the history of the farmers movement from 1918-1919 to the end World War II. It is divided according to the year of publication and includes all types of materials, documents, books, pamphlets, from all types of sources: the government, police, individual memoirs, etc.

- VII-4. OHARA SHAKAI MONDAI KENKYŪJO. *Shōzo shiryō mokuroku* (所蔵資料目録). v. 1. 1955. 44 p. Mimeographed. 農民運動史資料 1. PC

An unannotated list of items in the library of the Ohara Research Institute, now housed in Hōsei University in Tokyo. The bibliography is divided into two parts: 1921-1930 and only 1926. The respective periods contain 217 items and 296 items. This is the first of a series: Volume 1 is a bibliography (this item) and volume 2 is a reproduction of documents on the agrarian movement in 1926-1927 (*See no.* VII-23).

- VII-5. ONO, Takeo. *Nōmin shiryō kaisetsu* (農民資料解説). Iwanami Shoten. 1935. 62 p. 日本資本主義発達史講座才 4 部. CSt-H; CtY; DKC

An annotated bibliography on the farmers movement in Japan. The bibliography is divided into two parts: The Tokugawa era and the Meiji period. The first part on the Tokugawa era consists of an explanation of each item in the author's *Kinsei chihō keizai shiryō*, a ten volume compilation of materials on the farmers movement during this era. The second section is an explanation of many unpublished materials in the author's possession. The Meiji period is divided into four parts: the organization of the farm village, history of agricultural production, prices of agricultural products, social classes in the farm village.

B. Histories

1. Books

- VII-6. AOKI, Keiichi. *Nihon nōgyo mondai kōwa* (日本農業問題講話). Kyō-seikaku. 1933. 182 p. DLC

An interpretation of the agricultural problem from the Marxian point of view. Aoki discusses the feudalistic character of agriculture, capitalism and agricultural depression in Japan, class structure in agriculture, the agricultural policy of bourgeois landowners and the demands of proletarian farmers, and finally agriculture and the JCP. The book was severely deleted and banned by the government.

- VII-7. AOKI, Keiichi. *Nihon nōmin kumiai undō-shi* (日本農民組合運動史). Taishū Kōron-sha. 1931. 461 p. CSt-H; CtY; CU; DLC

History of the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai, and the Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai from the inception of the former in 1921 to 1931 by which time it had amalgamated with another union to form the latter. A short bibliography is included at the end of the book.

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- VII-8. AOKI, Keiichirō. *Nihon nōmin undō-shi* (日本農民運動史). Minshu Hyōron-sha. 1947. 524 p. CLU; CtY; CU; DLC; IEN; MH; MiU; NNC

History of the farmer's movement in Japan from 1914 to the postwar era. The author's first book on the same subject was banned by the government but was rewritten in 1936 for translation into Chinese. The present book is an enlarged and slightly revised version of the 1936 rewriting. There are three introductions: by Kuroda Hisao, Nomizo Masaru, Sugisama Motojirō, and Itō Ritsu. The first three are affiliated with the postwar SDP, while the last person was a member of the JCP.

- VII-9. HIRANO, Yoshitarō. *Nōgyō mondai to tochi henkaku*. See no. IV-175.

- VII-10. INAMURA, Ryūichi. *Nihon no nōson o kataru—nōson fujin aishi* (日本の農村を語る——農村婦人哀史). Senshi-sha. 1931. 341 p. CSt-H; CtY

On the deplorable conditions prevalent among the farming villages including the slave-like working conditions and treatment of farm women. This book is the companion of the author's *Nōson wa izuko e yuku*.

- VII-11. INAMURA, Ryūichi. *Nōmin undō no keizai-teki narabini seiji-teki kiso* (農民運動の経済的並に政治的基礎). Nishōdō. 1927. 160 p. 農民運動叢書 2. CSt-H; CtY; DLC

On the economic and political basis for the farmers movement. The first four chapters concern a description of the position of the farmer in the capitalist system. The remaining chapters are on the economic and political struggles of the farmer and his means, the type of farmer's union that exists in Japan, the necessity of a national farmer's union, the impasse of the farmers movement and the existing political parties of the day, such as Nihon Nōmin-tō, Rōdō Nōmin-tō. Inamura was active in the leftwing political parties from prewar years and a prominent leader of the Diet members in the SDP from the rural areas.

- VII-12. INAMURA, Ryūichi. *Nōson wa izuko e yuku* (農村は何処へ行く). Senshin-sha. 1930. 329 p. CSt-H; DLC

Marxian analysis of the farmers movement dwelling on such topics as agriculture and capitalism, the finances of the farm villages, the mission of the cooperative union in the farm village, class structure of the agricultural population, the political position of the farmer, and the tragedy of tenant farmer disputes.

- VII-13. INAOKA, Susumu. *Nōmin undō-shi* (農民運動史). Nihon Kagaku-sha. 1946. 180 p. 学生叢書文化科学篇 11. CSt-H

History of the farmers movement by a former member of the prewar illegal JCP and editor of the legal *Nōmin shimbun* as well as secretary of the Zennō Zenkoku Kaigi. The history covers the modern period of Japan to the present, dwelling for the most part on prewar developments.

- VII-14. ISHIDA, Yūzen. *Nōmin undō no riron to jissai* (農民運動の理論と実際). Osada. Rōdō Mondai Kenkyū-jo. 1931. 135 p. CSt-H; NNC

On the "theory and reality" of the farmers movement by member of the central committee of the prewar Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai. It is an explanation of the struggle

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organization and criteria determining tactics, drawing upon the experiences of real incidents to be used in the struggle for land. Ishida is a member of the postwar SDP Diet delegation.

- VII-15. ITÔ, Ritsu. *Nômin undô* (農民運動). Chōryū-sha. 1950. 132 p.

CSt-H

A communist interpretation of the postwar farmers movement. Useful in that it puts forth unofficially the JCP viewpoint of the postwar movement, as Itô was a member of the JCP Politburo.

- VII-16. KIMURA, Yasuji. *Gendai nômin undô no tembô*. See no. VII-17.

- VII-17. KIMURA, Yasuji. *Kindai Nihon nômin undô hattatsu-shi* (近代日本農民運動発達史). Hakuyō-sha. 1931. 2 v. Volume 2 entitled: *Gendai nômin undô no tembô*.
DLC; IEN; NNC

History of the modern Japanese farmers movement. Although the main title of volume 2 changes to *Gendai nômin undô no tembô*, each volume has a common subtitle: *Nihon nômin undô-shi*. Kimura was the editor-in-chief of the agricultural newspaper *Nihon nōgyō shimbun*. The chapter headings for volume 1 are: the substance of the farmer's union movement, the historical mission of the farming class, beginnings of the farmer's union movement, the oppression of agriculture with the development of capitalism, agricultural exploitations, the collapse of the farmer's economy, the development of the proletarian liberation movement. The contents of volume 2 are: the development of tenant farmer disputes and the farmer's union, the development of unions conciliatory toward landowners, and the agrarian movement in Korea and Formosa. One of the few overall analyses of the farmers movement.

- VII-18. KURODA, Hisao and IKEDA, Tsuneo. *Nihon nômin kumiai undô-shi* (日本農民組合運動史). Shinchi Shobō. 1949. 332 p.

CtY; CSt-H; CU; DLC; MH; MiU; NNC

Both authors were active participants in the farmers union movement. Kuroda was a member of the House of Representatives, and Ikeda, of the House of Councillors. It is a brief review of the farmers movement up to the establishment of the first farmers union. A description of the first through sixth union conventions of the Zenkoku Nômin Kumiai and the subsequent splits that occurred in that union, the movement in the depression, and its fight under a semi-war-time organization are discussed. There is a concluding chapter on the postwar movement.

- VII-19. KYŌCHŌ-KAI. *Nōson shakai undô no dōkō* (農村社会運動の動向). 1932. 218 p.

CSt-H; CU; DLC

Compiled by a staff member of the Kyōchō-kai as a factual reference book. The period covered is from July 1931-June 1932. The book is divided into two parts: first, the farmers movement, a description of the activities of the various tenant farmers unions, their relationship with tenant farmer disputes, their geographical distribution, the internal strife of these unions, the farm policies of the various proletarian parties, the establishment of the Nihon Nômin Kumiai Sōdōmei; and secondly, the tenant farmer disputes, a description of the general tendencies, the tactics used, and the nature of their demands.

- VII-20. KYŌCHŌ-KAI. *Saikin no nômin undô* (最近の農民運動). 1931. 185 p.
CSt-H; DLC; NNC

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Historical report of the farmers movement and tenant farmer disputes from April 1930 to March 1931.

- VII-21. MAEKAWA, Shōichi. *Nōmin kumiai no hanashi* (農民組合の話). Rōdō Mondai Kenkyūjo. 1930. 154 p.

On the farmer problem by a standing member of the central committee of the prewar Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai and who was also executive committee member of the leftwing party, the Rōdō Nōmin-tō. The first part is a popularized theoretical discussion of the causes of the ills of the agricultural community, while the second part concerns the organization of the struggle, the farmers union and other methods for the alleviation of these ills.

- VII-22. *Nichinō bunretsu mondai shiryō* (日農分裂問題資料). 1956. 183 p. Mimeographed. Compiled by Ohara Shakai Kenkyūjo (Hōsei University). 農民運動史資料 2. DLC

A reproduction of declarations, statements, resolutions, directives, reports, telegrams, and letters connected with the 1926-27 split in the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai. Many of these documents, according to Professor Oshima Kiyoshi, the compiler, were never intended for future reproduction; however the names of all persons mentioned in the documents have been conscientiously reproduced. The actual documents are in the Ohara Research Institute in Hosei University and were chosen from four bundles of documents containing these raw materials of the period.

- VII-23. *Nihon nōgyō nempō* (日本農業年報). 1948t.

DLC (1948-50, 54-56) NDL (1948-55)

Although this series is called an "agricultural yearbook" each issue is composed of a number of specially selected essays. In the beginning this series was compiled by the Minshu-shugi Kagakusha Kyōkai, generally identified as supporting the thinking of the radical left, and published by the Getsuyō Shobō from 1948 to 1950. After several years interval, the Chūō Kōron-sha continued publishing the series under the editorial supervision of Yamada Katsujirō, Yamada Moritarō, Kondō Yasuo, and Uno Kōzō, all well known experts in economics and agriculture. Each issue in the beginning was divided into a general statement of the internal situation in Japan, various aspects of the agricultural problem such as agriculture under the "Dodge Line," state monopoly capitalism and agriculture, the 1947 agricultural census, and thirdly, a review of the international agricultural situation. The latter series devotes each issue to one subject, Such as Japanese agriculture under the "MSA" system, the food problem from an international point of view and the fishing industry, and criticism of the Democratic Party's (then the government party) agricultural policy. Under each section there is an item dealing with the agrarian movement.

- VII-24. NIHON RŌDŌ MONDAI KENKYŪJO. *Nōmin kumiai undō no gensei* (農民組合運動の現勢). 1934. 80 p. 農民運動資料 1 CSt-H; DLC

Survey of the seven principal farmers unions as of April 1934 according to their location, date of foundation, platform, officers, membership, branch offices, political party supported, organ, and youth section.

- VII-25. *Nihon shihon-shugi kōza: rōdōsha to nōmin*. v. 7. See no. IV-234.

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- VII-26. NŌCHI KAIKAKU KIROKU IINKAI. *Nōchi kaikaku temmatsu gaiyō* (農地改革顛末概要). Nōsei Chōsa-kai. 1951. 1361 p. TUK

A most voluminous account of the land reform program in postwar Japan. It is well-documented and has many charts, tables and diagrams. The report begins with a review of land legislation in Japan, followed by an account of the land reform law, the reform program itself, the agricultural land committees, the effects of the program upon the various farmers organizations, the amount of land re-distributed and the cost of the program. It also has a useful account of the farmers union movement from the twenties to the end of the land reform program but does not include a survey of the internal relationships of the rural community and the farmers union.

- VII-27. *Nōchi kaikaku to nōmin undō* (農地改革と農民運動). Jichō-sha. 1955. 244 p. Compiled by Sonraku Shaikai Kenkyūkai. PC

A collection of academic essays on the influence of the land reform program on village society, and its relations with the farmers movement. Many of the essays are based on empirical research conducted in certain villages concerning the leadership of the farmers movement, the social structure of villages, type of land owners, the manner in which conservative and opposition forces counteract each other, youth groups and their influence upon the farmers movement, the contrast between the pre- and postwar farmers movements, a special study of a "communist" village and the postwar land reform program and the farmers movement, and the social origins of the officers of certain farm villages.

- VII-28. NŌGYŌ HATTATSU-SHI CHŌSA-KAI. *Nihon nōgyō hattatsu-shi* (日本農業発達史). Chūō Kōron-sha. 1955. v. 7 (778 p.) NDL

Only chapter 7 (p. 149-255) is selected as useful in the study of the farmers movement. It is a well-documented study of the period immediately after World War I to about 1927 concerning the government's agricultural policy and the activities of the Nōkai (Agricultural Association) in their relation to the tenant farmers movement and the farmers movement in general. The first section of this chapter describes the changing agricultural economy during these years. The next section is on the basis of agricultural administration, the tenancy law, and the nationalization of land. The third section is on the farmers movement, the tenant, the tenant farmers disputes, a national review of the movement with a number of case studies. The last section is on the activities of the Nōkai. This series was compiled under the editorial supervision of Tōhata Seiichi and Morinaga Toshitarō. Tōhata is a well-known agricultural expert.

- VII-29. *Nōgyō nōmin mondai kōza* (農業農民問題講座). Otsuki Shoten. 1955. Vols. 2 and 3. Edited by Kawai Etsuzō. NDL

Only the latter two volumes have been selected for inclusion.

Vol. 2 entitled "agriculture and the power that moves the farmer" is principally an analysis of the agricultural policies of the various political parties in Japan. The first chapter, however, is on postwar agricultural policies and the farmer dealing with U.S. policy toward Japan in regard to agriculture and the farmer, food policies, agricultural associations, land reform, taxes, the development of former military bases and their reversion to military bases again, agricultural subsidies, suppression, and the character of postwar agricultural policies. The latter, consisting of the main part of the book, is an analysis of political party policies beginning with the conservative

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parties (which are allotted the largest number of pages), followed by the left and rightwing SDP, the Worker-Farmer party and the JCP.

Vol. 3 is an analysis of the various types of organizations in the farm village, and future agricultural problems and the farmers movement. Although written from the communist point of view, this is the only book which studies the activities of land owners associations (in which are included the land owners, ultra-nationalist groups, ex-servicemen's association, and the Zen-Nihon Nōmin Kumiai), agricultural committees and agricultural cooperatives, women's associations, youth groups, the farmers union, and the labor unions and other smaller groups. In the farmers union section, the author has written most on the "Tōitsu-ha" (unification faction) of the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai (Japan Farmers' Union) which is identified as the communist group in the farmers movement. The author claims best acquaintance with the activities of this group.

- VII-30. NŌMIN UNDŌ-SHI KENKYŪ-KAI. *Kagawa nōmin undō-shi no kōzō-teki kenkyū* (香川農民運動史の構造的研究). Nōmin Undō-shi Kenkyū-kai. Nōmin Kyōiku Kyōkai. [1955]. 343 p. Mimeographed. 農民運動史資料 8 JN

A representative study of the mechanisms of the farmers movement in one of the outstanding areas—Kagawa prefecture—where the prewar farmers movement was energetic and violent. The first five chapters are on the historical significance of the Kagawa prefectural farmers movement, the structural characteristics of farming in Kagawa prefecture, the early history of the movement, the Rice Riots to the economic panic in 1922, and the farmers movement under the leadership of the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai from 1923 to 1928. The next three chapters are on three famous incidents in the farmers movement. The last three chapters are on the establishment, officers, regulations, finances, organization, the dissolution of the Nichinō, and the postwar activities of the farmers movement in Kagawa prefecture (only 10 pages long).

- VII-31. NŌSEI CHŌSA-KAI. *Nōchi kaikaku jiken kiroku* (農地改革事件記録). Nōsei Chōsa-kai. 1956. 1405 p. JN

A voluminous documentation of 72 incidents in 37 prefectures resulting from the enforcement of the land reform program soon after the end of World War II. The compilers refer to these incidents, selected as typical in the prefectures concerned, as "struggles between the landowner and the farmer as a result of the land reform program." The materials were assembled by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the agricultural sections of the local prefectural offices, and the agricultural committees concerned.

- VII-32. OGURA, Takeichi. *Tochi rippō no shi-teki kōsatsu* (土地立法の史的考察). Nōgyō Hyōron-sha. 1951. 866 p. NDL

One of the best studies on the land policy of the Japanese government from the beginning of Meiji to the end of World War II. A considerable part of the book is devoted to the drafting and enactment of various laws concerning agricultural land before and during the war. Legislation is studied in relation to the farmers movement.

In two places the tenancy law proposed by the leftwing political parties are specifically given (p. 589-602 and 627-637). The author wrote this book while he studied at the Nōgyō Sōgō Kenkyūjo, an agricultural research organization of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Before and after writing this book, the author was a ranking member of this Ministry.

- VII-33. ONISHI, Toshio. *Nōmin undō no michi* (農民運動の道). Kibōkaku. 1930. 191 p. CSt-H; DLC; IEN

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History of the farmers movement from 1867 to 1927, and an exposition on the strategy and tactics, struggle objectives and problems of organization.

- VII-34. SEIJI KEIZAI KENKYŪJO. *Tochi kaikaku no nōmin-teki keitai* (土地改革の農民的形態). Bunka Hyōron-sha. 1948. 272 p. Edited by Hirano Yoshitarō. DLC

Though edited by a radical leftwing economist, this study was conducted in co-operation with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in 1947 in connection with the agricultural land reform program. It concerns one particular village, Shiojiri-mura in Nagano prefecture. It was one of three villages surveyed three times in 1947 to assess the relationship between the farmers movement and the land reform program. Shiojiri-mura was selected for its "progressiveness," its democratic village administration, and "land control union" (*tochi kanri kumiai*) used to enforce the land reform program. The survey of Shiojiri-mura was not restricted to agricultural land but includes politics and even the cultural activities of the village. It is well documented and has one hundred tables and diagrams.

- VII-35. SHŌBARA, Tatsu. *Nōmin kumiai-ron* (農民組合論). Shakai Hyōron-sha. 1927. 221 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

A popularized edition of the history of the farmers union movement, its establishment, organization, finances, objectives, tactics, relations with politics. This history is centered around the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai, as the author is a ranking member of this union, and was an important figure in the establishment of the first leftwing political party in the middle 'twenties.

- VII-36. TAKEKAWA, Yoshinori. *Yamanashi nōmin undō-shi* (山梨農民運動史—History of the farmers movement in Yamanashi Prefecture). Kōfu. Yamatoya Shoten. 1934. 390 p. DLC

- VII-37. Tochi Seido Shiryō Hozonkai. *Nihon nōgyō kindai-ka no futatsu no michi* (日本農業近代化の二つの道). Kenshin-sha. 1943. 87 p. DLC

Collection of opinions on the land reform program gathered at the behest of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and under the direction of Yamada Moritarō, a standing director of the compiling organization. "The two ways for the modernization of agriculture" is on agrarian controversy between Itō Ritsu, Kurihara Hakuju, Toyoda Shirō, Kamiyama Shigeo and others. Appended is a short bibliography on the subject from 1945-1947.

- VII-38. YAMADA, Takeshi. *Nōmin to zeikin* (農民と税金). Nōrin Gyōsei Kenkyūkai. 1949. 260 p. CSt-H

An analysis of the relations between farmers and taxes. It begins with a comparatively brief historical report of the heavy taxation of the farmer, a theoretical discussion of this taxation, and the taxation of the farmer and the farmers movement. A short bibliography on the subject is appended.

- VII-39. YAMAGUCHI, Bushū. *Nōmin undō—nōchi kaikaku igo dō kawatta ka* (農民運動—農地改革以後どう変ったか). Otsuki Shoten. 179 p. NDL

While there are many books on the prewar farmers movement there are few on the postwar movement especially since the land reform program was carried out during

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the Allied Occupation of Japan. Since this program was put into effect, the farmers movement in general has dwindled considerably and lost much of its prewar vigor. In the author's words this book attempts to describe the present status of the movement and outline its future course. It is simply written and the result of the author's travels in the rural areas with an emphasis, it seems, on the Jōtō area northeast of Tokyo. The author is a veteran of the farmers movement starting his career in 1932 but after he ran for office on the pro-communist Rōnō-tō ticket in 1949, he gradually shifted toward the communists. Disagreeing with the JCP leadership, it is believed he may now be an ex-JCP member.

VII-40. YAMAGUCHI, Bushū. *Sengo Nihon no nōmin undō* (戦後日本の農民運動—The postwar farmers movement in Japan). Kōdo-sha. 1953. 238 p. NNC

VII-41. Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai Sōhombu. *Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai sōritsu jūgo-nen shōshi* (全国農民組合創立十五年小史). Osaka. 1936. 151 p. 2 v. DLC (v. 1)

A short history of the Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai, one of the principal farmers unions, founded originally in 1922 as the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai. The chairman in 1936 was Sugiyama Motojirō, elected in postwar years to the Diet.

VII-42. Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai. Okayama-ken Rengō-kai. *Zennō Okayama tōsō-shi* (全農岡山斗争史). Okayama. Doi Shoten. 1936. 132 p. DLC

History of the activities of the Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai, a leftwing farmers union, in Okayama prefecture from 1922 to 1936.

2. Documents.

VII-43. FUKUOKA-KEN. TOKKŌ-FU. *Nōmin undō gaikyō* (農民運動概況). 1934. approx. 200 p. Mimeographed. Marked secret. CSt-H

Account of the farmers movement, including the right and leftwings, in Fukuoka prefecture during 1934.

VII-44. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Jihen-ka nōson sho-jōsei*. See no. III-58.

VII-45. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shōwa...-nen-ju ni okeru shakai undō no jōkyō*. See no. II-6.

VII-46. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shuppan Keisatsu-hō*. See no. II-17.

VII-47. [NAIMU-SHŌ] SHAKAI-KYOKU. RŌDŌ-BU. *Waga kuni ni okeru nōmin undō no gaikyō* (我が国に於ける農民運動の概況). [Published by] Kōsei-shō Rōdō-kyoku. Rōsei-ka. 3 v. (1936-38). 1938 ed. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. CSt-H

An annual report on the farmers movement including tenant farmer disputes.

TENANT FARMER DISPUTES

VII-48. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Hokkaidō ni okeru nōson no jijō narabini nōmin undō no jōsei* (北海道に於ける農村の事情並に農民運動の情勢). March 1931. 122 p. Marked secret. 司法研究才 14 輯報告書集 5 CSt-H; DLC

The last of four articles is an analysis of the rural village and the farmers movement in Hokkaidō during the latter part of the Taishō era by a prosecutor of the Asahikawa District Court in Hokkaidō.

VII-49. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Nihon nōmin shisō no hensen ni tsuite* (日本農民思想の変遷に就いて). Mar. 1933. 180 p. 司法研究才 17 輯報告書集 6 CSt-H

On the vicissitudes of agrarian thought by a prosecutor in the Chiba District Court. Chapter II is on the relations between agrarian thought, social movements, revolution, and tenant farmer disputes.

VII-50. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shina-jihen ka ni okeru nōmin undō ni tsuite* (支那事变下に於ける農民運動に就いて). Jan. 1940. 432 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 70 JJ

"The agrarian movement during the China Incident" by a prosecutor of the Sendai District Court gives a review of the movement in modern Japan, the effect from the China Incident on the farm village and agricultural policy. The second half concerns an analysis of the farmers' political movement, tenant farmer disputes, and the swing toward nationalism in the agrarian movement.

VII-51. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shisō geppō. See no. II-3.*

VII-52. TOKYO KŌSOIN. *Tokyo Kōsoin kannai shakai undō jōsei chōsa. See no. III-82.*

VII-53. TOTTORI-KEN. TOKKŌ-KA. *Tottori-ken nōmin undō enkaku-shi* (鳥取県農民運動沿革). June 1930. 99 leaves. Mimeographed.

A history of the farmers movement in Tottori prefecture.

C. Tenant Farmers Disputes

1. Books

VII-54. FUSE, Tatsuji. *Kosaku sōgi hōtei senjutsu kyōkasho* (小作争議法廷戦術教科書). Kibōkaku. 1930. 350 p. CSt-H; DLC

"Textbook of court-room tactics in legal disputes concerning tenancy" was written by a lawyer who was connected with almost all the well-known legal cases involving radicalism and who was one of the defense lawyers in the JCP trials. Much of the book concerns the use of various legal papers.

VII-55. KAMAKADA, Masatada. *Kosaku mondai to chōtei* (小作問題と調停). Meibundō. 1933. 368 p. DLC

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- VII-56. KAMADA, Masatada. *Nōmin shinri no kenkyū* (農民心理の研究). Meibundō. 1932. 360 p. DLC

The former book is concerned with the tenant farmer problem and mediation. It touches upon the motives for tenant farmer disputes, their trends, emotions involved, tactics and psychology of disputes, the effect of the disputes on tenant farming, self-government, thoughts, and a background survey of the leaders of disputes.

The latter book is concerned with the psychology of the farmer, a topic seldom analyzed by writers. It is based on the author's diaries, notes, newspapers, magazines, official reports, letters, and statements made by persons concerned accumulated over a ten-year tour of duty in the localities. The first part is on the intelligence, emotions and mind of the farmer which incidentally includes in this case, land owners and absentee landlords. The second part deals with the social psychology of the farm village, occupational psychology, class psychology, economic psychology, the desire to leave the farm to go to the city, attitudes toward the harvest, mass psychology, and the imitativeness of the farmer. Kamada was a government official stationed in outlying areas and concerned with tenant farmer problems.

- VII-57. KIYONO, Kiyoshi. *Nōmin undō no hanashi—kosaku sōgi senjutsu* (農民運動の話—小作爭議戦術). Sengen-sha. 1931. 168 p. P.P.B 叢書 1 DLC

Communist interpretation of the agrarian problem and the tactics to be used in tenant farmer disputes.

- VII-58. KYŌCHŌKAI. *Kosaku sōgi-chi ni okeru nōson jijō* (小作爭議地に於ける農村事情). Kyōchō-kai. 1934. 173 p. CSt-H; DLC

An investigation of tenant farmer disputes in five villages as to their causes, why they became serious, and their influences without going into a detailed description of each dispute.

- VII-59. MIZUTANI, Chōzaburō. *Hōtei ni okeru kosaku sōgi* (法廷に於ける小作爭議). Dōjin-sha. 1926. 179 p. CSt-H; DLC

"Tenant farmer disputes in the courts of law" is a record of the author's experiences as a defense lawyer for many tenant farmer disputes. Mizutani was active in the agrarian movement from his college days and was one of the first proletarian members to be returned in the 1928 Diet elections. He has been associated with the rightwing of the postwar SDP. Parts II and III concern Mizutani's interpretation of the tenant farming law and the tenant farming mediation law.

- VII-60. SUGIYAMA, Motojirō. *Kosaku sōgi no jissai* (小作爭議の実際). Nōson Mondai Sōsho Kankōkai. 1926. 202 p. 農村問題叢書 8 篇 DLC

A fairly simply written analysis of the tenant farmer problem mainly for the consumption of the rural population. It is one of twelve volumes on the farm problem. The author was born of a tenant farmer and was politically active in the conservative farmers union and rightwing social democratic political parties. In this book he gives a general outline of the tenant farmer disputes in the beginning, followed by an analysis of the fundamental causes, one of which is the effect of military education, and Sugiyama points out that it is significant that most of the leaders of the farmers unions are exservicemen who rebelled against social injustice. He also treats other contributing causes, the evolution of the disputes, comparison between tenant farmer

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and labor disputes, tactics used, legal battles in the courts of law, social implications of the tenant farmer disputes, and the plan for resolving these disputes.

- VII-61. TEIKOKU NŌKAI. *Kosaku sōgi no eikyō ni kansuru chōsa* (小作争議の影響に関する調査). 1929. 331 p. Mimeographed. CST-H

A conservative evaluation of the effects of tenant farmer disputes in the latter part of the Taishō era on certain farm villages in Niigata, Gifu, Aichi, Kyoto, Osaka, Kagawa, prefectures. Only two or three farm villages in each prefecture are covered for intensive study. The Teikoku Nōkai was a rather conservative farm association.

2. Documents

- VII-62. NŌRIN-SHŌ. NŌSEI-KYOKU. *Shōwa...-nen nōchi nempō* (昭和.....年農地年報). 1925-1943.

CSt-H (1927-32, 1936); DLC (1925-28, 1930-35, 1940-41); TUK

As the original title, *Kosaku chōtei nempō* (小作調停年表), suggests, this is an annual report series on tenant farming problems. In the 1925 issue, the introduction gives a history of the enactment of the law for mediation in tenant farmer disputes. After two issues for 1925 and 1926, the *Kosaku chōtei nempō* was combined with the *Chihō-betsu kosaku sōgi gaiyō* (地方別小作争議概要), a general outline of tenant farming disputes according to areas, to form the *Kosaku nempō*. The latter contains the stands of the proletarian political parties and the farmers unions on the farm problem. The title of this series was again revised to *Shōwa...-nen nōchi nempō*. Each issue contains a description of tenant farming disputes, their origin, persons involved, demands, and instances of mediation, land owners associations and tenant farmers associations and other related aspects of the problem.

- VII-63. NŌSHŌMU-SHŌ. NŌMU-KYOKU. *Kosaku sōgi ni kansuru chōsa* (小作争議に関する調査). 1922. 2 v. Marked confidential. DLC

A detailed presentation of tenant farming disputes in one or two villages in certain prefectures. Volume 1 (462 p.) has selected disputes from 20 prefectures throughout Japan and volume 2 (406 p.) has selections from 22 prefectures.

D. Farmers Union Organization

- VII-64. KONNAI, Kanemitsu. *Nōmin undō to sono sōshiki* (農民運動とその組織). Dōjin-sha. 1928. 183 p. CST-H; DLC; MH

The organization of the farmers movement and dispute tactics by a legal adviser of the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai.

- VII-65. MAKIYAMA, Shoichi. *Sayoku nōmin undō sōshiki-ron* (左翼農民運動組織論). Hakuyō-sha. 1931. 367 p. DLC; NNC

Organizational problems of the agraran movement from a radical leftwing point of view. The author, a member of the organization department of the Zenkoku Nōmin

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Kumiai, was a veteran in the agrarian movement. The following problems are taken up in this book: basis of organization of the farmers union, the development of organization, the organization of unorganized farmers, tenant farmer meetings, the use of the panel discussion (Zedankai) posters, news bulletins, handbills and others.

- VII-66. ŌNISHI, Toshio. *Nōmin tōsō no senjutsu, sono yakushin* (農民斗争の戦術, 其の躍進). Nansō Shoin. 1928. 190 p. CSt-H; DLC

Tactics to be used in farmers' struggles, especially those of the tenant farmer. Ōnishi had participated in the farmers movement from his university days. He was regarded as a leading leftwing theorist in the Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai, was active in the establishment of the Rōdō Nōmin-tō, and later was arrested in the mass arrests of March 15, 1928.

- VII-67. SUGIYAMA, Motojirō. *Nōmin kumiai no riron to jissai* (農民組合の理論と実際). Kagaku Shisō Fukyūkai. 1925. 176 p. Slightly revised, enlarged, and printed by Erunosu in 1927 (192 p.). CSt-H

On the theory and reality of the farmers union movement by a veteran proletarian leader of the 1920's and 1930's. He discusses the objective of the farmers union, the economic and political action of these unions, and the causes and conditions of the impoverished farm village. Sugiyama was chairman of the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai.

E. Periodicals and Newspapers

- VII-68. Nōmin (農民). Published monthly by Nihon Nōmin Kumiai Sō-Hombu (Shutaisei-ha) from June 1, 1953. The best periodical for studying the developments in the farmers group which supported the Left SDP. The Ohara Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjo, now housed in Hōsei University in Tokyo, has almost a complete set from the first issue in 1953 to the 39th issue in June 20, 1956 with supplements and extra editions.

- VII-69. *Nōmin shimbun* (農民新聞). Published by Nōmin Shimbunsha from July 1, 1949. Edited by Saitō Hatsutarō for a farmer readership; useful for information on the farmers movement in various localities. It represents the thinking of the Tōitsu-ha (Unification faction) in the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai. This faction is generally regarded as supporting the JCP. The Ohara Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjo has nos. 18-161 (1955), and TUS has a fairly good collection from no. 71 to 168 (1956).

- VII-70. *Nōmin tōsō* (農民斗争). Published monthly by Nōmin Tōsō-sha from March 1930 to May 1932. DLC has volumes 1 and 2 and Jan.-March 1932; CSt-H has volume 1, nos 1 and 3; TUS has nos. 13-15, (July-Oct., 1931), 20 (March 1932) and the final issue published in May 1932.

- VII-71. *Nōmin undō* (農民運動). Published by Nōmin Undō-sha. Edited by Urata Takeo. Issued monthly from Sept. 1922; date of last publication

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not clear. Except for nos. 7,9, and 11, CU has microfilm copy of nos. 1-12 (Sept. 1922-Aug. 1923).

VII-72. *Nōmin undō* (農民運動). Published monthly by Kibōkaku from Apr. 1927. Edited by Kawamura Tsunekazu. CSt-H has nos. 1-12 (Apr. 1927-Aug. 1928); DLC has nos. 9, 12, and 14 (Dec. 1928). This magazine supported the Rōdō Nōmin-tō.

VII-73. *Nōmin undō kenkyū* (農民運動研究). Published irregularly by Nōmin Undō Kenkyūkai from 1953 to Oct. 1954 (nos. 1-6). A short lived series edited by Yamaguchi Bushū, Takemura Naraichi, Hitotsuyanagi Shigeji on the theory of the farmers movement and general practice in the movement. Since Yamaguchi is closely affiliated with the movement in the Jōtō area, there are many articles about this area. This periodical is available in the Nōgyō Sōgō Kenkyūjo of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry.

VII-74. *Nōmin undō shiryō* (農民運動資料). Published twice monthly by Nōmin Kumiai Sō-Hombu (Tōitsu-ha) from Sept. 1950. Edited by Saitō Hatsutarō for the activists in the farmers movement. TUK has an almost complete collection. DLC has almost complete set from nos. 43-44-93 (Apr. 5, 1952-Apr. 1957).

VII-75. *Nōrin shiryō tsūshin* (農林資料通信). Published three times a month by the Nōrin Shiryō Tsūshin-sha from 1950 (?) to 1952 (?)

Edited by Omori Shinichirō, a leader of the Shutaisei-ha farmers group in the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai which supports the Left SDP. It included items on the farmers movements as well items of interest to its readers among which were many government offices, and farmers cooperatives. The Ohara Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjo has an almost complete collection from no. 22 (Dec. 1950) to 79 (Dec. 1952).

VII-76. *Nōson kensetsu shimbun* (農村建設新聞). Published irregularly by Nōmin Kumiai Sōdōmei. First publishing date not known. In general represents the thinking of the group in the farmers movement which supports the Right SDP. The Ohara Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjo has issues published after no. 50 (Jan. 1, 1954).

VII-77. *Tochi to jiyū* (土地と自由). Published monthly from Jan. 1922. It was first published several months before the establishment of the Nihon Nōmin Kumiai which was created in April 1922. DLC has about 15 issues from March 23, 1929 to Oct. 26, 1933.

VII-78. *Zennō shimbun* (全農新聞). Organ of the Zenkoku Nōmin Kumiai. First published 1948 or 1949 (?). Represents the Right SDP viewpoint of Hirano Rikizō. The Ohara Shakai Mondai Kenkyūjo has nos. 24-115 (1949-1954). From nos. 1-75 this organ was known as the *Nōmin kumiai shimbun* (農民組合新聞).

CHAPTER VIII

OTHER SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In addition to the leftwing political party, labor union and farmers union movements, there are a number of lesser movements which have been considered sufficiently significant to be included in this bibliography. In alphabetical order of presentation in this chapter they are the cooperative movement, proletarian cultural movement, religion, student, Suihei and youth movements. Because of their relatively greater importance in the spectrum of the leftwing social movements, and larger quantities of available materials, the proletarian cultural and student movements have been emphasized in this chapter. Short explanatory notes preface each of these two movements.

The other movements have so greatly changed the contents, form, and direction of their own activities that it is often difficult to identify, for example, the youth or Suihei movements as distinct and separate entities since the end of World War II. The lesser movements, it seems, have disappeared, have been absorbed into the more highly organized and broader leftwing movements, or have been overwhelmed and forced into relative obscurity. Although all the leftwing movements in the prewar years were waging, in their respective spheres of activity, a fundamentally handicapped and bitter struggle against the entrenched ruling groups in Japan, these lesser movements were subordinate in political, economic and social significance to the leftwing political parties and the labor and farmers union movements. Due to certain changes in the postwar Japanese scene, the latter groups have established themselves as the "counter-elites" and far far outweigh the lesser social movements.

The leftwing cooperative movement has, to some extent, been absorbed by the political parties and labor and farmers unions. The Social Democratic Party, for instance, has a section in party headquarters called the Consumers Cooperative Section. It seems to have lost its own identity and to have become one of the less important activities of these organizations. This compiler found a few fragmentary copies of newspapers on the movement in the library of Congress but did not include them in this bibliography.

The sub-section on religion is principally a collection of books, documents and periodicals on the anti-religion movement, stimulated and fostered by the radical leftwing. Though much outdated, Morito Tatsuo's study (VIII-227) on the relationship between the growth of the socialist movement and Christianity in Japan is the only book on the subject. On the other hand, the two government documents are concerned with certain Buddhist activities and the social movements.

The Suihei movement (or the "water-level" movement of Japan's

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social outcasts) in its political activities during the prewar years was generally identified with the radical leftwing. In the postwar period, however, their dissatisfactions and political activities have been channelled through the Social Democratic Party. In recent years more attention is being given to the scholarly analysis of this movement and the "special hamlets" where many of the social outcasts live. Though not specifically mentioned in this bibliography, the *Buraku Mondai* is regarded as an excellent sociological journal on this subject.

The leftwing youth movement has never been very active even in the prewar years. It was carried on in the postwar years, though inadequately and with no special earnestness, by various mass organizations, such as the leftwing political parties and the labor unions. The JCP and the more militant labor unions tended to be relatively more active in this field. All the items in this sub-section are, unfortunately, limited to prewar publications.

For all movements included in this chapter, the reader might profitably study the appropriate chapters in the annual publication of the Naimu-shō (II-6) on the social movements in Japan. The selection of items for the four lesser movements especially, in this chapter, are not supposed to be exhaustive but merely to give an indication of what is available in the U.S. on these subjects.

A. Cooperative Movement

- VIII-1. Kyōdō-sha Jūgo-nen-shi Hensan Inkai. *Kyōdō-sha jūgo-nen shi* (共
 労社十五年史). Kyōdō-sha. 1935. 96 p. DLC

Fifteen-year history of the Kyōdō-sha formed in 1920 as a worker's consumer's cooperative.

- VIII-2. MOTOKIDA, Yoshio. *Shōhi kumiai undō* (消費組合運動). Nihon Hyō-
 ron-sha. 1931. 571 p. CSt-H (1921 ed.); CtY; DLC

Theoretical discussion of the cooperative movement. Written by a former professor of Tokyo Imperial University and official of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. Though devoted principally to general theory of the movement, various aspects of the Japanese movement are touched upon in the course of the book. A bibliography containing only a very few Japanese books on the subject is appended.

- VIII-3. OKUTANI, Shōji. *Nihon kyōdō kumiai-shi* (日本共同組合史). Mikasa
 shōbō. 1938. 286 p. 産業組合叢書 4 DLC

History of the movement in Japan with emphasis on the post-1930 period and the effect of capitalism on the cooperative movement. Okutani is a non-participant and claims "objectivity."

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- VIII-4. OKUTANI, Shōji. *Nihon shōhi kumiai-shi* (日本消費組合史). Kōyō Shoin. 1935. 306 p. CU; DLC

History of the cooperative movement in Japan from the early Meiji years to the middle 'thirties.

- VIII-5. YAMAZAKI, Benji. *Nihon shōhi kumiai-undō-shi* (日本消費組合運動史). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1932. 407 p. 協同組合叢書 4 CSt-H; CU; DLC

History of the cooperative movement in Japan from 1878 to 1931. A short bibliography of Japanese books used in the writing of the book is appended.

B. Proletarian Cultural Movement

The proletarian cultural movement refers, in the main, to the various aspects of the leftwing arts movements which developed after World War I. At first they were not dominated by any one group or ideology but were an amorphous gathering of writers and other artists who were opposed to the prevailing bourgeois culture. Notwithstanding the various splits and amalgamations, changing policies and personnel, the main line of advance was toward a Marxist orientation.*

The tradition of a critical literature may be found in the early Meiji period as a result of the popular rights movement. The literary expression of this movement included numerous political novels, at first written by politicians and later by professional writers. These novels were not regarded as durable literary works, but only as having symbolic historical and social significance.

With the forced development of capitalism, worsening labor conditions, and the Sino-Japanese War, an embryonic labor movement began to emerge.

To parallel the political novel of earlier years there now appeared the beginnings of Japanese socialist literature. Kinoshita Naoy's *Hi no hashira* (Pillar of Fire) and *Ryōjin no jihaku* (Confessions of a husband), Tokutomi Roka's *Kokuchō* [Black current—(on Prince Ito Hirobumi)] and the poet Kodama Kagai and his collection of socialist poems are examples of this literature. But this group also did not attain a central position in the main current of Japanese literature. Socialist literature was merely one expression and means of the socialist movement and did not enter into the literary

* The compiler is indebted to George T. Shea's *The Japanese Proletarian Literary Movement, theory and fiction, 1921-1924*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1956, 517 p., the only thorough and detailed study of this movement in English and Yamada Seizaburo's *Puroretaria Bungaku-shi*, Tokyo, Riron-sha, 1954, 2 vol. (VIII-15), for his introduction to the intricacies, and his knowledge and understanding of this movement.

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life of the people. Bourgeois writers were nearer to the feelings of the people and wrote about social conditions. In addition to the exclusiveness of socialist literature, the government was constantly on the watch and thoroughly discouraged the growth of the movement, diverting the attention of the people and writers by outright suppression and through its educational and cultural policies. The Taigyaku Incident in the late Meiji period afforded the government an excellent opportunity to stamp out socialist opposition. The "dark ages" as it is called continued through most of the World War I years.

Whereas the earlier opposition literature had been the work of the activists themselves, from about 1916 there arose a group of writers of worker origin to describe spontaneously the life, emotions, and ideas of people in their class. They constitute the first proletarian novelists and initiated the proletarian literary movement. The literature of this period may be represented by Miyashima Sukeo's *Kōfu* (Miner), Miyaji Karoku's *Aru shokkō no shuki* (Notes of a certain worker), and Maedakō Koichirō's *Santō senkyaku* (Third class ship passenger). This development was supported by the wave of democracy sweeping through Japan toward the end of World War I, by the popular arts movements, and by the increased labor unrest in Japan's newly developed heavy industries.

As in the political field, the literary movement became more organized after World War I. The practical labor movement was linked with the radical theoretical intelligentsia, and the worker writers were brought together with the socialistically inclined writers from the intelligentsia in the formation of the Nihon Shakai-shugi Dōmei (Japan Socialist League) in 1920.

Soon after the League was formed, the magazine *Tanemaku hito* appeared. It is significant that the name of this magazine translated meant "one who sows seeds" for it is this periodical that became the prime mover of proletarian literature in its first organized form. As the leader of the literary movement it attempted to systematize relations between the practical movement and the literary arts, to decide on the intrinsic nature of art and the form to be followed in proletarian literature, and also on the types of readers—the intelligentsia or the workers—to which the new movement should appeal. The principal novels of this period, as in most others, were based on the author's personal experiences, and were, therefore, to that extent, autobiographical. Some examples were: Kaneko Yōbun's *Jigoku* (Hell) (VIII-82), Nakanishi Inosuke's *Akatsuchi ni megumu mono* (Sprouts in the red earth) (VIII-97), and Hosoi Wakizō's *Jokō aishi* (Tragic history of the female mill hand) (VIII-79).

The Great Earthquake of 1923 is another landmark in the movement. The *Tanemaku hito* closed its pages, after only 23 issues. Six months after the Earthquake, *Bungei sensen* (Literary arts front) was published. It was the organ of the Nihon Puroretaria Bungei (Japan Proletarian Literary Arts League). The League was the first common front of the leftwing literary groups and opened the way for cooperation between writers and

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other artists of the theater, music, etc. on the one hand and the practical labor movement on the other. The publication of *Bungei sensen* raised the the problem of a writers' league and the problem of politics and the artist, which plagues the movement to this day.

By the end of 1927 the literary front had split in four directions, the anarchist, social democratic and two communist leagues. In the summer of 1927, the so-called 1927 JCP Thesis was announced and in the spring of 1928 the government threw the leftwing movement into confusion by mass arrests. However, the two communist leagues came together to form the Zen-Nihon Musansha Geijutsu Remmei (All Japan Federation of Proletarian Arts—generally abbreviated as the NAPF from its esperanto title) immediately after the mass arrests of March 1928. The NAPF published as its organ *Senki* (Battle flag), which challenged *Bungei sensen*. Although the latter was in a more advantageous position as an established organization, *Senki* gradually outstripped it and reached a circulation of 23,000 at its height, despite constant suppression and the forced utilization of its own confidential distribution network. The struggle between the *Bungei sensen* group and the *Senki* group was political: social democracy and Marxism-Leninism, respectively. The *Bungei sensen* group gradually withered and finally collapsed in July 1932.

The outstanding theoretical problem was Kurahara Korehito's advocacy of "proletarian realism." Some of the representative novels of this period were: Kobayashi Takiji's *Kani Kōsen* (The crab cannery boat) (VIII-87), *Fuzai jinushi* (Absentee landlord) (VIII-86), Tokunaga Sunao's *Taiyō no nai machi* (Street without sun) (VIII-111), and Kuroshima Denji's *Busō-seru shigai* (The armed town) (VIII-93).

The KOPF (Nihon Proletaria Bunka Remmei—Japan Proletarian Culture Federation) formed in November 1931—the last major change in the proletarian literary movement before its demise in 1934—had as its objective the unification and broadening of the movement through "cultural circles" and the strengthening of the international connections of constituent artists' groups. However, when the government moved to suppress systematically opposition in 1932-34 this movement had so isolated itself from the masses that it had no broad support on which to rely. An attempt to rebuild the shattered organization was unsuccessful. Instead of trying to carve a place for itself in the main stream of Japanese literature, proletarian literature was to be part of the political class struggle. This emphasis on the dominance of political over literary theory, and the exclusion of an unadorned expression of the hardships and needs of the working classes in favor of politically oriented novels was not enforced without opposition from such well-known writers as Hayashi Fusao, Tokunaga Sunao and many others who merely withdrew from the movement in protest.

Notwithstanding the most disadvantageous conditions, it was during this period that the major proletarian writers appeared, including Kobayashi Takiji, Kataoka Teppeï, and Nakano Shigeharu representing the intelli-

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gentsia, and Tokunaga, Sata (Kubokawa) Ineko, and Kaga Kōji, the worker writers. The principal topics debated during this period were proletarian realism, popularization of art, form and content, and artistic and political values in art. It should be emphasized that during the prewar proletarian literary movement, literary theory and criticism was just as important as the writing of novels. Since the accomplishments of these two aspects of the movement seem to be of greater importance in the leftwing cultural movement they have occupied a relatively larger part of this section than other aspects of the movement, such as poetry, art, music.

The literature of the post-1934 period was marked by individual resistance without organization and "conversion literature." After Sano Manabu and Nabeyama Sadachika renounced their communist affiliation from prison in June 1933 the term "conversion" came into vogue.

Post World War II years saw a revival of old controversies and to this day it is admitted that the problems of political dominance over literary theory in stultifying creative work, and the possible alienation of the masses from the proletarian literary vanguard are serious and not fully resolved. The representative periodical in this controversy is the *Shin-Nihon bungaku* (The literature of New Japan). In the postwar period, the term "proletarian literature" has been replaced by "democratic literature." It has become much more diffused and correspondingly more difficult, in comparison to the prewar period, to clearly identify its scope and dimensions.

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The non-communist leftwing movement has not contributed to the proletarian literary movement. Only in the mid-twenties was Asō Hisashi recognized as a writer in this movement. Non-communist writers never seriously attempted to create their own literature, literary theory and groups of writers. In the postwar period, the Social Democratic Party, attempted to published a literary magazine, the *Shakai bungei* (DLC has March and July 1951 issues), but lasted for only five issues. In 1957, SDP supporters again started publishing another literary magazine called *Shakai-shugi bungaku* (DLC has nos. 2-8).

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In the limited space of this bibliography it is impossible to present a comprehensive list of literary works. Consequently, only the more important works of this cultural movement have been included. Though specifically not mentioned as independent items, many additional critiques, novels, plays, etc. may be found in the several collections of novels and in independent author's works under "collected works." Only brief notes are attached to the periodicals as indicators of their affiliation and dates of publication.

OTHER SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

1. Dictionaries, Biographies, Histories

a. Dictionaries

- VIII-6. *Puroretaria bungei jiten* (プロレタリア文芸辞典). Hakuyō-sha. 1930. 388 p. Compiled by Yamada Seizaburō and Kawaguchi Hiroshi. DLC; NNC

Dictionary of 1300 terms, incidents, persons, and organizations concerned with the leftwing proletarian cultural movement up to 1930. There are also some phrases and terms related to the social sciences. Care should be taken in reading the particular Marxian interpretation given.

- VIII-7. *Puroretaria jiten* (プロレタリア辞典). Kyōseikaku. 1930. 435 p. CSt-H; DLC

Dictionary of terms on social phenomena useful to the worker and the farmer. Although "objectivity" is claimed in the preface, the publishing house usually issued radical leftwing material.

b. Biographies

- VIII-8. NIHON PURORETARIA SAKKA DŌMEI KYŌIKU-BU. *Puroretaria bungaku kōza* (プロレタリア文学講座). Hakuyō-sha. 1929-1933. 4 v. Edited by Onchi Terutake. CSt-H (v. 2); DLC (v. 1-3)

At the end of volumes of 1-3 there are short biographies of leftwing literary figures.

- VIII-9. *Puroretaria geijutsu kyōtei* (プロレタリア芸術教程). Sekai-sha. 1929. 4 v. Edited by Yohena Chitarō. CSt-H; DLC; IEN

At the end of volumes 1 and 2 short autobiographies of a number of leftwing literary figures are found. This information is often difficult to obtain from regular reference books.

c. Histories

- VIII-10. AKITA, Ujaku and YAMADA, Seizaburō. *Bunka undō-shi* (文化運動史). Iwanami Shoten. 1935. 53 p. 日本資本主義発達史講座才 2 部の才 3 卷の中 CSt-H; DLC

History of the proletarian cultural movement divided into two parts: the embryonic period in proletarian literature by Akita, and a cultural history by Yamada. The former traces the movement from 1882 to 1931. The latter part is divided into two parts: one from 1917 to 1928 wherein is discussed the emergence of the movement, the common front maintained in ideological matters, and its change to Marxism in 1926-28; the latter half pertains to the diffusion of struggle (1929-31), and the establishment of a central organization (1931-32). The principal periodicals and organizations are briefly described.

PROLETARIAN CULTURAL MOVEMENT

VIII-11. *Nihon bungaku arubamu* (日本文学アルバム). Chikuma Shobō. 1955.

An interesting and unique compilation of a pictorial history interspersed with comments and an explanatory note at the end of each volume on the proletarian literary movement and some leftwing authors. The pictures include photographs of the various authors, poets, playwrights, covers of periodicals, newspapers, as well as some street scenes and gatherings important for the history of the proletarian literary movement.

They tend to give the reader a flavor of the tense, challenging milieu and a chance to transport himself back to those times.

So far the following volumes have been published:

Puroretaria bungaku (プロレタリア文学). no. 13.

PC

Kobayashi Takiji (小林多喜二). no. 10.

Miyamoto Yuriko (宮本百合子). no. 14.

Ishikawa Takuboku (石川啄木). no. 8.

VIII-12. *Nihon puroretaria bungaku hattatsu-shi shiryō* (日本プロレタリア文学発達史資料). Yakumo Shoten. 1948. v. 3 (422 p.) Edited by Nakano Shigeharu and Odagiri Hideo. CSt-H; CtY; CU; DLC

Volume 3 of "Historical materials on the development of Japanese proletarian literature" is a limited documentary history. Contains twenty seven documents and articles by various authors on proletarian literature during the establishment of the Zen-Nihon Musansha Geijutsu Dantai Kyōgikai and the publication of *Senki*, the organ of the Kyōgikai. All the articles were written more than twenty years ago. Volumes 1 and 2 were never published.

VIII-13. SASAMOTO, Tora. *Bundan kyōdo-shi—puro bungaku hen* (文壇郷土誌——プロ文学篇). Kōnin Shobō. 1933. 287 p. CSt-H

Historical review of the proletarian literary movement from the magazine *Tane-maku hito* to the publication of the *Nappu*. This review originally appeared in the literary column of the *Fiji shimpō* for about 5 months during 1932-33. It tends to be an exposé study but is regarded as disclosing the "inside story" of proletarian literary movement. The writer was a liberal newspaper reporter.

VIII-14. YAMADA, Seizaburō. *Nihon puroretaria bungei undō-shi* (日本プロレタリア文芸運動史). Sōbunkaku. 1930. 313 p. CStH

The first detailed and documented history of the proletarian cultural movement, especially periodicals, from 1921 to 1930, by a radical leftwing leader of the movement and a former worker. This work is the first of a trilogy; the other two works treat the histories of the theories prevalent in the movement and proletarian literary accomplishments. The ten-year period is divided into four parts: 1921-23, the period of the magazine *Tane-maku hito*; 1924-26, the birth of *Bungei sensen* and the unification of ideas; 1926-27, the period of dissension; 1927-30, the period in which the *Nappu* magazine was published.

VIII-15. YAMADA, Seizaburō. *Puroretaria bungaku-shi* (プロレタリア文学史). Riron-sha. 1954. 2 v. PC

The most thorough history of the proletarian literary movement from 1868 to 1923 (v. 1), and from 1924 to 1934 (v. 2). The author is a veteran in the proletarian literary field starting with his publication of the periodical *Shinkō bungaku* and later

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becoming one of the founders of the famous *Tane-maku hito*. In the early thirties he was convicted of lèse majesté and an infringement of the Peace Preservation Law. From 1939 to 1945 he lived in Manchuria after his recantation. The termination of the war, he claims "revived his confidence in socialism."

2. Fiction and Theory

a. Literary Criticism theory

VIII-16. HAYASHI, Fusao. *Bungaku no tame ni* (文学の為に). Nauka-sha. 1934. 406 p. DLC

Partly republished in 1954 by San'ichi Shobō in *Nihon puroretaria bungaku taikai*, vol. 6. PC

Collection of essays by novelist and critic on literary criticism. It is a historical document of the latter part of the prewar proletarian cultural movement advocating the separation of literature from politics and abandonment of the subservience of literature to politics. It is significant that these articles followed his release from two years in prison.

VIII-17. HIRABAYASHI, Hatsunosuke. *Musan kaikyū no bunka* (無産階級の文化). Taibun-sha. 1923. 339 p. CST-H

A proletarian interpretation of the arts, culture, political and social problems, as well as of the literary and the labor movements. He challenged the idea that class consciousness should not be recognized in the arts. As such, he was one of the early theoreticians of the proletarian literary movement.

VIII-18. ICHIJŌ, Shigemi. *Nihon puroretaria bungei riron-shi* (日本プロレタリア文芸理論史). Shōkō Shoin. 1948. 270 p. Compiled by Minshu-shugi Kagakusha Kyōkai Geijutsu-bu. CST-H; DLC; NNC

History of the theory of the proletarian arts in the broad sense. Actually consists of two essays which appeared originally in *Geijutsu kenkyū* on political and artistic values, and on the development of the theory of realism.

VIII-19. KATŌ, Kazuo. *Nōmin geijutsu-ron* (農民芸術論). Shunjū-sha. 1931. 177 p. 春秋文庫 44. DLC

Essays on the rural literary movement. The first half is a reproduction of a serial appearing in the magazine *Taichi ni tatsu* edited by the author. The author claims these essays to be one of the first systematic treatments of the subject. The latter half is a reproduction from *Dai shisō ensaikuropejiya* (大思想エイサイクロペジア) on art and its relation to society.

VIII-20. KAWAGUCHI, Hiroshi. *Puroretaria bungaku gairon* (プロレタリア文学概論). Hakuyō-sha. 1933. 355 p. DLC

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An analysis of the historical position of proletarian literature, proletarian literature under capitalism facionalism, in literature, literary method, the format of proletarian literature, various problems concerning literary criticism, the international proletarian literary movement, and the labor-farmer correspondent.

An important work for understanding literary trends, theories, and criticism of the late twenties and early thirties, with an international perspective.

- VIII-21. KOBAYASHI, Takiji. *Hiyorimi-shugi ni taisuru tōsō* (日和見主義に対する斗争). Nihon Puroretaria Bunka Remmei Shuppan-bu. 1933. 292 p.

Concerning the struggle against rightwing opportunism, especially in the proletarian cultural movement, by a communist author. The book was sponsored by the Japan Proletarian Cultural Federation.

- VIII-22. KOMIYAMA, Akitoshi. *Bungaku kakumei no zenshō* (文学革命の前後). Sekai-sha. 1930. 448 p. CSt-H; DLC

"The outpost of the literary revolution" is a collection of articles written by the author from 1925 to July 1930, on modern bourgeois literature, its disintegration, proletarian literature, its process of development, and proletarian literary criticism.

- VIII-23. KUBOKAWA, Tsurujirō. *Gendai bungaku-ron* (現代文学論). Chūō Kōron-sha. 1939. NDLU

The principal significance of this collection of essays is that they were written between 1934 and 1939 after the proletarian literary movement as such had disintegrated. It is an example of the liberal progressive literary criticism that was attempted in the era of a fanatical ultra-nationalism.

- VIII-24. KURAHARA, Korehito. *Bunka kakumei* (文化革命). Iwanami Shoten. 1948. 210 p. CSt-H; DLC; WaU

Several essays on the cultural revolution in Japan. The first essay on the proletariat and culture was written in 1931 when the communist movement was illegal. Kurahara claims that the remaining essays written in the postwar period on the "democratic revolution," its basic mission, and its relation with the intelligentsia are at "a higher stage of development" than that achieved in 1931.

- VIII-25. KURAHARA, Korehito. *Bunka kakumei no kihon-teki nimmu* (文化革命の基本的任務). Nihon Minshu-shugi Bunka Remmei. 1947. 108 p. DLC; NNC

On the basic mission of the cultural revolution.

- VIII-26. KURAHARA, Korehito. *Bunka undō* (文化運動). Nauka-sha. 1949. 117 p. ナウカ 座 11. CSt-H; DLC

"The cultural movement" is a communist exposition on the class-ness of culture, the cultural revolution and Soviet culture, history of the cultural movement in Japan, the postwar democratic cultural movement and its mission, the ideological front and the arts, literature and the world outlook. Kurahara is a member of the JCP central committee and the party's authority on culture and literature.

- VIII-27. KURAHARA, Korehito. *Geijutsu-ron* (芸術論). Chōryū-sha. 1950. 392 p. CSt-H; NNC (1932 ed)

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Collection of articles written by the author from 1927 to 1931 on the proletarian literary movement which in this case included a criticism of Marxian literature, "proletarian realism," theory and form of proletarian literature, and agrarian literature.

- VIII-28. KURAHARA, Korehito. *Geijutsu to musan kaikyū* (芸術と無産階級). Kaizō-sha. 1930. 313 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

Essays on the arts and the proletariat by a prominent communist literary figure. They are divided into three sections on proletarian art and the theory of the movement, a criticism of proletarian works of art in Japan, and an introduction and criticism of Soviet art. These essays appeared in the magazines *Zen'ei*, *Senki*, *Kokusai bunka*, *Kaizō*, *Shinchō*, *Kinema jumpō*, and *Bungei sensen*, and in the newspapers *Miyako*, *Asahi*, *Yomiuri*.

It is noteworthy for its advocacy of "proletarian realism" which had a considerable effect on subsequent literary criticism.

- VIII-29. KURAHARA, Korehito. *Geijutsu undō* (芸術運動). Chōryū-sha. 1947. 291 p. CSt-H

Comprises the companion volume to *Geijutsu-ron* and is a collection of articles published during 1927-31, on the proletarian arts movement, and on literary criticism. Kurahara warns that, as the articles were written 20 years ago, the circumstances have changed and certain changes are necessary.

- VIII-30. KURAHARA, Korehito. *Nihon puroretaria geijutsu-ron* (日本プロレタリア芸術論). Wakō-sha. 1955. 2 v. NDL

Collection of essays on proletarian literary arts from 1927 to the late 'thirties. It represents Kurahara's philosophy which has had a considerable effect in guiding the thinking of the radical leftwing cultural movement in both pre- and postwar years. Kurahara was imprisoned by the Japanese government from 1932 to the fall of 1940 for infringement of the Peace Preservation Law. Consequently, there are many essays and letters included in these two volumes which were originally written in prison.

- VIII-31. KURAHARA, Korehito. *Puroretaria bungaku no tame ni* (プロレタリア文学の為に). Senki-sha. 1930. 154 p. CSt-H

Further exposition of the theory, criticism, and form of proletarian literature.

- VIII-32. KURAHARA, Korehito. *Puroretaria geijutsu to keishiki* (プロレタリア芸術と形式). Tenjin-sha. 1930. 121 p. CSt-H; DLC

Three essays on the content and forms of proletarian art, in search of new forms for art, and literature in an industrialized society subdivided into: the influence of capitalism upon literature, the poetic form of industrialized society, the socialist writer, and the communist writer.

- VIII-33. KURAHARA, Korehito. *Puroretaria to bunka no mondai* (プロレタリアと文化の問題). Tettō Shoin. 1932. 285 p. CSt-H; DLC; IEN; NNC

On the relation between the proletariat and culture, literary method, and the organization of the proletarian literary movement.

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- VIII-34. MIYAMOTO, Kenji. *Hihansha no hihan* (批判者の批判). Shinkagaku-sha. 1954. 2 v. (v. 2 is entitled *Age shio ni mukau tame ni*—あげしおに向うために). NDL

"A critique of the critics" is a collection of essays by Miyamoto in defense of Yuriko, his wife, as a ranking writer in the communist camp. Many of the essays are on Miyamoto Yuriko's novels, their position in proletarian literature, and a comparison with Kobayashi Nakiji. There are also several other essays on organization and criticism, a critique of *Shinkū chitai* (Zone of emptiness), by Noma Hiroshi, on the former Imperial Japanese Army characterizing it as existing in a vacuum, and an evaluation of *Shizuka-naru yamayama* (The quiet mountains) by Tokunaga Sunao.

- VIII-35. MIYAMOTO, Kenji. *Rēnin-shugi bungaku tōsō e no michi* (レーニン主義文学斗争への道). Mokuseidō. 1933. 333 p. DLC

Collection of essays by Miyamoto from 1929 to 1932 on the general topic of the establishment of a "revolutionary literature." It treats especially the precedence of politics over literature.

- VIII-36. NAKANO, Shigeharu. *Geijutsu ni kansuru hashirigaki-teki oboegaki* (芸術に関する走り書覚え書). Kaizō-sha. 1929. 322 p. CSt-H; DLC

Essays on art as they appeared in the magazine *Puroretaria geijutsu* and *Senki* from Oct. 1927 to Nov. 1928. The title translated is descriptive of its contents: A running commentary on the arts.

- VIII-37. NAKANO, Shigeharu and others. *Kindai Nihon bungaku kōza* (近代日本文学講座). Kawade Shobō. 1952. 7 v. CSt-H (v. 1)

A leftwing interpretation of modern Japanese literature. Specifically it includes such topics as capitalism and humanity, the position of Japan in the Orient, modern Japanese art and culture, "recantation" literature, the relation between politics and literature.

- VIII-38. NIHON PURORETARIA SAKKA DOMEI. KYŌIKU-BU. *Puroretaria bungaku kōza* (プロレタリア文学講座). Hakuyō-sha. 1929-1933. 4 v. Edited by Onchi Terutake. CSt-H (v. 2); DLC (v. 1-3)

A series of 4 volumes on proletarian literature of which volumes 1-3 have been found.

Volume 1 (Organization). 1929.

The problem of the establishment of proletarian literature under capitalism by Kaji Wataru.

The organization and activities of literary circles by Hideshima Takeshi.

The significance and part played by "circle" magazines by Matsumoto Minoru.

The activities of the opposition faction in the proletarian literary movement by Suzuki Kiyoshi.

The activities of correspondents by Honjō Mutsuo.

The problem of organization in the proletarian art movement, and a second consideration of the organization of the art movement, both by Furukawa Sōichirō.

The international organization—MOPR—of proletarian literature by Nijima Shigeru.

History of the Japanese proletarian literary movement by Yamada Seizaburō.

Questions and answers concerning literary "circles" by Kaji Wataru.

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Chronology of the Nihon Puroretaria Sakka Dōmei, and thumbnail biographies of the above authors.

Volume 2 (Theory). 1933.

Factionalism in literature by Kawaguchi Hiroshi.

Standards for literary criticism by Miyamoto Kenji.

The composition of poems by Moriyama Kei.

The early history of proletarian literature and theater by Akita Ujaku.

Thumbnail biographies of the above writers.

Volume 3 (Original writing).

The method of original writing by Kamei Katsuichirō. "Wall" novels by Hashimoto Eikichi and other essays on the experience of creative writing, composition of poems, the proletarian literary movement in the U.S.S.R., Germany, France, the U.S. China, and Korea. Thumbnail autobiographies of the authors in this volume are also included.

VIII-39. ODAGIRI, Hideo, comp. *Puroretaria bungaku no sai-kentō* (プロレタリア文学の再検討). Yūsankaku. 1948. 197, 52 p. CST-H; CU; DLC

Symposium on the re-evaluation of proletarian literature. The first part is on the basic problems concerning the continuation of proletarian literary theory, such theory during the war, and the tradition of proletarian literature in the postwar period. The second part consists of essays on four leftwing writers: Kobayashi Takiji, Nakano Shigeharu, Miyamoto Yuriko, and Tokunaga Sunao. The third part is a chronology of the proletarian literary movement.

VIII-40. *Puroretaria geijutsu kyōtei* (プロレタリア芸術教程). Sekai-sha. 1929-1930. 4 v. Edited by Yohena Chitarō. CST-H; DLC; IEN

Manuals on the proletarian arts by leftwing writers prominent during the late 'twenties.

Volume 1 (1929). Various pagings. General introduction to proletarian art and literature from the ideological standpoint, its relations to politics, science, philosophy, and ethics; the writing of proletarian novels; the content of proletarian literature and poems; anti-war literature and the historical novel; bibliography of Japanese works on the proletarian literary movement and the arts, short autobiographies of some of the authors.

Volume 2 (1929). 334 p. Devoted to the theory and activities of the movement; the mass-ization of proletarian literature and proletarian realism; agrarian literature; proletarian juvenile's literature; proletarian motion pictures, art (bijutsu); history of proletarian art and embryonic literary movements in Japan; short autobiographies of some of the authors.

Volume 3. On proletarian motion pictures, art and theater; machines and art; the proletariat and comics and cartoons; history of the proletarian art movement; problems of the proletarian theater; proceedings of the conventions of the Nihon Puroretaria Gekijō Dōmei, the Nihon Puroretaria Eiga Dōmei, the Nihon Puroretaria Sakka Dōmei.

Volume 4. (1930). 339 p. The creation of the proletarian theater, motion pictures, art, poems, and novels; proletarian literary criticism; and history of the proletarian theater movement.

VIII-41. *Sōgō puroretaria geijutsu kōza* (総合プロレタリア芸術講座). Naigai-sha. 1931. 6 v. Edited by Akita Ujaku and Eguchi Kan.

CtY (v. 1, 3-5); DLC (v. 1-5)

Series on proletarian art and literature. Each volume is divided into five or six sections: General, literature, theater, motion pictures, art, music, special problems,

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and intelligence from abroad. Only one or two essays in each volume will be mentioned.

Volume 1. 375 p. A study of proletarian comics and cartoons.

Volume 2. 368 p. History of the development of proletarian motion pictures, and the theater.

Volume 3. 372 p. History of the main polemics in the theory of the proletarian literary movement.

Volume 4. 358 p. Activities of the proletarian theater.

Volume 5. 360 p. The writings of Kobayashi Takiji; Meiji-Taishō literature from the proletarian viewpoint; history of proletarian poetry in Japan.

- VIII-42. TAGUCHI, Ken'ichi. *Marukusu-shugi to geijutsu undō* (マルクス主義と芸術運動). Hakuyō-sha. 1928. 435 p. DLC; NNC

A philosophical treatise on the relation between Marxism and art, specifically proletarian art. Claiming that a systematic theory regarding proletarian art had not been devised, the author attempts to define the movement, its characteristics, mission, limitations, position in the overall proletarian movement, and relations with other organizations. There is also a chapter on the ideas and theories advocated by the many proletarian cultural groups created during the 'twenties beginning with the famous magazine, *Tane-maku hito* (One who sows seeds.) The author was an active but young Marxian philosopher during the 'twenties.

- VIII-43. YAMADA, Seizaburō. *Nappu sensen ni tachite* (ナツプ戦線に立ちて). Hakuyō-sha. 1931. 251 p. Compiled by Eguchi Kan. DLC

Essays on the proletarian literary movement by a prominent leftwing writer. The book consists of three sections: Part I pertains to the theory of the proletarian literary movement including an explanation of the organization of the NAPF, (the *Zen-Nihon Musansha Geijutsu Remmei*) as reorganized in Dec. 1928, and the principles of organization of its five affiliated organizations. Part II: the author's advocacy of a "correct" proletarian literary movement. Part III concerns the controversial topic of the mass-ization of proletarian literature.

- VIII-44. YAMADA, Seizaburō. *Nihon puroretaria bungei riron no hatten* (日本プロレタリア文芸理論の発展). Sōbunkaku. 1931. 289 p. DLC

Exposition of the theory of the proletarian literary movement. According to the author this is a sister volume to his earlier work on the history of the same movement in Japan (See no. VIII-14). The first half of the book is a reprint from essays published in the magazine *Puroretaria kagaku* from May to Dec. 1930. The latter half is all new material. Yamada divides the Japanese proletarian literary movement into three periods: 1917-1926, the embryonic period to the establishment and recognition of the *raison d'être* of proletarian literature; 1926-1928, the period of confusion and split with the anarchists; 1928-1931, "qualitative development" toward communistic theory.

- VIII-45. YAMADA, Seizaburō. *Puroretaria bungaku no shin-dankai* (プロレタリア文学の新段階). Nauka-sha. 1934. 337 p. CST-H

One section has been reproduced in vol. 7 *Nihon puroretaria bungaku taikei*, San'ichi Shobō (1955). PC

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"The new stage in proletarian literature" is an anthology of essays written over a two year period after the author's release from prison and the establishment of a new direction during the latter part of the proletarian cultural movement during 'thirties. The author claims that he was in a responsible position in leading the movement during this period. These essays will, therefore, show the line of development in a more or less systematic manner. Part I is a theoretical argument on the proletarian cultural movement; part II, the change of direction; part II, the arts and life; part IV, evaluation of several leftwing literary figures, such as Kobayashi Takiji, Nakano Shigeharu, Kurahara Korehito and others.

b. Collected works

- VIII-46. *Gendai bungaku-ron taikei: puroretaria bungaku* (現代文学論大系: プロレタリア文学). Kawade Shobō. 1954. v. 4 (394 p.) DLC

Forty-eight essays by leftwing writers, including the Labor-Farmer group to the Communists on various aspects of the proletarian literary movement. Some of the contributors are Osugi Sakae, Aono Suekichi, Kurahara Korehito, Nakano Shigeharu, Miyamoto Yuriko, and many others.

- VIII-47. *Gendai Nihon bungaku zenshū* (現代日本文学全集). Kaizō-sha. 1931. CSt-H (v. 62); CtY (v. 62); DLC (v. 50, 62); NNC (v. 50, 62)

Volume 50 has assembled the more important novels by liberal authors but differentiated from the more radical and communist authors whose works are collected in volume 62.

- VIII-48. *Gendai Nihon shōsetsu taikei* (現代日本小説大系). Kawade Shobō. 1950. v. 40-42. Compiled by Nihon Kindai Bungaku Kenkyūkai.

CU (v. 40, 42); DLC (v. 40-42); NNC (v. 40-42); WaU (v. 40-42)

From among the 50-60 volume collection of modern Japanese novels, three volumes have been allotted to proletarian literature. The overall responsible compiler was Nakano Shigeharu, a radical leftwing writer; there are, however, many other compilers listed who are not associated directly with the leftwing. According to Nakano the objective of the present compilation was to show, through the works of novelists, the changing times, and the intermingling of social forces. He recognized that there was a difficulty involved in selection of authors and their works when they are so recent, and the proletarian literary movement is, in general, a comparatively young movement in Japan.

Volume 40 contains 12 novels selected from the first seven years of the proletarian literary movement, from 1922 to 1928. The authors are Hayama Yoshiki, Maedagō Kōichirō, Kaneko Yōbun, Yamakawa Ryō, Imano Kenzō, Kuroshima Denji, Satomura Kinzō, Yamada Seizaburō, Miyajima Sukeo, and Eguchi Kan.

Volume 41 contains seven novels by six authors, Tokunaga Sunao, Sata Ineko, Hashimoto Eikichi, Iwafuji Yukio, Kaga Kōji, Hirabayashi Taiko. The characteristic feature about the selection of this group is the social origins of the authors, who are from the working classes, farmers, petit bourgeoisie, and others. Furthermore, these six have stayed in the leftwing camp, more or less, all during the inter-war years in considerable contrast to those included in volume 42. The novels were first published between 1927 and 1931 in leftwing literary magazines. The authors at the time of

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publication of this collection were all living.

Volume 42 contains 12 novels by eight authors, Hayashi Fusao, Nakano Shigeharu, Tateno Nobuyuki, Kobayashi Takiji, Murayama Tomoyoshi, Takeda Rintarō, Kataoka Teppei and Fujimori Seikichi. The characteristic feature about this selection is that the authors are all regarded as coming from the intellectual class, including some who participated in the proletarian literary movement after they had established themselves, while others joined the movement from their sense of humanism and aestheticism; there are still others who joined the movement while studying literature at a university and there came into contact with Marxism and the labor movement. Furthermore, two authors, Hayashi and Kataoka, at different times, abandoned their association with the left and threw in their lot with the rising tide of nationalism. At the time of publication only five of these authors were living.

A very useful commentary is appended to each volume written either by Nakano or Aono Suekichi. The commentary usually contains a presentation of the entire volume, followed by an analysis of the authors, their works, their lives, and their thoughts.

VIII-49. HAYAMA, Yoshiki. ...*zenshū* (...全集—collected works of Hayama). Shōgakkan. 1948. 5. v.? DLC (v. 3, 5)

VIII-50. KOBAYASHI, Takiji. ...*sakuhin-shū* (...作品集—selected works by Kobayashi). Sōgen-sha. 1953. 3 v. DLC

VIII-51. KOBAYASHI, Takiji. ...*zenshū* (...全集). Aoki Shoten. 1953-1954. 12 v.

VIII-52. KOBAYASHI, Takiji. ...*zenshū* (...全集). Shin-Nihon Bungakukai. 1949. 13 v. Compiled by Kobayashi Takiji Zenshū Hensan Iinkai.

DLC (v. 1, 4, 6, 7, 9)

The collected works of Kobayashi Takiji.

VIII-53. MIYAMOTO, Yuriko. ...*bunko* (...文庫). Iwasaki Shoten. 1949. 12 v. DLC (v. 3-7)

VIII-54. MIYAMOTO, Yuriko. ...*zenshū* (...全集). Aki Shobō. 1947. 18 v. DLC (v. 4, 15)

VIII-55. MIYAMOTO, Yuriko. ...*shū* (...集). Kadokawa Shoten. 1953. 402 p. DLC

VIII-56. MIYAMOTO, Yuriko. ...*zenshū* (...全集). Kawada Shobō. 1951-53. 15 v. Compiled by Miyamoto Yuriko Zenshū Hensan Iinkai.

DLC (v. 1, 3-5, 12-14)

These four collected works of one the most prolific communist women writers include her novels, short stories, literary criticism, travels, essays on women, and sometimes her own commentary on her own works and a chronology of her life.

VIII-57. *Nihon puroretaria bungaku taikei* (日本プロレタリア文学大系). San-ichi Shobō. 1954-55. 9 v. PC

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Most thorough collection of novels, essays, poems, tanka and haiku by liberal and leftwing authors from 1897 to the end of World War II. To each volume is appended a commentary by another leftwing writer and a chronology to cover the period of each volume. It is the first and most ambitious collection of leftwing literary works to date. The editors are mostly communists but it appears they have achieved a fairly representative cross-section of literary viewpoints. There is an obvious limitation placed upon the length of novels they are able to include in each volume. All scars of police censorship have been removed, and the original editions of included novels, poems, essays, etc. have been used as the basis of reproduction. The beginning of each volume has several pages of photographs of the old writers and the cover pages of some of the periodicals published during that period.

Each commentary is about 20 pages long. The chronology was compiled by the Nihon Kindai Bungaku Kenkyūjo and is divided into three distinct parts: factual data on the publication of books, and periodicals; pertinent incidents in the proletarian literary movement; and social and political incidents. The more important items in each group are printed in bold letters. The chronology attached to each volume is about 20 pages long.

Introductory volume: From 1897 to 1916. Commentary by Odagiri Hideo and Hirano Ken. The chronology is a separate pamphlet beginning with the year 1895 and ending with 1915.

Volume 1: From 1917 to 1923. Commentary by Odagiri Hideo.

Volume 2: From 1924 to March 1928. Commentary by Hirano Ken.

Volume 3: From March 1928 to June 1929. Commentary by Kurahara Korehito.

Volume 4: From July 1929 to July 1930. Commentary by Kurahara Korehito.

Volume 5: From Aug. 1930 to Dec. 1931. Commentary by Odagiri Hideo.

Due to order of original printing a supplement to vol. 7 is included with volume 5.

Volume 6: From Jan. 1932 to March 1934. Commentary by Noma Hiroshi.

Volume 7: From April 1934 to June 1937. Commentary by Noma Hiroshi.

Volume 8: From July 1937 to Aug. 1945. Commentary by Takeuchi Yoshi.

Because the more important essays, novels, tanka, haiku, etc. have been included in this series, many original publications which are not readily available have been omitted under the various sections in the proletarian cultural movement.

VIII-58. NOMA, Hiroshi. ...*sakuhin shū* (...作品集). San'ichi Shobō. 1953.
3 v. DLC

Collected works of Noma Hiroshi, a postwar radical leftwing literary figure.

c. Documents

VIII-59. CHŌSEN SŌTOKU-FU. KŌSOIN. KEIJI-KYOKU. SHISŌ-KA. *Shisō geppō and shisō ihō*. See no. II-4

VIII-60. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shōwa ...nen-jū ni okeru shakai undō no jōkyō*. See no. II-6

VIII-61. TŌKYŌ KEIJI CHIHŌ SAIBANSHO. KEIJI-KYOKU. SHISŌ-BU. *Bunka dantai no sai-hensei ka shinki teishō ka* (文化団体の再編成か新規提唱か). by Katō Kanjū. 27 leaves. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. CSt-H

Several articles by Katō written during 1935-36 on the problems of reorganizing cultural organizations and other related matters.

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VIII-62. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Bunka tokuni bungaku undō no sai-nin-shiki* (文化特に文学運動の再認識). May 1935. 341 p. Marked confidential. 思想研究資料 50 DLC

A statement by Yokoyama Toshio, imprisoned for violations of the Peace Preservation Law, on the proletarian cultural movement, especially the literary movement. Yokoyama was an active member in the radical leftwing cultural movement and in 1933 became a member of the JCP, but was arrested soon thereafter and indicted.

VIII-63. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Puroretaria Bunku-undō ni tsuite* (プロレタリア文化運動に就て). Mar. 1940. 646 p. Marked secret. 司法研究才 28 輯報告書集 9 JJ

Voluminous study by a prosecutor of the Nagoya District Court on the ramifications of the proletarian cultural movement since 1929. It claims to be a continuation of an earlier study entitled "Puroretaria geijutsu undō ni tsuite" in the same series.

Although Part I (p. 1-441) of this study analyses 12 organizations in the radical leftwing cultural movement, it emphasizes the literary, theatrical and scientific movements. Part II is on the relations between the JCP, the Communist Youth League and the proletarian cultural movement from the financial, organizational, theoretical and strategic point of view.

Part III concerns the Russian literary movement and international relations. Part IV dwells on the relation between this movement and crime. Twelve useful charts are appended some of which are: chronology of the movement, principal publications, list of pennames.

VIII-64. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Puroretaria esperanto undō ni tsuite* (プロレタリア・エスペラント運動について). Nov. 1939. 284 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 69 JJ

Historical analysis of the proletarian esperanto movement by a prosecutor in the Fukuoka District Court. The latter half of the report from p. 151 concerns Japan.

VIII-65. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Shihō kenkyū* (司法研究). March 1930. various pagings. Marked confidential. 司法研究才 12 輯報告書集 2 CSt-H

Three analyses by three prosecutors on the proletarian art movement (a history, 216 p.), the individuality and environment of persons with leftwing ideas (254 p.), and modern social thought and the punishment of thought offenders in Japan. (40 p.)

VIII-66. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shinkyō-gekidan kankei-sha shuki* (新協劇団関係者手記). Mar. 1941. 260 p. Marked secret. 思想資料パンフレット特輯 JJ

The first report (p. 1-80) by Murayama Tomoyoshi concerns the establishment, subsequent developments, and character of the Shinkyō Gekidan, the theatrical organization formed in Sept. 1934 to absorb all leftwing progressive persons and organizations related to the stage. The Shinkyō Gekidan is generally regarded as a front organization for the JCP and the international communist movement.

This report and the following biographical statement were regarded by the government as good materials for the study of the leftwing theatrical movement, its history and philosophy. Both Murayama and Kubo, until their arrest in 1940, were leaders in this area.

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The latter two-thirds is a detailed autobiographical statement by Kubo Sakae from the date of his birth, his health, hobbies, family, reading habits, how his philosophy had changed, his understanding of the Comintern, the JCP, Popular Front, leftwing theatrical organizations, the Shinkyō Gekidan, even to an explanation of why he possessed certain papers. An interesting case history of a leader in the radical leftwing cultural movement.

VIII-67. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shisō geppō*. See no. II-3

d. Novels

VIII-68. AKASHI, Tetsuya. *Shitsugyō-sha no uta* (失業者の歌—Song of the unemployed). Senshin-sha. 1930. 336 p. CtY; DLC

VIII-69. AKASHI, Tetsuya. *Tetsu no kiritsu* (鉄の規律—Iron discipline). Kaizō-sha. 1930. 238 p. DLC

VIII-70. EMA, Osamu. *Kōri no kawa* (氷の河). Riron-sha. 1955. 2 v. DLC

The “river of ice,” is about the love and suicide of a liberal historian who evacuates to the rural areas and stays in the home of a landowner whose elder brother is in prison as a “thought offender.” The historian commits suicide after intimate relations with the wife of the landowner.

VIII-71. FUJIMORI, Seikichi. *Kanashiki ai* (悲しき愛). Kadokawa Shoten. 1955. 2 v. 角川小説新書 NDL

“Melancholy love” is a story of the incomplete love between a communist playwright and a woman leader of a local theatrical troupe. In the final analysis their love is not fulfilled, for the woman leader retraces her steps to concentrate on the theater. The novel depicts the cultural activities and propaganda of the communists in the localities in postwar Japan.

VIII-72. FUJIMORI, Seikichi. *Okami e* (狼へ—To the wolf). Shunjū-sha. 1926. 318 p. CSt-H

VIII-73. HASHIMOTO, Eikichi. *Shigai-sen* (市街戦). Senki-sha. 1930. 237 p. CSt-H; DLC

“The street fight” is a novel of the unstable post World War I German situation wherein the worker, the capitalist and the military were vying for power. The struggle eventually ends in a street fight from which point the labor movement has to review its position and tactics. This is a novel of the middle period of the proletarian literary movement.

VIII-74. HASHIMOTO, Eikichi. *Tankō* (炭坑). Nauka-sha. 1935. 216 p. CSt-H

Republished in 1955 by San'ichi Shobō.

A representative proletarian novel of the latter part of the proletarian literary period in the 'thirties about working and living conditions in the Kyushu coal mines

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and the phases through which the miners pass as they become conscious of their unfavorable status and treatment.

VIII-75. HAYAMA, Yoshiki. *Imbaifu* (淫売婦—The prostitute). Shunyōdō. 1926. 281 p. DLC

VIII-76. HAYAMA, Yoshiki. *Umi ni ikuru hitobito* (海に生くる人々). Iwanami Shoten. 1950. 286 p. 岩波文庫 3837—3839 NDL

One of the outstanding novels of the early proletarian literary period. Hayama began writing this novel in 1917 and completed it in 1923 when he was in prison. It is even regarded as having influenced the famous novel *Kani kōsen* (The crab cannery boat) by Kobayashi Takiji. The story is based on the experiences of the author who joined the Japanese merchant marine at the beginning of World War I. It centers around a labor dispute that occurs between the sailors and captain of a coaling ship between Yokohama and Muroran in Hokkaido. The seamen are victorious in their demands on the captain but are ultimately defeated when the leaders of the dispute are ordered off the ship when it docks in Yokohama. It is a representative work of immediate post World War I working conditions.

VIII-77. HIRABAYASHI, Taiko. *Fusetsu ressha* (敷設列車—The construction train). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1930. 195 p. DLC

Republished in 1954 by San'ichi Shobō in vol. 4 (*Fusetsu ressha*) and vol. 2 (*Shiryō shitsu nite*) of *Nihon puroretaria bungaku taikei*. PC

VIII-78. HORITA, Shōichi. *Dorei ichiba* (奴隷市場—The slave market). Chūgai Shobō. 1932. 268 p. DLC

VIII-79. Hosoi, Wakizō. *Jokō aishi* (女工哀史). Kaizō-sha. 1933. 424 p. 改造文庫才一部 30 CSt-H; CtY; DLC; IEN

A lengthy documentary novel of the most deplorable conditions among women factory workers. It was written by a factory worker while he worked in a factory 12 hours a day; his wife had also worked at one time in a textile factory under insufferable conditions and was able to describe the dreary life of the girls' dormitories. A good book.

VIII-80. Hosoi, Wakizō. *Kōjō* (工場). Kaizō-sha. 1925. 427 p. CSt-H

An early proletarian documentary novel about working conditions in textile factories in the Taishō era.

VIII-81. KAGAWA, Toyohiko. *Shisen o koete* (死線を越えて). Kaizō-sha. 1920. 551 p. DLC

Translated into English as "Across the death line," this autobiographical novel by one of Japan's leading Christian socialists became a best seller soon after it was published in the early 'twenties. It was first partially serialized in the early issues of *Kaizō* beginning in Jan. 1920. It was then severely criticized by the literary world but, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction of Kagawa's literary peers, his novel sold approximately 200,000 copies.

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The hero is a youthful Christian who sympathizes with the people living in slum conditions. Suffering from tuberculosis while studying in a School of Divinity, he returns home without his father's approval and becomes a teacher. His father, the mayor of this town, is corrupt in personal and public life. The hero is the son of his common-law wife. He befriends his father's real wife who is mistreated, falls in love with a poor landowner's daughter, and gives money and commodities to the economically unfortunate. The strength of his belief, his love and desire to assist, help him "across the death line" in overcoming the dread disease. This novel is an excellent example of the literature of religious and social concern created immediately after World War I.

VIII-82. KANEKO, Yōbun. *Jigoku* (地獄). Shizen-sha. 1923. 385 p.

NLDU

One of the longest and best novels by Kaneko on the struggle between the landowner and the simple farmer in a rural village during a drought.

VIII-83. KATAOKA, Teppei. *Ryōri-mura kaikyo-roku* (綾里村快挙録). Senki-sha. 1930. 136 p. 日本プロレタリア作家叢書 11

DLC

Republished in by San'ichi Shobō.

A documentary novel of an incident which occurred in a small fishing village in Japan involving the struggle between the fishermen and their families, on the one hand, and the influence of the boss and the authority of the government, on the other. Kataoka is regarded as one of the leading writers from the intelligentsia during the height of the proletarian literary movement from 1928 to 1934. As a result of pressure from the government, he abandoned his leftwing position. At one time, he edited the leftwing magazine, *Kokusai bunka*. He died during the war.

VIII-84. KISHI, Yamaji. *Gō sutoppu* (ゴーストツプ). Chūō Kōron-sha. 1930. 417 p.

DLC; NNC

Republished in 1955 by San'ichi Shobō.

A novel by a newspaperman about a juvenile pickpocket and a former teacher who gradually change their system of beliefs and adopt communism and the notion of class struggle as their way of life while the JCP is operating as a clandestine party during the late 'twenties. It was originally published serially in the *Tokyo Maiyū* in 1928-29. It attracted attention at the time as an attempt to popularize the documentary type proletarian novel.

VIII-85. KOBAYASHI, Takiji. *Chiku no hitobito* (地区の人々—The people of the district). Kaizō-sha. 1933. 538 p.

CSt-H; DLC

VIII-86. KOBAYASHI, Takiji. *Fuzai jinushi* (不在地主). Shinkō Shuppan-sha. 1949. 167 p. 小林多喜二文庫

DLC

Also published by Kaizō-sha as 改造文庫 2 部 226 (NNC)

"The absentee landlord" was banned by the government and cost Kobayashi his job as a bank clerk. It concerns a tenant farmer's dispute in Hokkaido which indirectly involved the bank where Kobayashi was employed. According to the appended

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commentary it purported to describe the farm village under the influence of capitalism, the deplorable conditions of the tenant farmer and the necessity of farmer and worker cooperation to improve their positions.

- VIII-87. KOBAYASHI, Takiji. *Kani kōsen. Tō seikatsusha.* 3.15 (蟹工船・党生活者・3.15). Chikuma Shobō. 1952. 189 p. DLC

Three novels, "The crab cannery boat," "Party life," and "The Fifteenth of March, 1928," with a commentary by Kurahara Korehito. "The Fifteenth of March, 1928" concerns the maltreatment and torture applied to the communist suspects rounded up in the March 15, 1928 arrests in Otaru, Hokkaido, Japan. Kobayashi was not arrested at that time as he was not a member of the JCP. It was originally written in Oct. 1928. This novel of the proletarian vanguard expressed in stark terms stands in contrast to the treatment of the same incident by Nakano Shigeharu (*See no.* VIII-99). In 1929 Kobayashi wrote "The crab cannery boat" about the struggle of the fishermen against "primitive exploitation" on board a vessel fishing in the Kamchatka Sea and escorted by the Japanese Navy (*See also* VIII-76). "Party life" was written in 1932 in the year after Kobayashi had joined the JCP; it concerns underground JCP life. It is an unfinished novel. The former two novels were banned by the government. According to Kurahara these three novels are representative of Kobayashi's literary accomplishments.

Whereas "The crab cannery boat" depicted the psychology, character and motivations of the mass group, "The Fifteenth of March, 1928" concentrated on the role of the individual revolutionary. These two novels have been translated into English and included in *The Cannery Boat and other Japanese short stories* (International Publishers, New York, 1933. 271 p.)

- VIII-88. KOBAYASHI, Takiji. *Kōjō saibō* (工場細胞—The factory cell). Senki-sha. 1930. 223 p. 日本プロレタリア作家叢書 10 CSt-H

- VIII-89. KOBAYASHI, Takiji. *Orugu* (オルグ—The organizer). Senki-sha. 1931. 180 p. CSt-H; DLC

- VIII-90. KOBAYASHI, Takiji. *Numajiri-mura* (沼尻村—Numajiri village). Moscow. Gaikoku Rōdōsha Shuppanjo. 1936. 140 p. DLC

- VIII-91. KOBAYASHI, Takiji. *Tenkeiki no hitobito* (転形期の人々). Kokusai Shoin. 1933. 251 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

Novel on the formation of a working and intellectual class in Otaru, Hokkaido, where Kobayashi was born. This is depicted in the trials and tribulations of the workers in a factory. The novel ends with the triumph of the radical leftwing group affiliated with the labor federation, Hyōgikai, and the "exposé" of the rightwing Sōdōmei. Continuations of these novels were never written as planned.

- VIII-92. KUBOKAWA(SATA), Ineko. *Kyarameru kōjō kara* (キヤラメル工場から). Senki-sha. 1930. 178 p. 日本プロレタリア作家叢書 8 CSt-H

Novel of the actual experiences of the author in a caramel candy factory. When the author was 13 she came to Tokyo with her father and started working in this factory to help with family finances. The novel was first published in *Puroretaria geijutsu* in 1928. It has something in common with *Jokō aishi* by Hosoi Wakizō which deplored the lamentable working conditions of women in Japan.

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- VIII-93. KUROSHIMA, Denji. *Busō-seru shigai* (武装せる市街). Aoki Shoten. 1953. 246 p. 青本文庫 126 NDL

"The armed town" is the only full length novel by Kuroshima. It was originally published in 1930 but was immediately banned by the Japanese government although many sentences and phrases had been voluntarily deleted. The commentary claims that even the Allied Occupation banned its publication in postwar Japan. Kuroshima was one of the few novelists from the rural areas. He wrote this novel after he received a medical discharge from the Japanese Army while serving in Siberia. The theme of the novel is anti-war, anti-imperialistic and is against the background of the Japanese expedition to Shantung in the late 'twenties.

- VIII-94. MAMIYA, Shigesuke. *Aragane* (あらがね). Koyama Shoten. 1938. 2 v. NDLU

Republished in 1952 by Kawada Shobō in v. 58 of *Gendai Nihon shōsetsu taikēi*. DLC

First full length novel by Mamiya who had lived a checkered life before he wrote this novel. He was the son of an Army colonel, had left Keiō University before graduation, worked in mines and as a lighthouse keeper. The theme of the novel begins with incidents that occurred in a copper mine in Gifu prefecture at the end of World War I, when Japanese industry was experiencing an unprecedented boom. As soon as the war ended this prosperity began quickly to slip away. (vol. 1). Parts II and III in vol. 2 relate the bitter period of depression and the gradual upswing after the Manchurian Incident and the false prosperity engendered by the surge of nationalism. This novel is an example of the "resistance" which appeared after the outbreak of the China Incident in 1937.

- VIII-95. MIYAMOTO, Yuriko. *Nobuko*. *Fūchisō* (伸子・風知草). Chikuma Shobō. 1952. 287 p. Commentary by Odagiri Hideo. DLC

"Nobuko" (name of the central figure, a young woman) was the author's first full length novel before she became a communist. It was written after her unsuccessful first marriage and is a severe criticism of the influence of the Japanese family system upon the individual.

"Fūchisō," the second novel in this book concerns the privations forced upon her as a result of the war. It is a direct continuation of another novel, *Banshū heiya*. All these novels are in a sense autobiographical.

- VIII-96. MIZUOKA, Michiya. *Kakumei kōjō—PD kōjō Mitsubishi Shimo-Maruko* (革命工場—PD 工場三工下丸子). Tōwa-sha. 1953. 224 p. DLC; NNC

"Kakumei kōjō" (Revolutionary factory) according to the author is to be pronounced as "Puchi rofu." This novel is based upon the author's experiences at the Mitsubishi Shimo-Maruko factory, apparently one of the large automobile repair factories managed and supervised by the U.S. Army in Japan (a PD factory). The author was formerly with the Japanese Army and was captured by the Soviets. While in their custody he became a member of a "democratic club." He has written several plays and novels, including one on his experiences in the U.S.S.R.

- VIII-97. NAKANISHI, Inosuke. *Akatsuchi ni megumu mono* (曙土に芽ぐむもの). Kaizō-sha. 1922. 595 p. NDLU

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Republished in 1928 by Heibon-sha in *Shinkō bungaku zenshū*, v. 2.

"Sprouts in the red earth" is a full-length novel of Japanese colonialism in Korea and the experiences of one newspaper reporter as a result of his articles exposing the maltreatment of Koreans by Japanese.

VIII-98. NAKANO, Shigeharu. *Muragimo* (むらぎも). Dai-Nihon Yūbenkai Kōdan-sha. 1955. 272 p. NDL

An autobiographical novel, using fictitious names of Nakano's involvement in the leftwing movement from the late Taishō era to the early Shōwa period. It traces the development of one "Yasukichi" who enters Tokyo Imperial University from a provincial higher school and comes into contact with the leftwing movement and the Shinjinkai, the center of the student movement in real life at Tōdai, how he changes his modes of thinking, his acquaintances, his outlook on society.

Nakano is a leading communist literary figure in postwar Japan but this novel won him the 1955 Cultural Prize given by the *Mainichi* Newspapers in Tokyo.

VIII-99. NAKANO, Shigeharu. *Tetsu no hanashi* (鉄の話). Senki-sha. 1930. 213 p. 日本プロレタリア作家叢書 9 CSt-H; DLC

Republished in 1954 by San'ichi Shobō in vol. 3 of *Nihon puroretaria bungaku taikei*.

"The story of Tetsu" is one of two novels in this book and deals with the gradual awakening of class consciousness in Tetsu and his participation in the farmers movement. The other is a lyrical treatment of the mass arrests of the radical leftists on March 15, 1928.

VIII-100. NIHON PURORETARIA SAKKA DOMEI. *Nihon puroretaria sōsaku-shū* (日本プロレタリア創作集). 1932. 586 p. CSt-H

Collection of more than 40 short stories by proletarian writers as representative of this kind of literature in 1931.

VIII-101. NIHON SAYOKU BUNGEI-KA SŌ-RENGŌ. *Sensō ni taisuru sensō* (戦争に対する戦争). Nansō Shoin. 1928. 404 p. CSt-H

"The war against war" is a collection of short stories by outstanding leftwing writers just at the time when Japan was beginning to take a more active part in Chinese affairs. In this sense it is an expression of their opposition to the actions and policies of the ruling group in Japan. This collection was the only achievement of the Nihon Sayoku Bungei-ka Sō-rengō which was an amalgamation of five cultural and literary groups but which disbanded soon after its formation due mainly to the March 15, 1928 incident when many radical left persons were arrested.

VIII-102. NOMA, Hiroshi. *Shinkū chitai* (真空地帯). Kawade Shobō. 1955. 340 p. 河出新書 25 PC

One of the widely read anti-war novels of postwar Japan. It depicts the unjust punishment of a Japanese soldier for a trivial offense and the inhuman treatment of troops in the former Imperial Army of Japan toward the end of the Pacific War. This novel was also made into a movie. The author, a graduate of Kyōto University,

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is a postwar novelist who is generally associated with the Communist literary camp. Despite the political tendencies of the author, this novel was awarded a literary prize [in Japan] and is regarded as a representative work of the leftwing novelists. It has recently been translated into English from the French and published as "Zone of Emptiness" (World Publishing Co. Cleveland and New York. 1956. 318 p.).

- VIII-103. ODAGIRI, Hideo. *Hakkin sakuhin-shū* (発禁作品集). Yagumo Shoten. 1948. 441 p. CSt-H

Collection of novels banned by the government during 1897-1912. They often appeared in socialist publications and caused these magazines to be banned and their publishers to be indicted.

- VIII-104. SUZUKI, Kiyoshi. *Kambō saibō* (監房細胞). Shinri-sha. 1949. 220 p. CSt-H

Novel about the cell activities of the JCP in Japanese prisons during 1932-33 as experienced by the author who was himself imprisoned for farmers movement activities. It was originally published serially in *Nappu* and *Puroretaria bungaku*, but was banned by the government each time.

- VIII-105. TATENO Nobuyuki. *Guntai-byō—heishi to nōmin ni kansuru tampen-shū* (軍隊病—兵士と農民に関する短篇集). Senki-sha. 1930. 246 p. CSt-H; DLC

A prewar novel about the internal conditions of the Japanese Army and its inhuman treatment of its own troops. Tateno was born and reared in the rural areas but joined the proletarian literary movement after he was discharged from the Army. Subsequently, he was converted to nationalism. Other than "Guntai-byō—Army sickness" there are several other novels in this book which have been reproduced in vols. 2 and 3 of *Nihon puroretaria bungaku taikai*.

- VIII-106. TOKUNAGA, Sunao. *Akai koi ijō* (赤い恋以上—Beyond red [communist] romance). Naigai-sha. 1931. 321 p. CSt-H

- VIII-107. TOKUNAGA, Sunao. *Hataraku ikka* (働く一家—The working family). Sakurai Shoten. 1941. 314 p. CSt-H

Republished in 1953 by Kadokawa Shoten as a part of *Shōwa bungaku zen-shū vol. 6*.

- VIII-108. TOKUNAGA, Sunao. *Nōritsu iinkai* (能率委員会). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1930. 205 p. 日本プロレタリア傑作選集 CSt-H

"The efficiency committee," one of several short stories in this book, has been translated into English and included in *The Cannery Boat*...mentioned in VIII-87.

- VIII-109. TOKUNAGA, Sunao. *Shitsugyō toshi Tokyo* (失業都市東京—Tokyo, the unemployed city). Chūō Kōron-sha. 1930. Part II of *Taiyō no nai machi*

- VIII-110. TOKUNAGA, Sunao. *Shizuka-naru yamayama* (静かなる山々). Sōju-sha. 1952. 345 p. CLSU; CSt-H

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Also published by Kadokawa Shoten in 1954 in 2 v. as 角川文庫 753-754

CLSU; CSt-H; DLC

"The Quiet Hills" is a story of a strike occurring in the Kawakishi factory in Nagano prefecture involving the cooperation of workers and farmers. The author regards this strike as a "regional struggle" where all levels of society, farmers, workers, intelligentsia, as well as prominent local persons are united against "monopoly capitalism and foreign fascism." This novel was first published by the JCP organ, *Akahata*, during 1949-1950, the longest ever published by that newspaper. It is regarded as one of the most outstanding novels by a communist writer in postwar Japan.

VIII-111. TOKUNAGA, Sunao. *Taiyō no nai machi. Tsuma yo nemure* (太陽のない街, 妻よねむれ). Chikuma Shobō. 1952. 260 p. DLC

Republished in 1953 by Kadokawa Shoten in vol. 6 of *Shōwa bungaku zen-shū*. Also available in Shinchō bunko, Iwanami bunko, and Kadokawa bunko series.

"The street without sun" was originally published in serial form in *Senki* in 1929. It concerns the author's experiences in his participation in a printer's strike in 1926, and was the first full length novel by an unknown worker with only grade school education. It described the activities of the organization in dispute, the women's and youth corps, JCP members guiding these groups, degree of awareness among the strikers, and also the tactics of the capitalists and the police.

"Sleep, my wife" is an autobiographical novel describing the poor living conditions of the worker and his family in Japan and the passing of the author's wife.

VIII-112. Tsuboi, Sakai. *Kaze* (風). Kōbun-sha. 1954. 212 p. NDL

An autobiographical novel of the wife of the proletarian poet, Tsuboi Hanji. It depicts her life in Shōdo Shima, Kagawa Prefecture where she was born, later worked in the local post office, and village office and after ten years went to Tokyo where she met her poet husband. He was an anarchist at the time. His subsequent change to a Marxist and participation in the prewar proletarian literary movement and finally his arrest and imprisonment are fictionalized to show the stresses and strains under which this group labored in prewar Japan.

VIII-113. Tsuboi, Sakae. *Nijū yon no hitomi* (二十四の瞳). Kōbun-sha. 1954. 236 p. NDL

Story of a young woman teacher and the fate of her twelve pupils—the translated title is significantly, "twenty-four pupils (eyes)." Several of her students are drafted, some are killed in action and some are blinded and the teacher herself becomes a war widow. She reflects on her happy past with the photo album of her once young pupils before her.

VIII-114. YAMADA, Seizaburō. *Meidei zengo* (五月祭前後—Before and after the May Day celebrations). Senki-sha. 1930. 208 p. 日本プロレタリア作家叢書 CSt-H; DLC

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e. Periodicals and newspapers

VIII-115. *Bungaku shimbun* (文学新聞). Esperanto title: La literaturo gazeto. Published by the Nihon Puroretaria Sakka Dōmei Bungaku Shimbun Hakkō-jo. Twice a month. First published Nov. 10, 1931.

DLC has nos. 7, 9, 10, 14-19, 22, 26, 28, and 31 (Jan. 20, 1932—Aug. 15, 1933); CSt-H has nos. 1-9, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21-23, 25-27, 29 (Nov. 10, 1931—Apr. 15, 1933).

VIII-116. *Bungei sensen* (文芸戦線). Esperanto title: La fronto. Published by the Bungei Sensen-sha in the Rōnō Geijutsu-ka Remmei. Monthly. June 1928–July 1932. Editors were Ishii Yasuichi, Nakanishi Inosuke, and Yamada Seizaburō. With vol. 8 no. 1 the title changed to *Bunka*. On the back page the English title was given as follows: *The Bunsen*—the monthly, the literature front of class struggle, a proletarian review of politics, economy, literature, etc.

DLC has the following:

vol. 1 (1924) no. 1 (June), 5-7 (Oct.-Dec.) & extra edition

vol. 3 (1926) no. 12

vol. 4 (1927) no. 2-4, 6-8, 10-12

vol. 5 (1928) no. 4, 7-10, 12

vol. 6 (1929) no. 1-13

vol. 7 (1930) no. 1-12

vol. 8 (1931) no. 1-12

vol. 9 (1932) no. 2, 4-5

CSt-H has the following:

vol. 1 (1924) nos. 3-4 (Aug.-Sept.)

vol. 2 (1925) nos. 1 (Jan.), 8 (Dec.)

vol. 3 (1926) nos. 1-2, 4-5, 11

vol. 4 (1927) nos. 1-6, 10-12

vol. 5 (1928) nos. 2-4, 7, 9-12

vol. 6 (1929) nos. 1, 4-5, 7-8

vol. 7 (1930) nos. 1, 3-4, 6-8, 10-12

vol. 8 (1931) nos. 1, 8, 10-11

vol. 9 (1932) nos. 4-5

VIII-117. *Bunka shūdan* (文化集団). Esperanto title: La grupo kultura. First publishing date unknown. Regularity unknown.

DLC has vol. 1 no. 6 (Nov. 1933) and CSt-H has vol. 2 no. 4 (Apr. 1934).

VIII-118. *Genshi* (原始). Published by Genshi-sha. DLC has vol. 3, no. 3 (Jan. 1927).

VIII-119. *Hataraku fujin* (働く婦人). Translated title: the working woman.

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Published by Nihon Puroretaria Bunka Remmei. Monthly. Jan. 1932t. DLC has vol. 1 nos. 1-9 (Jan.-Sept. 1932), vol. 2 nos. 1-2, 5 (Jan.-Feb. May 1933), vol. 3 no. 3 (Mar.-Apr. 1934);

CSt-H has vol. 1 nos. 3-8, vol. 2 nos. 1-2.

VIII-120. *Jimmin bungaku* (人民文学). Published by Jimmin Bungaku-sha. Monthly. Nov. 1950t.

Some prominent members of the Shin Nihon Bungakkai, such as Noma Hiroshi and Fujimori Seikichi, began publishing this magazine in support of the "main stream" faction in the JCP after the Cominform criticism of the JCP in early 1950. CSt-H and DLC have good collections.

VIII-121. *Kaihō* (解放). Esperanto title: La emancipo. English title: The Kaiho. Published by Kaihō-sha. Monthly. June 1919t.

DLC has a good collection. Vol. 1 no. 1-vol. 5 no. 12 (June 1919-Dec. 1923); vol. 3 no. 4 (Aug. 1925); vol. 4 no. 1 (Oct. 1925); vol. 5, no. 5 (May), 7-17 (July-Dec. 1926); vol. 6 nos. 1-21 (except 16) (Jan.-Dec. 1927); vol. 7-8 two issues in Jan., one issue in Feb., March, May, June, July, Sept., Oct., Dec., 1928; vol. 9 Jan., March-July, Sept. Nov.-Dec. 1929; vol. 10 two issues each in Jan.-Apr. one in May.-July, Nov.-Dec. 1930; vol. 11 Jan.-May, July 1931; vol. 12 March, April 1932; vol. 16 Feb.-March 1935.

VIII-122. *Kamarādo* (カマラード). Published by Nihon Puroretaria Esuperanto Remmei. Magazine for the popularization of the so-called international language, esperanto. Monthly. 1931t.

DLC has the following: vol. 1 Nov. 1931, vol. 2, 3-6 (Mar.-June 1932); CSt-H has the following. vol. 1 nos. 10-12, vol. 2 nos. 1-6

VIII-123. *Marukusu-Rēnin-shugi geijutsu-gaku kenkyū* (マルクス レーニン主義芸術学研究). Organ of the Puroretaria Kagaku Kenkyūjo Geijutsu-gaku Kenkyū-kai. Published irregularly. Representative editor Eguchi Kan.

DLC has no. 1 (June 1931—originalled cally *Marukusu-shugi geijutsu-gaku kenkyū*), 228 p.; no. 1 (Aug. 1932), 223 p.; no. 2 (Nov. 1932), 289 p.

VIII-124. *Nappu* (ナツプ). Esperanto title: La Napf. Monata Organo por la Nippona Artista Proleta Federacio. Organ of the Zen-Nihon Musansha Geijutsu Dantai Kyōgikai. Formerly *Senki* was the organ of this organization. Monthly. Sept. 1930t.

DLC has complete set from vol. 1 no. 1 to vol. 2 no. 11 (Sept. 1930-Nov. 1931); CSt-H has vol. 1 nos. 3-4, vol. 2 nos. 3, 5-7, 9-11

VIII-125. *Puroretaria* (プロレタリア). English title: The Proletaria. Organ of the Bungei Sensen Datō Dōmei, and edited by Kuroshima Denji. Monthly. First published Dec. 1930. 2 issues only.

DLC has vol. 1 no. 1 (Dec. 1930) and vol. 2 no. 1 (Jan. 1931).

VIII-126. *Puroretaria bungaku* (プロレタリア文学). Esperanto title: La

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literaturo proleta. Monata Organo de la federacio de proletaj literaturistoj Japanaj. Organ of the Nihon Puroretaria Sakka Dōmei. Edited by Eguchi Kan. Monthly. June 1930t. First three issues were published by Hakuyō-sha. DLC has June, July, and August, 1930 issues and vol. 1 nos. 1-14 (Jan.-Dec. 1932) including two extra editions in April and June, and vol. 2 nos. 1-6 (Jan.-Oct. 1933); CSt-H has Aug. 1930 and vol. 1 nos. 1-10, 14 and vol. 2 no. 1.

VIII-127. *Puroretaria bunka* (プロレタリア文化). Esperanto title: La Kulturo proleta. Monata organo de la federacio de proletaj kulturoj organizoj Japanaj. Organ of the Nihon Puroretaria Bunka Remmei. Monthly. Dec. 1931t.

DLC has vol. 1 no. 1 (Dec. 1931), vol. 2 nos. 1-4, extra edition, 5-8 (Jan.-Dec. 1932), and vol. 3 nos. 1-9 (Jan.-Dec. 1933); CSt-H has vol. 1 no. 1, vol. 2 nos. 3, 6, 8, and vol. 3 nos. 1-4, 9.

VIII-128. *Puroretaria geijutsu* (プロレタリア芸術). Organ of the Nihon Puroretaria Geijutsu Remmei. Monthly. First published July 1927.

CSt-H has vol. 1 nos. 1-3 (July-Sept. 1927), 5-6 (Nov.-Dec. 1927), vol. 2 nos. 1-2, (Jan.-Feb., April 1928).

VIII-129. *Puroretaria jidai* (プロレタリア時代). Published by Puroretaria Jidai-sha. Monthly. 1930t.

DLC has vol. 2 (1931) nos. 7 (July), 11 (Dec.), and vol. 3 (1932) nos. 1, 3 5-10.

VIII-130. *Refuto* (レフト). English title: The left. The literature front of class struggles. A proletarian review of politics, economy, literature, and etc. Monthly. First published 1931? Changed title to *Shin-bunsen* (新文戦) in 1934.

Refuto: DLC has vol. 2 (1933), nos. 1-5 (Jan.-May), 7-9 (July, Sept. and Nov.).

Shin-bunsen: DLC has vol. 3 (1934), nos. 1-2 (Jan.-Feb.), 4-7 (Apr.-Aug.), 9 (Dec.). CSt-H has nos. 6-7 (June, Aug.).

VIII-131. *Rōdō geijutsu-ka* (労働芸術家). English title: The workman journal and The workman magazin. Published by Nihon Rōdō Geijutsu-ka Remmei Bungaku-bu. 1928.

DLC has vol. 2 (1929) nos. 2 (Mar.), 6, 7, 14 (July-Sept), vol. 3 (1930) nos. 2-10 (Feb.-Dec.), vol. 4 (1931) nos. 1-7 (Jan.-Oct.); CSt-H has vol. 2 no. 1, vol. 3 nos. 3-4, 7-10, vol. 4 nos. 2-5, 7.

VIII-132. *Rōnō bungaku* (労農文学). Published by Puroretaria Sakka Kurabu. Jan.-Apr. 1933. Regularity unknown.

DLC has vol. 1, no. 4 (Apr. 1933). Believed to be a splinter group from *Refuto*. (See no. VIII-130).

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VIII-133. *Senki* (戦旗). English title: A monthly review of workers and peasants. Organ of the Zen-Nihon Musansha Geijutsu Dantai Kyōgikai. Monthly. May 1928. Succeeded by *Nappu*.

DLC has the following:

vol. 1 (1928) nos. 5-8 (Sept.-Dec.)

vol. 2 (1929) nos. 1-12

vol. 3 (1930) nos. 1-20 (two issues were banned by the government and at other times "revised" copies were issued to pass censor.

vol. 4 (1931) nos. 21 (Sic) (Jan.), 2 (Feb.), 4 (Mar.), 5 (May), 7 (June-July)

CSt-H has the following:

vol. 1 nos. 1-8

vol. 2 nos. 1-12

vol. 3 nos. 1-7, 9, 11, 13-15, 17-20

vol. 4 nos. 1, 4, 8 (Sept.)

VIII-134. *Shin-Nihon bungaku* (新日本文学). Published by Shin-Nihon Bungakkai. Monthly. Jan. 1946t.

Principal literary journal of the postwar radical leftwing literary movement. The leading members of the publishing organization were so closely affiliated with the JCP that the party dissension was reflected in the literary movement when a rival magazine in late 1950 in support of a JCP faction was published. CStH and DLC have good collections.

VIII-135. *Taishū no tomo* (大衆の友). Published by the Nihon Puroretaria Bunka Remmei. Monthly. Feb. 1932t.

DLC has the following:

vol. 1, Feb., Mar., Apr., May-June, July-Aug., Sept., Nov. 1932

vol. 3, Jan., Apr., May 1933

CSt-H has the following:

vol. 1, Feb.-Apr., Nov.-Dec. 1932

vol. 2, Jan. 1933

vol. 3, Apr. 1933

VIII-136. *Zensen* (前線). Organ of Dai-ni Bunsen Datō Remmei. Monthly? June 1931t.

DLC has vol. 1 nos. 1-2 (June, July-Aug. 1931).

A few copies each of the organs of various prefectural, city, and regional branches of the Nihon Puroretaria Sakka Dōmei (Japanese Proletarian Author's League) are available in DLC.

<i>Names of organs</i>	<i>issues available</i>	<i>name of publishing organization</i>
VIII-137. <i>Bakushin</i> 暴進	v. 1 no. 3 Nov. '32 v. 2 no. 1-4 (Jan.-June 1933)	Hata chiku branch, Kōchi Pref.

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VIII-138.	<i>Bungaku Nakama</i> 文学仲間	Nov. 1932 Jan.-Feb. 1933	Hakodate branch, Hokkaido
VIII-139.	<i>Bungaku tōsō</i> 文学斗争	v. 1 no. 2 Oct. '32	Wakayama Pref. branch
VIII-140.	<i>Fubuki</i> 吹雪	v. 1 no. 1-2 Sept.-Oct. 1932	Sapporo branch, Hokkaido
VIII-141.	<i>Kagaku butai</i> 科学部隊	v. 1 no. 1-2 Mar.-Apr. 1933	Kanagawa Pref. branch
VIII-142.	<i>Kifū</i> 旗風	Jan. 1933 v. 23 no. 1 Jan.- Feb. 1934	Niigata branch
VIII-143.	<i>Nishi no kaitakusha</i> 西の開拓者	no. 1 July 1933	Kansai Regional Conference
VIII-144.	<i>Osaka no hata</i> 大阪の旗	v. 1 no. 1 Sept. '32 v. 1 no. 3 Oct. '32 v. 2 nos. 1-5 Feb.- Sept. 1933	Osaka branch
VIII-145.	<i>Shōnai no hata</i> 庄内の旗	Mar.-Apr. 1933	Yamagata prepara- tory branch
VIII-146.	<i>Totsugeki-tai</i> 突撃隊	no. 2 Nov. 1932 v. 2 no. 1 Sept. '33 v. 2 no. 3 Jan. '33 —Nov. 1932	Okayama Pref. branch
VIII-147.	<i>Warera no bungaku</i> われらの文学	Nov. 1932	Hiroshima branch
VIII-148.	<i>Watashitachi no bungaku</i> わたしたちの文学	Dec. 1932	Aichi branch
VIII-149.	<i>Zahyō</i> 座標	Feb., Aug. '32	Aomori branch

3. Poetry, Songs, Tanka, Haiku

a. Books

- VIII-150. MORIYAMA, Kei. *Puroretaria shi no tame ni* (プロレタリア詩の為に). Hakuyō-sha. 1932. 298 p. CSt-H; CtY: DLC; NNC

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Essays on the significance, composition and history of proletarian poetry. A history of proletarian poetry is also included in *Geijutsu-jō no riarizumu to yuibutsu-ron tetsugaku* (芸術上のリアリズムと唯物論哲学), Bunka Shūdah-sha, 1933, 300 p. by the same author. DLC

- VIII-151. NAKANO, Shigeharu, ed. *Puroretaria shi no sho-mondai* (プロレタリア詩の諸問題). Sōbunkaku. 1932. 374 p. CSt-H; DLC

Essays on various problems confronting proletarian poetry: methodology in the composition of poetry, organization in the field of poetry, the form of poetry, a study of bourgeois poetry, and a history of Japanese proletarian poetry.

- VIII-152. WATANABE, Junzō. *Tanka no sho-mondai* (短歌の諸問題). Nauka-sha. 1934. 310 p. CSt-H

Collection of essays written during the early 'thirties concerning problems of the proletarian *tanka*. Watanabe was a pioneer in this movement and has made an interesting statement to the government concerning the *tanka* movement (see no. VIII-153).

b. Documents

- VIII-153. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Puroretaria tanka undō gaikan*. (プロレタリア短歌運動概観). June 1943. 143 p. Marked secret. 思想資料パンフレット特輯 38 CSt-H; DLC

History of the proletarian *tanka* movement written by Watanabe Junzō, a pioneer in this movement. According to the introduction, Watanabe formed the Musansha Kajin Remmei in Nov. 1928 and continued as an active participant until Dec. 1941, when he was arrested. He traces the development of the Japanese poem, *waka*, from early times to the present, and describes the historical significance, objective and history of the proletarian *tanka* movement from the inception of the above Remmei.

- VIII-154. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Sayoku haiku undō gaikan* (左翼俳句運動概観). June 1942. 64 p. Marked secret. 思想資料パンフレット特輯 JJ

An analytical history of the radical leftwing *haiku* movement.

c. Anthologies

- VIII-155. ISHIKAWA, Takuboku [Hajime]. *Ichiku no suna* (一握の砂). Kawade Shobō. 1949. 208 p. NDL

This anthology of *tanka*, entitled "A handful of sand," was first published in 1910, and constitutes one of the pioneer attempts to express poetically common sentiments of the people, the irrationality of society, the injustice of mankind in simple language. From his dissatisfaction with society in general, Ishikawa gradually shifted his feelings toward socialism. His endeavors to revolutionize the *tanka* for the expression of socialistic ideas are the prototype of the proletarian poem. This anthology, first published in 1910, was ridiculed by most of his contemporaries but is now regarded as a milestone

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in modern Japanese poetry and as having humanized and returned it to the people. Ishikawa led a tormented and sad life under adverse economic circumstances until he died at twenty-seven in 1912 (The same year the Meiji era came to a close). It was long after he died that his poetry was fully appreciated. In 1934 Shio Sakanishi translated an anthology of Ishikawa's poems entitled *A Handful of Sand* (Marshall Jones Company, Boston, 77 p.)

- VIII-156. ISHIKAWA, Takuboku [Hajime]. ...*shi ka-shū* (...詩歌集). Kin'en-sha. 1954. 406 p. NDL

Includes the former anthology, *Ichiaku no suna* and three other anthologies plus a commentary.

- VIII-157. KODAMA, Kagai. *Shakai-shugi shi-shū* (社会主義詩集). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1949. 226 p. Commentary by Okano Takeo. CSt-H; CtY; DLC

Partly republished in 1956 by San'ichi Shobō in the introductory volume of *Nihon puroretaria bungaku taikai*.

Believed to be the first collection of poems praising socialism. The poet hoped they would become the "hymns" of socialism. The collection was originally published in 1903 but was banned by the government. A number of essays on Kodama and a chronology of his life are also included.

- VIII-158. NAKANO, Shigeharu. ...*shi-shū* (...詩集). Nauka-sha. 1935. 177 p. CSt-H
Nakano's first anthology of poems.

- VIII-159. NIHON PURORETARIA SAKKA DŌMEI. *Akai jūka* (赤い銃火). 1932. 63 p. 詩パンフレット 1 DLC

"Red gunfire" is an anthology of revolutionary and anti-war poems edited and published by a communist front organization. It was banned by the government.

- VIII-160. NIHON PURORETARIA SAKKA DŌMEI. *Nihon puroretaria shi-shū* (日本プロレタリア詩集). Senki-sha. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

Anthology of representative poems selected from newspapers, magazines, etc. composed by all types of persons including farmers and factory workers, according to the introduction. Due to suppression and other difficulties, the 1930 edition was not published; the 1929 and 1931 editions are still available.

- VIII-161. NIHON PURORETARIA SAKKA DŌMEI. *Senretsu* (戦列). 1933. 63 p. 詩パンフレット 3 CSt-H

Anthology of poems entitled "the Fighting Line."

- VIII-162. OGUMA, Hideo. ...*shi-shū* (...詩集). Chikuma Shobō. 1953. 410 p. Edited and compiled by Nakano Shigeharu. NDL

Collection of poems on humanitarianism, peace and anti-war themes. Considering the time when they were originally written and when many of them were first an-

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nounced, they might be aptly termed "resistance" poems. This anthology is actually the combination of three prewar anthologies by Oguma entitled *Oguma Hideo shi-shu* (1935), *Tobu sori*—the flying ski (1935), and *Ryūmin shi-shū*—anthology of poems on drifting people (1940) and an addition of 120 poems selected by Nakano from those still preserved by the poet's widow. Oguma received only grade school education and was at various times a fishing hand, assistant to a charcoal maker, paper factory worker, clerk in a clothier store, a newspaper reporter and finally a poet. He joined the proletarian literary movement in the early 'thirties.

- VIII-163. PURORETARIA KAJIN DOMEI. *Puroretaria karonshū* (プロレタリア歌論集 Anthology of proletarian songs). Kōgyokudō. 1930. 280 p. DLC

- VIII-164. PURORETARIA SHIJIN-KAI. *Puroretoria shi-shu* (プロレタリア詩集). Chūgai Shobō. 1932. 170 p. DLC; NNC

An anthology of poems appearing in the magazine *Puroretaria shi*, and a record of the activities of the Puroretaria Shijin-kai from its establishment to its dissolution in Mar. 1932. The anthology also contains a short history and chronology of the Shijin-kai, the proletarian poets association.

- VIII-165. SHIN-NIHON BUNGAKKAI. *Nihon Puroretaria shi-shū*—1928-1936 (日本プロレタリア詩集). 1949. 292 p. CSt-H; DLC

Collection of poems by proletarian writers from 1928 to 1936. Appended is a chronology of the proletarian poetry movement from 1928 to 1936.

- VIII-166. SHIN-NIHON KAJIN KYŌKAI. *Jimmin tanka senshū* (人民短歌選集). Itō Shoten. 1948. 191 p. CSt-H; DLC

Collection of "peoples *tanka*," the Japanese short poem, as they appeared in the *Jimmin tanka*, organ of the Shin-Nihon Kajin Kyōkai, published in the early postwar years.

- VIII-167. SHIRASU, Takasuke. *Shishū sutoraiiki sengen* (詩集ストライキ宣言). Kōgyokudō. 1930. 70 p. DLC

Collection of poems concerning strikes and other topics. The police banned the book because, it seems, the book contained one poem entitled "The war leaves nothing" which they regarded as anti-war and conducive to arousing such feelings.

- VIII-168. TSUBOI, Shigeharu and ONCHI, Terutake, comp. *Nihon kaihō shi-shū* (日本解放詩集). Iizuka Shoten. 1950. 346 p. CSt-H

Anthology of 127 poems selected from the works of 114 poets from the 1880's to the present. Also included is a thumbnail biography of each poet, a commentary, and a detailed chronology from 1882 to the present.

- VIII-169. WATANABE, Junzō. *Nihon no chizu* (日本の地図). Shinkō Shuppan-sha. 1954. 206 p. NDL

Collection of 464 songs composed by Watanabe between Autumn 1946 and March 1954. This is his fifth anthology of songs published since the end of the war. Watanabe is a leading radical leftwing poet who has devoted most of his life, for many years prior to World War II, to the enhancement of the leftwing *tanka*.

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d. Periodicals

VIII-170. *Puroretaria haiku* (プロレタリア俳句). Published by Haiku Kenkyū-sha.

DLC has vol. 1 no. 1 (Feb. 1931).

VIII-171. *Puroretaria shi* (プロレタリア詩). Published by Puroretaria Shijin-kai. Monthly. First published in 1931.

DLC has vol. 1 nos. 7, 9-10 (Sept. Nov. Dec. 1931), and vol. 2 nos. 1-2 (Jan. Feb.-Mar. 1932); CSt-H has vol. 1 nos. 9-10.

VIII-172. *Shinkō tanka* (新興短歌). Published by Shinkō Tanka Henshū-bu. DLC has vol. 3 no. 11 (Dec. 1939).

VIII-173. *Tanka sensen* (短歌戦線). Published by Tanka Sensen-sha. Monthly. DLC has May 1929 and Dec. 1930.

VIII-174. *Tanka zen'ei* (短歌前衛). Published by Tanka Zen'ei Hakkōjo. Monthly. First published in 1929?

DLC has vol. 2 nos. 3, 5-7, 9 (Mar., May-July, Sept. 1930); CSt-H has vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1930).

VIII-175. *Zen'ei shijin* (前衛詩人). Published by Zen'ei Shijin-sha. Monthly. First published in 1930.

DLC has nos. 3, 7 (May, Sept. 1930).

4. Theater

a. Books

VIII-176. MARAYAMA, Tomoyoshi. *Nihon puroretaria engeki-ron* (日本プロレタリア演劇論). Tenjin-sha. 1930. 150 p. DLC

The only collection of essays on the theory of the leftwing theater. The first half is more or less theoretical, while the second half contains comments on the performance of the plays, *Taiyō no nai machi* (The street without any sun) and *All quiet on the western front*.

b. Plays

VIII-177. FUJIMORI, Seikichi. *Gisei* (犠牲 Sacrifice). Kagetsu-sha. 1947. 151 p. NNC

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- VIII-178. FUJIMORI, Seikichi. *Haritsuke Mozaemon* (磔茂左衛門). Shinchō-sha. 1926. 303 p. CSt-H

A five-act play depicting the peasant uprisings during the Tokugawa era. It was written and published just at the time when tenant farmer disputes were becoming more frequent in post-World War I Japan. The playwright graduated from Tokyo Imperial University and was a liberal writer in the beginning but gradually shifted to Marxism.

- VIII-179. FUJIMORI, Seikichi. *Hikari to yami* (光と闇 Light and Darkness). Senki-sha. 1929. 144 p. 日本プロレタリア作家叢書 1 CSt-H

- VIII-180. FUJIMORI, Seikichi. *Nani ga kanojo o sō saseta ka* (何が彼女をそうさせたか). Shinkō Shuppan-sha. 1948. 198 p. NNC

"What made her do that" is a humanitarian play appealing to one's sense of social justice. It is reported that it became so popular and widely read that it was eventually filmed, and the title became a commonly used phrase by the people in general. It concerns the selling of a young niece as a child actor by her uncle, a drunkard, her subsequent maltreatment, compromise of her purity, and her climactic setting fire to a Christian church.

- VIII-181. MURAYAMA, Tomoyoshi. *Bōryokudan-ki* (暴力団記). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1930. 207 p. 日本プロレタリア傑作選集 CSt-H

A four-act play depicting the desperate struggle of railway workers in China in 1923 against a Chinese warlord [Wu P'ei-fu?] and their eventual defeat after they had been suppressed by armed force.

- VIII-182. NIHON PURORETARIA ENGEKI DŌMEI. REPATORI IINKAI. *Purotto shō-kyakuhon-shū* (プロット小脚本集 A collection of short plays). vol. 1. Nihon Puroretaria Engeki Dōmei Shuppan-bu. 1932. 162 p. Issued as a commemorative issue for 1932 May Day struggles. DLC

- VIII-183. NIHON PURORETARIA ENGEI DŌMEI. PUROTTO REPATORI IINKAI. *Kuwa to jū* (鍬と銃). 1933. 58 p. プロレタリア戯曲叢書 5 DLC

One of a series of five pamphlets containing proletarian plays. This one entitled, "the hoe and the rifle" contains six short plays on the anti-war theme, specially selected for the Aug. 1 International Antiwar day commemoration.

c. Periodicals and newspapers

- VIII-184. *Engeki shimbun* (演劇新聞). Published by the Nihon Puroretaria Engeki Dōmei. First publishing date unknown. Irregular. DLC has no. 12 (Mar. 1, 1932); extra June 1932; no. 19 (July 20, 1932); no. 23 (Jan. 28, 1933).

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VIII-185. *Puroretaria engeki* (プロレタリア演劇). First published in June 1930. Monthly. Organ of Nihon Puroretaria Gekijō Dōmei. This organization later became Nihon Puroretaria Engeki Dōmei.

DLC has vol. 1, nos. 1-5 (June-Oct. 1930) and issues for January, February-March, April and June 1933 which contain no volume number; CSt-H has vol. 1, nos. 2-3.

VIII-186. *Purotto* (プロット). Esperanto title: Prot—Monata organo de la Japana prolet-teatra unio. Organ of the Nihon Puroretaria Engeki Dōmei. First published in Jan. 1932. Monthly.

DLC has first nine issues, Jan.-Sept. 1932 including one extra edition; CSt-H has first six issues, Jan.-May, 1932.

VIII-187. *Sayoku gekijō pamfuretto* (左翼劇場パンフレット). Published by Sayoku Gekijō. First published in 1929 or 1930. Irregular.

DLC has no. 4 (Nov. 1930); no. 5 (Dec. 1930); no. 7 (Jan. 1933); no.-(Nov. 1932); no.-(May 1932); no.-(Aug. 1932); no. 7 (Mar. 1931)—changed title to *Tawarishichi*; no.-(Jan. 1931).

VIII-188. *Teatoro* (テアトロ). Esperanto title: La teatro. Published by Teatro-sha and edited by Akita Ujaku. 1934t. Monthly.

DLC has vol. 1. no. 2; vol. 3 no. 10; vol. 4 nos. 1-5, 7-8; vol. 5 nos. 2, 4, 6-11; vol. 6 nos. 2, 6, 9-11; vol. 7 nos. 3-7 (no. 5 not published?)

5. Motion pictures

a. Books

VIII-189. IWASAKI, Akira. *Eiga to shihon-shugi* (映画と資本主義). Orai-sha. 1931. 443 p. DLC

Of immediate interest is the third chapter on proletarian motion pictures discussing anti-war and anti-business movies, the popularization of proletarian movies, and other topics. Iwasaki, a graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, was a film critic and one of the foremost advocates of proletarian movies in the 'twenties.

VIII-190. NIHON PRORETARIA EIGA DOMEI. *Puroretaria eiga no tame ni* (プロレタリア映画の為に). Kyōseikaku. 1931. 189 p. DLC

An analysis of the development of the proletarian motion picture movement from 1927 to 1931 by several leftwing authors.

VIII-191. SHINKŌ EIGASHA. *Puroretaria eiga undō no tembō* (プロレタリア映画運動の展望). Taiōkaku. 1930. 361 p. CSt-H; DLC

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Essays by 20 leftwing writers on the function, activities, and theory of the proletarian motion picture, and a report on proletarian movies in foreign countries, principally the Soviet Union, with one small section devoted to such movies and censorship in the U.S.

VIII-192. SHINKŌ EIGA-SHA. *Puroretaria eiga undō riron* (プロレタリア映画運動理論). Tenjin-sha. 1930. 143 p. CSt-H

Eight articles on the proletarian motion picture movement; they are concerned with the history of the movement in Japan, the organization of the Nihon Puroretaria Eiga Dōmei (Purokino), the manufacture and showing, and mass-ization of the proletarian motion picture, its fight with the bourgeois motion picture, the censorship system, and its relation to the critics.

b. Periodicals

VIII-193. *Purokino* (プロキノ). Published by Nihon Puroretaria Eiga Dōmei. Monthly but irregular. DLC has vol. 1 no. 1 (May 1932); vol. [1?] no. 2 (June-July 1932); [1?] vol. no. 3 (Aug.-Oct. 1932).

VIII-194. *Puroretaria eiga* (プロレタリア映画). Organ of Nihon Puroretaria Eiga Dōmei. First published in Aug. 1930. Monthly. Successor to *Shinkō eiga*.

DLC has vol. 2 nos. 7-10 (Aug., Sept., Oct., and Dec. 1930) and vol. 3 nos. 3, 5 (Mar., and May 1931); CSt-H has vol. 2 nos. 7-9 and vol. 3 nos. 1-2 (Jan.-Feb. 1931).

VIII-195. *Shinkō eiga* (新興映画). Published by Shinkō Eiga-sha. First published in 1929. Monthly. CSt-H has vol. 1 no. 4 (Dec. 1929) and vol. 2 nos. 2, 6 (Feb. and June 1930). With Aug. 1930 issue changed name to *Puroretaria eiga*.

6. Music

a. Books

VIII-196. SONOBE, Saburō. *Minshū ongaku-ron* (民衆音楽論 Theory of music for the masses). San'ichi Shobō. 1949. 188 p. DLC

VIII-197. SONOBE, Saburō. *Ongaku no kaikyū-sei* (音楽の階級性). Nauka-sha. 1950. 181 p. ナウカ講座 30. DLC

Almost the only communist interpretation of the relationship between music, class consciousness, politics, and ideology.

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b. Periodicals and newspapers

VIII-198. *Ongaku shimbun* (音楽新聞). Published by Nihon Puroretaria Ongaku Dōmei. Irregular.

DLC has no. 3 (Apr. 30, 1932); no. 4 (July 3, 1932).

VIII-199. *Puroretaria ongaku* (プロレタリア音楽). Organ of the Nihon Puroretaria Ongaku Dōmei.

DLC has no. 1 (Feb. 1933); no. 2 (Apr. 1933).

7. Art

a. Bibliography

VIII-200. NIHON PURORETARIA BIJUTSU-KA DŌMEI. "Puroretaria bijutsu ni kansuru shuyō bunken (プロレタリア美術に関する主要文献)" in *Nihon puroretaria bijutsu-shū* (日本プロレタリア美術集). Naigai-sha. 1931. p. 143-146.

DLC

Bibliography on the proletarian art movement.

b. Books

VIII-201. MURAYAMA, Tomoyoshi. *Puroretaria bijutsu no tame ni* (プロレタリア美術のために). Atorie-sha. 1930. 292 p.

CSt-H; DLC

Collection of essays written over a four-year period on proletarian art, critiques of foreign artists, essays on architecture, and reviews of books and exhibitions. Murayama was a gifted individual in the arts, participating very actively in leftwing theatrics, writing plays, and novels, and essays on the theater and motion pictures. He was also active in supporting strikes through the theater, and joined various leftwing cultural organizations of the time.

VIII-202. NAGATA, Isshū. *Puroretaria kaiga-ron* (プロレタリア絵画論). Tenjin-sha. 1930. 127 p.

DLC

A general and particular discussion of proletarian painting. Two essays on the basis and development of proletarian painting followed by a report of conditions in various countries from the U.S.S.R. to the U.S. and concluding with a section on Japanese proletarian art. Nagata was an active member of the radical leftwing cultural organization, Zen'ei Geijutsu-ka Dōmei in prewar years.

VIII-203. NIHON PURORETARIA BIJUTSU-KA DŌMEI. *Nihon puroretaria bijutsu-shū* (日本プロレタリア美術集). Esperanto title: *Albumo do Japana*. Naigai-sha. 1931. 146 p.

DLC

Collection of specimens of proletarian art from the end of 1928 to April 1931, including ordinary paintings, comics, color prints, posters, and sculpture. Following

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the paintings, etc., there is a 17-page history of the proletarian art movement, a chronology, and a bibliography.

- VIII-204. OKAMOTO, Tōki. *Puroretaria bijutsu to wa nani ka* (プロレタリア美術とは何か). Atorie-sha. 1930. 411 p. DLC

"What is proletarian art?" is divided into four sections: part I the chapter on the history of proletarian art in Japan is essential to a better comprehension of the remainder; part II presents the transition from "petit bourgeois formalism" to content emphasis in proletarian art; part III is a critique of separate works; part IV is an appendix. Okamoto was an art critic.

- VIII-205. YASHIMA, Tarō. *Atarashii taiyō*. See no. IX-115.

c. Periodicals and newspapers

- VIII-206. *Bijutsu shimbun* (美術新聞). Published by Nihon Puroretaria Bijutsu-ka Dōmei. Twice monthly. First published in 1932. DLC has nos. 5, 10-12 (March 25, 1932, Jan. 25, Mar. 5, May 5, 1933).

- VIII-207. *Puro bijutsu* (プロ美術) and *Puroretaria bijutsu* (プロレタリア美術). Organ of Nihon Puroretaria Bijutsu-ka Dōmei. First published in Nov. 1929. Changed name to *Puroretaria bijutsu* in 1931? DLC has Nov. and Dec. 1929, Jan., Feb., Apr., 1930, of *Puro bijutsu* and nos. 2-6 (Jan. 1932-July 1933) of the latter.

8. Juvenile Literature

a. Theory

- VIII-208. HONJŌ, Mutsuo. *Shihon-shugi ka no shōgakkō* (資本主義下の小学校). Jiyū-sha. 1930. 188 p. DLC

"The grade school under capitalism" is a Marxian interpretation of grade school education. Although it is not directly related to juvenile literature, the author is well known in this field which leftwing literary groups emphasized in the past. According to Honjō, the "inconsistencies of education are most clearly manifested in grade school education." The first part of the book concerns the grade school pupil; the second, the pupil's songs, and the teacher as seen through literature; the final part concerns the position and salary of the teacher.

- VIII-209. MAKIMOTO, Kusrō. *Puroretaria dōyō kōwa* (プロレタリア童謡講話). Kōgyokudō. 1930. 154 p. CST-H; DLC

On the theory of the proletarian nursery rhyme and children's songs, their uses, method of composition with samples.

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- VIII-210. MAKIMOTO, Kusrō. *Puroretaria jidō bungaku sho-mondai* (プロレタリア児童文学諸問題). Sekai-sha. 1930. 226 p. CSt-H; DLC

Essays on the function, theory, and realities of proletarian juvenile literature. The latter half of the book is devoted to a history of this literature. Makimoto was the leading theorist in this field of proletarian literary activity before the war.

- VIII-211. *Puroretaria geijutsu kyōtei*. See no. VIII-40.

- VIII-212. TANABE, Hisashi. *Puroretaria tsuzurikata shidō riron* (プロレタリア綴方指導理論—Guiding theory for proletarian composition). Jiyū-sha. 1931. 164 p. CSt-H; DLC

b. Novels, songs and others

- VIII-213. KAJI, Wataru. *Rōdō nikki to kutsu* (労働日記と靴). Kaizō-sha. 1930. 217 p. 新鋭文学叢書 DLC; MiU

In this book there are two short stories for juveniles originally published in *Puroretaria geijutsu* and *Musansha shimbun*: *Jigoku* (Hell) and *Kubiwa o hamerareta u no tori* (The cormorant with a ring round its neck). The former centers around a juvenile beggar and his gradual awakening to socialism through rebellion against the maltreatment of Korean workers; the latter aims to inspire a distaste for capitalist exploitation.

- VIII-214. MAKIMOTO, Kusrō. *Akai hata* (赤い旗). Kōgyokudō. 1930. 105 p. プロレタリア児童集 CSt-H

"The red flag" is a collection of radical leftwing juvenile literature.

- VIII-215. MAKIMOTO Kusrō and KAWASAKI, Taiji, comp. *Chisai dōshi* (小さい同志). Jiyū-sha. 1931. 128 p. DLC

Collection of songs for children with a radical leftwing theme.

- VIII-216. NIHON SAYOKU BUNGEKI-KA SŌ-RENGŌ. *Sensō ni taisuru sensō* (戦争に対する戦争). Nansō Shoin. 1928. 404 p. CSt-H

Among the many short stories included in this volume is one by Ogawa Mimei called *Nobara* the wild rose, regarded as one of the forerunners of proletarian juvenile literature. It was announced in 1922, and stresses pacifism.

c. Periodicals and newspapers

- VIII-217. *Bungei sensen* (文芸戦線). Published monthly from June 1924. For availability see no. VIII-116. From June to about Oct. 1927 established a column called *Chisai dōshi*, young comrades.

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VIII-218. *Dōwa undō* (童話運動). Organ of Shinkō Dōwa Sakka Remmei, and edited by Okawara Hiroshi. Monthly. Jan.-Dec. 1929.

A radical leftwing magazine for juvenile literature. DLC has Aug.-Dec. 1929 issues.

VIII-219. *Musansha shimbun* (無産者新聞). Published by the Musansha Shimbun-sha. For availability see no. IV-572.

From June 1926 *Kodomo no sekai*, a children's section, was begun.

VIII-220. *Puroretaria geijutsu* (プロレタリア芸術). Organ of the Nihon Puroretaria Geijutsu Remmei. Monthly. July 1927t.

From Jan.-Mar. 1928 the periodical included a number of stories for juveniles by such authors as Kaji Wataru, Makimoto Kusurō, Hayashi Fusao.

VIII-221. *Shōnen senki* (少年戦旗). Organ of the Zen-Nihon Musansha Geijutsu Dantai Kyōgikai. Monthly. May 1929-Dec. 1931.

It was first published as a supplement to *Senki* from May 1929 but became independent from Oct. 1929. It was often banned by the government. The editor was Yamada Seizaburō and the principal contributors were apparently Tokunaga Sunao and Kataoka Teppei. DLC has May-Aug. 1929, Oct. 1929, Jan.-Nov. 1930, May-Dec. 1931 when it terminated publication.

C. Religion

1. Books

VIII-222. ASANO, Kenshin. *Mushin-ron to han-shūkyō undō—sono shi-teki tembō* (無神論と反宗教運動—其の史的展望). Daiyūkaku. 1932. 142 p. DLC

“Atheism and the anti-religion movement” contains two sections on atheism in Japan (10 p.) as exemplified in Kōtoku, Sano Manabu, and Nakae Chōmin, and the anti-religion movement in Japan and the Nihon Han-Shūkyō Dōmei (日本反宗教同盟 The Japan Anti-Religion League), and the Han-Shūkyō Tōsō Dōmei Jumbikai (反争宗教同盟準備会 The Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of an Anti-Religion Struggle League).

VIII-223. HAN-SHŪKYŌ TŌSŌ DŌMEI JUMBI-KAI. *Han-shūkyō tōsō no hata no moto ni* (反宗教斗争の旗の下に). Kyōseikaku. 1931. 334 p. CST-H

About the anti-religion movement and Marxist interpretation of religion.

VIII-224. HONJŌ, Kasō. *Puroretaria shūkyō riron* (プロレタリア宗教理論——Proletarian religious theory). Daiōkaku. 1930. 390 p. DLC

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First half of the above was published in 1928 by Tōhō-sha (200 p.), entitled: *Marukusu-shugi to shūkyō riron* (マルクス主義と宗教理論) (DLC).

VIII-225. KATŌ, Matao, comp. *Han-shūkyō undō hihan* (反宗教運動批判—Criticism of the anti-religious movement). 1931. 265 p. DLC

VIII-226. MIURA, Sangendō. *Sayoku sensen to shūkyō* (左翼戦線と宗教—The leftwing and religion). Daiōkaku Shobō. 1930. 311 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

VIII-227. MORITO, Tatsuo. *Nihon ni okeru kirisuto-kyō to shakai-shugi undō-shi* (日本に於けるキリスト教と社会主義運動Ⅱ). Keiji-sha. 1949. 180 p. Also printed by Ushio Shobō in 1950 (177 p.) CSt-H; DLC

The only book on the relation between Christianity and the socialist movement in Japan. The author was a prominent leader and theorist in the rightwing of the postwar social democratic movement. He was Minister of Education during the first Socialist-led Cabinet in 1947. This book was originally written as a series of periodical articles from 1933 to 1936 in the *Ohara shakai mondai kenkyūjo zasshi*. The early socialist movement and the introduction of Christianity, Christianity in the mass movements of post-World War I years, the relations between Christianity and specific leftwing leaders, and a few general sections on the methodology used in the survey are the subjects covered.

VIII-228. TAKATSU, Masamichi. *Musan kaikyū to shūkyō* (無産階級と宗教). Daiōkaku. 1929. 204 p. DLC

VIII-229. TAKATSU, Masamichi. *Sakushu ni fukeru hitobito* (搾取に耽ける人々). Daiōkaku. 1931. 300 p. DLC; NNC

“The proletariat and religion” (VIII-228) and “People steeped in exploitation” (VIII-229) are attacks by a former communist on the hypocrisy of religion, especially of various Buddhist sects. Takatsu was a priest in his young days but gave up his temple and studied at Waseda University, where he became deeply involved in leftwing student movements and was later implicated in the JCP arrests of 1923. After release from prison he joined the Zenkoku Taishū-tō, a legal leftwing party. In the postwar period he has been elected to the House of Representatives as a Socialist.

2. Documents

VIII-230. SHIHŌ-SHŌ, KEIJI-KYOKU. *Bukkyō to shakai-undō—Shutoshite Shinkō Bukkyō Seinen Dōmei jiken ni tsuite* (仏教と社会運動——它として新興仏教青年同盟事件に就いて). 1939. 497 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 52 JJ

The latter half of this book on Buddhism and social movements is concerned with the incident of the “New Buddhist Youth League” (Shinkō Bukkyō Seinen Dōmei) which advocated a change of the national policy through revolutionary means, the denial of private property, and the establishment of an unexploited anarchic society according to Buddhistic tenets. The development of the League from its inception and its relation to other left wing social movements is described.

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The first half is devoted to an analysis of primitive Buddhism, illegal social movements by Buddhism in the Meiji period, and recent illegal activities in which the relationship between Buddhism and leftwing movements in general are described.

This study was written by a prosecutor in the Kanazawa District Court.

VIII-231. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shinkō Bukkyō Seinen Dōmei no kessei keika to sono honshitsu* (新興仏教青年同盟の結成経過と其本質). 1938. 117 p. Marked secret. CST-H

Statement given by the chairman of the central executive committee of the New Buddhist Youth League on its establishment and character.

3. Periodicals

VIII-231.1. *Han-shūkyō tōsō* (反宗教斗争). Organ of Han-Shūkyō Tōsō Dōmei Jumbikai. Edited by Fukaya Susumu. Esperanto title: Batalo Kontraureligia. First publication date unknown. Presumably monthly. DLC has issues for July and Aug. 1931.

VIII-231.2. *Sentō-teki mushin ronja* (戦斗的無神論者). Organ of Nihon Sentō-teki Mushin Ronja Dōmei. Edited by Mizuno Yoshiharu. Esperanto title: La militanta ateisto. First publication date unknown and irregularly published. DLC has issues for Oct.-Nov. 1931, May 1932, Apr. and Aug. 1933.

VIII-231.3. *Shinkō bukkyō* (新興仏教). Published by Bukki-sha. Esperanto title: La proleta budismo. DLC has issues for Nov. and Dec. 1931, May and Nov. 1932, Apr. and June 1933.

D. Student Movement

The student movement in Japan began toward the end of World War I. The intellectually sensitive students were stimulated by the idealism of democracy, and were impressed by the success of the communist revolution in Russia. A great interest in Marxism developed and it was the Marxist oriented students who were most militant and began to participate in the labor and agrarian leftwing social movements. They became the articulators for these mass movements which were beginning to gain momentum after World War I. In this way, the students became one of the channels of leadership recruitment for the broader social movements. Many of the students who thus dedicated their lives later emerged as the leaders of the prewar proletarian political parties and still constitute an essential part of the top elite of the post World War II leftwing political parties. These

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leaders obtained their training in persuading, guiding and utilizing mass organizations and demonstrations during these early years.

With the passage of the Peace Preservation Law in 1925, the government began systematically to suppress the more radical oppositional movements. Because the student movement could give form and content to the rising discontents of the inarticulate masses, the government would wish to eliminate this source of irritation as thoroughly as possible. By 1932, "dangerous thoughts" had been so broadened as to include communism, social democracy and liberalism. Thereafter only the diehard leftists continued a desperate, losing battle with the determined and forceful police state.

Beginning in the late 'twenties the Ministry of Education created, first a *Gakusei-ka* (Student Section), and then gradually elevated its status to a *Gakusei-bu* (Student Department), and *Shisō-kyoku* (Thought Bureau) and finally at the time of the Sino-Japanese War created a new Bureau, the *Kyōgaku-kyoku* (Bureau of Educational Affairs). These divisions of the Ministry were constantly collecting data and analyzing the student and related movements. Many of these studies which have become available only since the end of World War II are listed in this sub-section. Like many other documents in this bibliography, they are also still unevaluated by researchers and scholars; consequently, it is difficult to select a few for special mention. It is apparent that many of the government studies up to the Sino-Japanese War, went beyond a mere historical analysis of the student movement but included many studies, for example, on the "thought processes" and case histories of participants in the student movement, the influence of books, causes for leftwing tendencies to develop among students, and governmental conferences on thought problems. It seems much of this governmental data has not been fully utilized in the various postwar studies of the prewar student movement.

Although teachers and students alike were expelled from the schools and universities in the 'thirties, or jailed together with other leaders of the related political movements, sporadic clashes did occur between the opposing ideological groups. Although the final outcome was weighted in favor of the organized force of the government, limited underground activity continued. The milieu of the student movement during a short period in the 'twenties, and the clandestine character of the movement during the 'thirties are depicted in novel form by two radical leftwing writers: Nakano Shigeharu in *Muragimo* (VIII-98) and Noma Hiroshi in *Kurai e* (VIII-240), respectively. Though the central theme was the famous anti-military base demonstrations at Myōgisan in Gumma Prefecture, *Fun'en no moto ni* by Mamiya Shigesuke (IV-521) describes the role played by the postwar student movement in this type of "struggle."

The postwar student movement did not supply young leaders to the labor union and farmers union movements nor to the leftwing political parties. Because of the almost complete lack of interest by the SDP, the student movement was largely influenced by the JCP. For many postwar

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years the student movement was a militant and comparatively well organized force in combating the resurgence of nationalism and militarism, the intrusion of the police force on university campuses, and in generally enhancing the cause of the leftwing but always remained one of the many mass movements. Studies of the student movement in the postwar period have been mostly focused on the prewar period with only a relatively few on the more recent period. According to a selected bibliography compiled by Lawrence H. Battistini in *The Postwar Student Struggle in Japan* (Charles E. Tuttle Co., Tokyo, 1956, 167 p.), many pertinent articles may be found in the general magazines *Chūō kōron*, *Kaizō*, *Sekai* and a few in *Bungei shunjū*.

1. Bibliography

VIII-232. MOMBU-SHŌ. GAKUSEI-BU. *Shisō chōsa shiryō* (思想調査資料). nos. 6-27.

Bibliography of articles and books published from 1930 to 1935 on thought problems.

2. Books

VIII-233. ARAI, Tsuneyasu. *Kiki no gakusei undō* (危機の学生運動). Meiji Shoin. 1952. 264 p. CSt-H

History and analysis of the postwar student movement from 1945-1951. Chapter 2 is on the rebirth of the movement, 1945-47; chapter 3 on the revival of education and the movement to protect education, 1948; chapter 4, the movement for freedom, peace and independence, 1949; chapter 5, overall peace and the anti-imperialism movement, 1950; chapter 6, overall peace settlement and the peace movement, 1951. Chapter 1 is a review of the entire student movement. A chronology of the movement from 1918-1951 is appended.

VIII-234. GAKUGEI JIYŪ DŌMEI. *Kyōdai mondai hihan* (京大問題批判). Kyoto. Seikei Shoin. 1933. 214 p. DLC

Criticism of the "Kyoto University Incident" by liberal and radical leftwing commentators. Some of the writers are Ishihama Tomoyuki, Hasegawa Nyozeikan, Omori Yoshitarō, Fuse Tatsuji, and seven others. Also includes a statement by a student representative body on the "truth" of what happened in the Incident.

VIII-235. KAWAI, EIJIRO and RŌYAMA, MASAMICHI. *Gakusei shisō mondai* (学生思想問題). Iwanami Shoten. 1932. 149 p. CSt-H; DLC

A minority report by two professors of Tokyo Imperial University who were members of a committee sponsored by the Ministry of Education to delve into the thought problems of students. The authors have divided their report into four parts. The latter two on the causes and measures to be adopted concerning student thought

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problems were presented to the committee, while the first two on the nature of student thought problems were the premises and explanatory remarks. Four charts are attached pertaining to statistics of students enrolled in universities, leftwing students, placement conditions for graduates, and on background material of defendants in the JCP Incident.

- VIII-236. KEIBI KEISATSU KENKYŪ-KAI. *Gakusei undō* (学生運動). Tachibana Shobō. 1953. 304 p. 警備警察叢書 2. NDLM

An historical analysis of the student movement for the law enforcement officer. A considerable emphasis is placed on the relation between the student movement and the JCP. After analyzing some basic problems such as educational freedom, the characteristics of the student movement, its various forms, and relation to mass psychology, chapter 2 describes the relationship between the student movement and the JCP. Chapter 3 is a history emphasizing the postwar period. The appendix is a useful collection of documents on the student movement seldom found in other books. Included are: a chronology, constitution, organization, strength of the *Zengakuren* (Japan Union of Student Self-Governing Societies), international relations of the student movement, JCP cells in universities, and government documents on the student movement.

- VIII-237. KIKUKAWA, Tadao. *Gakusei shakai undō-shi* (学生社会運動史). Umiguchi Shoten. 1947. 475 p. CSt-H; CU; DLC; IEN; MH; MiU
First edition published in 1931 (584 p.) by Chūō Kōron-sha. DLC; NNC

History of the leftwing student movement in Japan from 1918 to 1931. The postwar edition contains an appended chronology covering the same years giving significant events, conventions, arrests, founding of organizations, magazines, etc.

- VIII-238. MORITO, Tatsuo. *Gakusei to seiji* (学生と政治). Kaizō-sha. 1926. 55 p.

On the relation between students and politics, being a description of class distinctions in the educational system, and of the "social science movement." Originally presented as a commemoration speech on the 7th anniversary of the Shinjin-kai at Tokyo Imperial University in 1926. The Shinjin-kai was a group of liberal students whence came many future proletarian political leaders.

- VIII-239. NAKANO, Shigeharu. *Muragimo*. See no. VIII-98.

- VIII-239.1. *Nihon rōdō nenkan* (Ohara ed.) See no. II-32.

- VIII-240. NOMA, Hiroshi. ...*sakuhin-shū* (...作品集). For details see no. VIII-58. DLC

In volume 2 of the above three volume collection, there is a novel called *Kurai e* (The dark picture). It depicts the inability, inhibitions, and lack of decisive resolve on the part of a university student to plunge into and to accept fully the consequences of the leftist student movement during the late 'thirties when it existed in a more or less clandestine manner. Though the Marxist interpretation and analysis of the Japanese situation is appreciated and understood, this student cannot persuade himself to throw in completely his lot with the other dedicated leftwing students, many of whom are his friends.

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- VIII-241. NOSE, Iwakichi. *Saikin gakusei sayoku undō hiroku* (最近学生左翼運動秘録). Banrikaku. 1931. 364 p. CSt-H; DLC

History of the leftwing student movement. After an analysis of the relation between radical leftwing organizations and the student movement, the "book reading groups," the consumers' cooperative and the student movement, various student incidents at Nihon, Waseda, Meiji and Keiō Universities are described.

- VIII-242. SASAKI, Sōichi, *comp.* *Kyōdai jiken* (京大事件). Iwanami Shoten. 1933. 400 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

Symposium of essays by the seven professors who resigned from Kyoto Imperial University after the so-called Kyoto University Incident.

- VIII-243. SUGIYAMA, Kenji. *Nihon gakusei shisō undō-shi* (日本学生思想運動史). Nihon Kirisutokyō Seinenkai Dōmei. 1930. 157 p. CSt-H

History of student thought in Japan. Begins with an introductory statement on the urgency of student thought problems, followed by a history of the proletarian student movement. The history is divided in the following manner: from its inception to the Great Earthquake in 1923, from 1923 to the establishment of the Gakusei Shakai Kagaku Rengōkai in 1924; then it continues to the Kyoto University Incident, the formation of the various proletarian political parties, the rise of the proletarian cultural movement, the period of the supremacy of Fukumoto-ism and the movement to protect student freedom, the arrests of Mar. 15, 1928, and to the formation of the Shin-Rōnō-tō.

- VIII-244. TAKAKUWA, Suehide. *Nihon gakusei shakai undō-shi* (日本学生社会運動史). Aoki Shoten. 1955. 314 p. 青木文庫 227. NDLM

History of the student movement in Japan from the time of the popular rights movement during the Meiji period to 1954. However, the history is concentrated on the prewar movement (270 p.) with only a comparatively short chapter on the postwar period. Appended is a chronology and bibliography on the student movement. The range of the former is from 1868 to 1954. Takakuwa is a lecturer at the Kyoto Jimbun Gakuen.

- VIII-245. TAKAYAMA, Shūgetsu. *Kōtō gakkō to sayoku mondai* (高等学校と左翼問題). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1932. 339 p. CSt-H; DLC

"The higher school and the leftwing problem" is divided into two parts: a description of various student disturbances plus governmental and institutional counter-measures and their effects; part II the normal process (常態論) of college life.

- VIII-246. TŌDAI GAKUSEI JIICHI-KAI. CHŪŌ IINKAI. *Warera wa kokuhatsu-suru—keisatsu techō no zembō* (吾等は告発する——警察手帖の全貌). 1951. 64 p. CSt-H

Reproduction of what was supposed to be a plainclothes policeman's notebook which showed the activities of the Japanese police in their gathering of intelligence on the leftwing in the postwar period.

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- VIII-247. TŌDAI GAKUSEI UNDŌ KENKYŪ-KAI. *Nihon no gakusei undō—sonoriron to rekishi* (日本の学生運動——その理論と歴史). Shinkō Shuppan-sha. 1956. 340 p. NDLM

The basis of this history and analysis of the student movement was the research of a student study group (the Gakusei Undō Kenkyū-kai) in the Rekishi Kenkyū-kai (History Study Group) in the Kyōyō-gakubu of the University of Tokyo. The first part attempts to place the student movement in the over-all strategy of the future revolution in Japan, including a description of its organization and mission, and a broad analysis of state authority and the political strategy of the coming revolution in Japan in relation to the student movement. Part II is a history of the postwar student movement. Part III is on the various problems facing the present student movement in Japan. A chronology of the postwar student movement is appended.

- VIII-248. TOKYO DAIGAKU KYŌDŌ KUMIAI. *Rekishi o tsukuru gakusei-tachi* (歴史を創る学生たち). 1947. 212 p. PC

The student movements of seven countries are described. The *Shinjin-kai* (1918-23) of Japan is presented by Hayashi Kaname on p. 135-188.

- VIII-249. TOKYO TEIKOKU DAIGAKU. GAKUSEI-KA. *Saikin ni okeru hon-gakunai no sayoku gakusei soshiki to sono undō no gaiyō* (最近に於ける本学内の左翼学生組織とその運動の概要). 1932. 59 p. Marked confidential. NDLM

An account of several communist student organizations, their origins, activities, objectives, for use by school officials in counselling freshmen.

- VIII-250. TOKYO TEIKOKU DAIGAKU. GAKUSEI-KA. *Shōwa...nen-jū ni okeru hon-gakunai no gakusei shisō undō no gaiyō* (昭和...年中に於ける本学内の学生思想運動の概況). 1932-34. 3 v. Marked confidential.

NDLM (1934); PC (1933)

Report on leftwing student organizations and activities during 1933-34 in Tokyo Imperial University. For instance, the 1934 report contains a survey of the student movement at that university in 1934, the characteristics of the movement, results of individual and mass counselling, the relation between employment and conversion (recantation), and five case studies of students according to their memoirs who recanted their leftwing activities.

- VIII-251. ZEN-NIHON GAKUSEI JICHI-KAI SŌ-RENGO. SHOKI-KYOKU. *Gakusei undō—tōmen no kadai to shiteki igi* (学生運動——当面の課題と史的意義). Shinri-sha. 1949. 155 p. CSt-H

"The student movement, its present problem and historical significance" is an anthology of essays on the postwar student movement from the radical leftwing standpoint. Academic freedom, the position of the university and professor, the student and the people's democratic revolution, politics and learning, and freedom of the student movement are some of the topics; Oyama Ikuro, Hani Gorō are some of the writers. A chronology of the postwar student movement is appended.

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3. Documents

VIII-252. MOMBU-SHŌ. GAKUSEI-BU. *Gakusei shisō undō no enkaku* (学生思想運動の沿革). 1931. 253 p. Marked confidential. 思想調査資料特輯 PC

History of the student movement from World War I to about Apr. 1929, taking into consideration general social currents, trends of thought, and political and social events. Chapter I is a general discussion of socialism and social movements in Japan; chapter II, the Shinjin-kai; chapter III, the Gakusei Shakai Kagaku Rengō-kai (abbreviated to Gakuren) to the arrests of Mar. 15, 1928; chapter IV, the underground movement; chapter V, until the dissolution of the Gakuren mentioned in chapter III.

VIII-253. MOMBU-SHŌ. GAKUSEI-BU. *Gakusei shisō undō no keika gaiyō. Fu: sono taisaku* (学生思想運動の経過概要一附: 其対策). 1930. 42 p. Marked confidential. CST-H

A brief history of the student movement from 1918 to 1930, with a policy outline and proposed counter-measures vis-à-vis the student movement appended.

VIII-254. MOMBU-SHŌ. GAKUSEI-BU. *Gakusei shisō undō zukai* (学生思想運動図解). 1932. 98 p. Marked confidential. 思想調査資料特輯 PC

Study of the student movement through tables, charts and diagrams, with added commentary. These diagrams and charts show the inter-relationship between university organizations and outside political organizations, their personnel and lines of authority.

VIII-255. MOMBU-SHŌ. GAKUSEI-BU. *Sakei undō ni kan'yo-seru gakusei no kokuhaku* (左傾運動に関与せる学生の告白). 1931. 1 v. (various pagings) DLC

The revelations of students who participated in leftwing activities. These reports are supposed to be the handiwork of those students and their "confessions" regarding their activities. The students came from universities and colleges located in all parts of Japan.

VIII-256. [MOMBU-SHŌ.] KYŌGAKU-KYOKU. *Gakusei seito seikatsu chōsa* (学生生徒生活調査). 1938. 2 v. CST-H (v. 1)

A detailed survey of the living habits of students at both private and public colleges and universities; the survey was made in Nov. 1938.

VIII-257. MOMBU-SHŌ. KYŌGAKU-KYOKU. *Shisō kenkyū* (思想研究). Sept. 1937t. Marked confidential or secret. CST-H

Collection of references to be used by student counsellors in their guidance of student thought problems. Only the pertinent articles have been mentioned below.

No. 1. (Sept. 1937). The importance of the thought problem in the educational field, a speech made by the chief of the Thought Section of the Kyōgaku-kyoku in 1937.

No. 2. (Nov. 1937). The current situation and the tendencies of the intellectual class including an evaluation of student attitudes toward the China Incident.

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No. 3 (Jan. 1928). The tendencies of the "legal" leftwing movement during the China Incident including four labor organizations and two proletarian political parties.

No. 5 (June 1938). The present state of thought movements, a speech by the chief of the Peace Preservation Section, Police Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs.

No. 6 (Nov. 1938). The activities and theory of the "Rōnō" faction.

No. 7 (Mar. 1939). Report on the state of those who recanted their leftwing beliefs.

No. 9 (Feb. 1940). On the new policy of the Comintern by an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and on student thought tendencies as revealed in a survey of 63,028 students in 128 colleges in Japan.

No. 11 (Mar. 1941). A survey of the leftwing movement in education from July 1937 to 1940 including both students and faculty.

VIII-258. MOMBU-SHŌ. SHISŌ-KYOKU. *Kyōiku ni kansuru gakusei no shisō chōsa* (教育に関する学生の思想調査). 1935. 147 p. CSt-H

A survey conducted in 1933 on the outlook and thought processes of 478 "ordinary students" and 215 students arrested for leftwing activities. The ordinary students were requested to write on the subject of "Life, Society, and the State as I see it"; the leftwing students wrote their own "memoirs" (shuki) with no specific title. A comparative study is made of the two groups of students in their outlook toward life in general, the existing educational system, family life and education. Two further studies are made of the "thought content" of leftwing students and the road to leftwing tendencies.

VIII-259. MOMBU-SHŌ. SHISŌ-KYOKU. *Sakei gakusei seito no shuki* (左傾学生生徒の手記). 1934-35. 3 v. Marked confidential. CSt-H; DLC; MiU (v. 2)

A collection of 286 case histories of high school students, college and university students and some graduates who were arrested for violating the Peace Preservation Law. These histories were written between 1929 and 1934 by the students themselves and include data on family background, financial position and health. These histories afford a valuable insight into the student movement of the time and the forces that helped mold its activities.

VIII-260. MOMBU-SHŌ. SHISŌ-KYOKU. *Shisō chōsa shiryō* (思想調査資料). 1928-1937. 32 v. Marked confidential. Nos. 1-4 called *Shisō chōsa sankō shiryō* (思想調査参考資料), issued by Mombu-shō Semmon Gakumu-kyoku; nos. 5- same title issued by the Mombu-shō Gakusei-bu, and later by Mombu-shō Shisō-kyoku.

Principally devoted to an analysis of the student movement. Each issue is divided into several sections: "thought movement" reference materials, shorter topics, activities in foreign countries, and appendices. The series was published approximately every three months. In describing the contents of each issue only the principal essays will be listed.

No. 1 (Oct. 1928). 89 p.

DLC

Investigation of the motivation and processes of those who adhered to communism in the Kyoto University Incident involving the infringement of the Peace Preservation Law. A short survey of their background is given followed by a description of the

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mental processes of three persons in their adherence to communism and what books influenced their thinking. Appended is a synopsis of the main books written by Kawakami Hajime.

No. 2 (Jan. 1929). 161 p.

DLC

A continuation of the study of the student movement. Specific student study groups and organizations, such as a social science study group in a college, the Shinjin-kai, are the objects of research.

No. 3 (Apr. 1929). 246 p.

DLC

A research reference series containing an analysis of Fukumoto-ism, the establishment of a student society of the social sciences (S.S.—社会科学研究会) in a certain college, and other incidents involving students, and a short article on how consumers' unions are used as a tactic in the proletarian movement.

No. 4 (Sept. 1929). 230 p.

CSt-H

An exposition of Akamatsu-ism, and reports on student disturbances in certain colleges and universities, other leftwing student activities, and the intrusion of the proletarian cultural movement into high schools.

No. 5 (Feb. 1930). 112 p.

DLC

The organization of the Gakusei Shakai Kagaku Rengōkai (Alliance of Student Social Science Associations); the opinion of one of the defendants in the JCP Incident concerning the development of the student social science movement in Japan (part I), reports on student difficulties at various colleges.

No. 6 (Apr. 1930). 159 p.

DLC

An exposition of Yamakawa-ism (part I), the students involved in the JCP Incident, the recent student movement, and the development of the student social science movement in Japan (part II).

No. 7 (July 1930). 120 p.

CSt-H; DLC

A sociological observation of Marxism, and exposition of Yamakawa-ism (part II), the development and activities of [the] La Internacio de Eduklaboristoj (Education Worker's International).

No. 8 (Nov. 1930). 180 p.

DLC

A critique of Marxist economics by Takada Yasuma (part I), and exposition of Yamakawa-ism (part III), the development of proletarian literature in Japan, the organization and recent activities of the Puroretaria Kagaku Kenkyūjo (Proletarian Science Research Institute) (プロレタリア科学研究所), the teachers in Japanese grade school and the La Internacio de Eduklaboristoj (Education Worker's International), and the confessions of a leftwing student.

No. 9 (Feb. 1931). 208 p.

DLC

A critique of Marxian economics by Takada Yasuma (part II), the organization and recent activities of the Shinkō Kyōiku Kenkyūjo (New Education Research Institute) (新興教育研究所), a general outline of the "Pioniro" (Pioneer) movement in Japan, reports on research clubs, readings groups in various colleges.

No. 10 (May 1931). 211 p.

DLC

An evaluation of a socialistic economic order (part I), observations on student thought problems by Kawai Ejirō, the organization and activities of leftwing groups in Nippon University, the "T.N." reading group in the Toyoshima Normal School, the education course in leftwing economics, politics, philosophy, etc., and list of reference books proposed by the Waseda Daigaku Dokusho-kai Remmei, reports on research clubs, reading groups in various colleges.

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No. 11 (Aug. 1931). 187 p.

DLC

An evaluation of a socialistic economic order (part II), observations on student consumers' union (part I), the recent activities of the anti-imperialism movement and its origins, the research courses and texts used by leftwing students, list of Japanese and foreign publications banned during 1930, various student disturbances.

No. 12 (Nov. 1931). 189 p.

DLC

The advocacies and realities of the anti-religion movement, the student consumers' union (part II), recent recantations in the radical leftwing student movement, the Students' Self-Governing Association, governmental study groups concerning thought problems.

No. 13 (Jan. 1932). 199 p.

DLC

The student consumers' union (part III), the past and present of the MOPR movement (Mezhdunarodnaia organizatsiia pomoshchi bortsam revoliutsii, International red aid), survey of student newspapers, conference of student counsellors.

No. 14 (May 1932). 205 p.

DLC

The observations of a leftwing student, the recent change of organization in the party organ of the JCP, the causes and counter-measures against leftwing tendencies among students, the preparatory committee of the Nihon Rōnō Kyūen-kai, leftwing movement toward students taking examinations, and freshmen students.

No. 15 (July 1932). 200 p.

DLC

"Thought Incidents" involving grade school teachers, the establishment of the Nihon Proletaria Bunka Remmei (Japan Proletarian Cultural Federation), the recent changes in the organ of the Japan Young Communist League and a list of "thought" publications banned during 1931 in Japan.

No. 16 (Nov. 1932). 228 p.

DLC

A history of the proletarian literary movement; governmental conferences on thought problems.

No. 17 (Jan. 1933). 240 p.

DLC

"Thought Incidents" involving high school students, the leftwing labor union movement in Japan (part I), the radical leftwing movement in Hokkaido Imperial University, governmental conferences on thought problems.

No. 18 (May 1933). 64 p.

DLC

The leftwing labor union movement in Japan (part II), the May 1932 thesis of the JCP, the memoirs of a leftwing student about mental processes in thought changes, governmental conferences on thought problems, a list of banned Japanese and foreign publications during 1932.

No. 19 (July 1933). 174 p.

DLC

"Thought Incidents" in youth groups and youth training centers, the history of the "proletarian science" movement, living standards among the student of Kyoto Imperial University, the memoirs of a leftwing student, governmental conferences on thought problems.

No. 20 (Sept. 1933). 171 p.

DLC

Some tendencies in the leftwing student movement, the anti-imperialism movement and the Anti-Imperialism League after the Manchurian Incident, governmental conferences on thought problems, list of thought publications published from Jan. to June 1933.

No. 21 (Jan. 1934). 163 p.

CSt-H

Governmental conference on thought problems, index to periodical articles on thought problems from Oct. 1933 to Jan. 1934.

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No. 22 (Mar. 1934). 183 p. PC

The leftwing farmers movement, student thoughts on school education and school life, list of thought books, (July—Dec. 1933) and periodical articles (Feb.—Mar. 1934).

No. 23. (June 1934). 188 p. CSt-H; DLC

The Japan Proletarian Cultural Federation, the grade school teacher and his living conditions, governmental conferences on thought problems, list of banned foreign publications in Japan during 1933.

No. 24 (Aug. 1934). 182 p. DLC

The leftwing movement among women students, a chronology of events concerning the JCP, governmental conferences on thought problems, a list of thought publications published from Jan. to June 1934.

No. 25 (Nov. 1934). 181 p. CSt-H; DLC

A statistical study of leftwing students; governmental conferences on thought problems.

No. 26 (Jan. 1935). 158 p. CSt-H

History and activities of the student cooperative movement, the memoirs of a left-ist grade school teacher, and a survey of student living conditions at the Tokyo Shōka Daigaku, index to periodical articles from Dec. 1934 to Jan. 1935 on thought problems.

No. 27 (Mar. 1935). 160 p. CSt-H; DLC

An outline of thought movements during 1934, including activities in the educational field, governmental conferences on thought problems, a list of thought publications published from July to Dec. 1934, a chronology of events concerning the Japan Young Communist League.

No. 28. (July 1935). 176 p. CSt-H

Survey of student living conditions at Tokyo Imperial University, brief statistical survey of student incidents, and index to periodical articles on thought problems from Apr. to June 1935.

No. 29 (Sept. 1935). 142 p. CSt-H

Index of periodical articles concerning thought problems from July to Sept. 1935.

No. 30 (Nov. 1935). 138 p. CSt-H

Index of periodical articles concerning thought problems from Oct. to Nov. 1935.

No. 31 (Mar. 1936). 134 p. CSt-H

The leftwing movement during 1935, and index to periodical articles from Dec. 1935 to Mar. 1936, on thought problems.

No. 32 (Aug. 1936). 216 p. CSt-H

Survey of student living conditions, list of books on thought problems from July to Dec. 1935, and an index to periodical literature on thought problems from Apr. to July 1936.

VIII-261. MOMBU-SHŌ. SHISŌ-KYOKU. *Shisō-kyoku yōkō* (思想局要項). 1934. 389 p. Marked confidential. CSt-H

A comprehensive policy statement and counter-measures to be taken vis-à-vis students, teachers and faculty thought problems. Also included as Parts III, IV and V is a history of leftwing movements among students and the teaching profession, the movement in general, and statistics on the extent of the movement. The history includes all levels of education, causes for such tendencies among the students and teachers, and a statistical study of the background of those involved.

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VIII-262. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shakai Kagaku Kenkyū-kai kankei shōko shōrui* (社会科学研究会関係証拠書類). 1926. 3 v. (nos. 1-26, 99-118, 164-189).

Shakai Kagaku Kenkyū-kai was an active student leftwing organization. Some of the documentary evidence against the Kenkyū-kai has been assembled in these three volumes. Vol. 1 contains documents pertaining to the activities of the Kansai branch of the Kenkyū-kai; vol. 2 concerns the relationship between the Kenkyū-kai and the proletarian youth movement; while vol. 3 relates to documentary evidence in printed matter about the relationship between the Kenkyū-kai and the proletarian political parties.

VIII-263. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shōwa...nen-jū ni okeru shakai undō no jōkyō*. See no. II-6

VIII-264. SHIHO-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Gakusei shakai undō shinsō* (学生社会運動真相). n.d. 101 p. Marked confidential. CST-H

An analytical study of the student movement from 1917 to the end of 1925, compiled from evidence and testimony of the students involved in the violations of the Peace Preservation Law. After a short historical review of the movement, the main part of the study is devoted to the organization, the general policies, the principal activities of the movement, the philosophy of its central members, relations with other political organizations, *i.e.*, Seiji Kenkyū-kai, Musan Seinen Dōmei, etc., the arrests of the participants in the student movement. Appended are nine useful diagrams, tables and charts on many aspects of the movement.

VIII-265. SHIHO-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Saikin ni okeru sayoku gakusei undō—shutoshite gakusei gurūpu kankei* (最近に於ける左翼学生運動—主として学生グループ関係). May 1941. 382 p. Marked confidential. 思想研究資料特輯 85
CST-H

A study of the leftwing student movement. This study is the continuation of a report made as Shisō Kenkyū hōkoku-shū 15, no. 4, Ministry of Justice, and concentrates on the movement after 1931. The first part is on the actualities of the movements with 3 chapters on cells, and the influence of the 1932 thesis, followed by 2 chapters on the new tactics as adopted by the Comintern. Chapter 6 is on the relation between the student and anarchist movements. Part II is a study of the causes why students turn to the leftwing according to reading materials, individual reasons, and social causes. Pertinent statistics are also appended.

4. Periodicals

VIII-266. *Akamon senshi* (赤門戦士). Published by Akamon Senshi-sha in Tokyo Imperial University. DLC has Nos. 91-92, 94, 96-97, 100-111 (Sept. 27, 1933—Feb. 1934).

VIII-267. *Daigaku saha* (大学左派). Published monthly by Daigaku Saha Henshūjo. Only 4 issues published. Later changed to *Jūgatsu* (十月). DLC has Aug.—Oct. 1928, Jan. 1929.

SUIHEI MOVEMENT

VIII-268. *Demokurashii* (デモクラシー). Organ of Shinjinkai, an important organization of the immediate post World War I student movement at the University of Tokyo. "Democracy" was only published for eight issues, from Mar. to Dec. 1919; it then changed its name to *Senku* (先駆) for six issues, from Feb.—Aug. 1920; again in Oct. 1920 it changed its name to *Dōhō* (同胞) for eight issues to May 1921; its last name was *Narōdo* (ナロード) for five (?) issues ending in Nov. 1921. CU has a complete microfilm copy of the first and last magazines, and three issues of the second.

VIII-269. *Gakusei hyōron* (学生評論). 1949+. English title: Student review. CSt-H has a copies (1950-1951).

VIII-270. *Gakusei undō* (学生運動). Published by Gakusei Undō-sha. Theoretical magazine for the student movement. CSt-H has Oct.—Nov. 1926.

VIII-271. *Jōgatsu* (十月). Published by Jūgatsu-sha. DLC has July 1929. (vol. 1, no. 2)

E. Suihei Movement

1. Books

VIII-272. BURAKU KAIHŌ ZENKOKU IINKAI. *Buraku kaihō e no 30-nen* (部落解放への三十年). Kindai Shisō-sha. 1948. 225 p. CtY; DLC; MiU

A thirty-year record of the activities of the movement to emancipate the "special hamlets" (*tokushu buraku*), where many of the social outcasts of Japan live.

VIII-273. KURISU, Shichirō. *Suihei-dō* (水平道). Osaka. Suiheidō-sha. 1928. 368 p. DLC

Exposition of the philosophy of the Suiheisha movement and the general principles and declarations of the Suiheisha.

VIII-274. NAKANO, Shigeichi. *Hiroshima-ken suihei undō-shi* (広島県水平運動史). Hiroshima. Hiroshima-ken Suiheisha Rengō-kai. 1930. 190 p. DLC

History of the Suiheisha in Hiroshima prefecture from 1923, when it was established, to the seventh prefectural meeting in 1929. The author participated in the founding of the Hiroshima branch.

VIII-275. NISHIHARA, Sakichi. *Buraku mondai no kako genzai mirai* (部落問題の過去現在未来). Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo. 1934. 38 p. Revised ed. of *Buraku mondai to sono rekishi-teki tenkai*. 1931. DLC

A short pamphlet on the "Past, present and future of the 'special hamlet' problem" considering its relation with feudalism, and capitalism, the "historical necessity," and guiding principles of the Suiheisha.

OTHER SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

VIII-276. SANO, Kazuo. *Suihei undō hihan* (水平運動批判—Criticism of the Suihei movement). Kyoto. Keiaikai. 1924. 217 p. DLC

VIII-277. TAKAHASHI, Sadaki. *Tokushu buraku 1000-nenshi* (特殊部落一千年史—One thousand year history of the special-hamlets). Kyoto. Kōseikaku. 1924. 340 p. CSt-H; CU; DLC

VIII-278. ZENKOKU SUIHEI-SHA. *Dai 13-kai zenkoku taikai giansho sōan* (第十三回全国大会議案書草案). Osaka. 1935. 38 p. DLC

VIII-279. ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA. *Dai 14-kai zenkoku taikai hōkoku narabini giansho* (第十四回全国大会報告並議案書). 1937. 50 p. DLC

Annual report of activities of the Zenkoku Suiheisha during 1934, and 1935-1936 to the 13th and 14th national conventions held in Osaka and Tokyo, respectively.

VIII-280. ZENKOKU SUIHEISHA KAISHŌ TŌSŌ CHŪO JUMBI IINKAI. *Suiheisha undō no hihan—Zenkoku Suiheisha kaishō-ron* (水平社運動の批判—全国水平社解消論). Kyoto. Zenkoku Suiheisha Kaishō Tōsō Iinkai Jimusho. 1932. 78 p. DLC

A short history of the Zenkoku Suiheisha from the Marxist-Leninist point of view. It also purports to justify the necessity for dissolving the Zenkoku Suiheisha, which had led the movement from 1922 for ten years, for the betterment of the “eta” out-cast group in Japan. This pamphlet was banned by the government.

2. Documents

VIII-281. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT FILES. *Suiheisha no seiritsu to shoki no undō* (水平社の成立と初期の運動). n.d. 72 leaves. Mimeographed. CSt-H

Documents concerning the establishment of the Suiheisha and the early activities of the movement in 1921.

VIII-282. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT FILES. *Suiheisha no undō jikkyō gaiyō* (水平社の運動実況概要). 107 leaves. Mimeographed. CSt-H

An account of the activities of the Suiheisha during the middle 'twenties, including its organization, inner conflicts, thought tendencies, liaison with other farm, labor and socialist organizations, propaganda efforts and political activities.

VIII-283. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT FILES. *Tokubetsu yō shisatsunin narabi ni Suiheisha jōsei-shirabe* (特別要視察人並水平社情勢調). 1924. Approx. 146 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

Material on the activities of the communist and socialist movements and the Suihei movement from 1921-24. The activities of these persons requiring “surveillance,” their principal offenses, relations with foreign socialists, the relations between the

YOUTH MOVEMENT

student movement and the socialist movement, are described in detail. The activities studied are propaganda for labor unions, the farmer, the armed forces, and for May Day.

- VIII-284. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. *Suihei undō narabini kore ni kansuru hanzai no ken-kyū* (水平運動並に之に関する犯罪の研究). 1927. 216, 71 p. 司法研究 5 輯 報告書集 4 CSt-H

On the Suihei movement and offenses involving this movement. The study is divided into three parts: a study of the "special hamlet," a history of the Suihei movement, and an analysis of the offenses involving this movement.

F. Youth Movement

1. Books

- VIII-285. HANAMURA, Kikuo. *Nihon musan seinen undō* (日本無産青年運動). Osaka. Rōdō Mondai Kenkyūjo. 1929. 75 p. 労働問題研究所パンフレット 28 DLC

About the proletarian youth movement. The pamphlet was banned.

- VIII-286. TANABE, Hisashi. *Musan shōnen undō* (無生少年運動). Hakuōsha. 1931. 131 p. 社会科学ブックレット 5 CSt-H; DLC

The historical development, mission, form and method of the proletarian youth movement and various problems concerning the movement in Japan.

2. Documents

- VIII-287. OSAKA-FU. *Zen-Nihon Musan Seinen Dōmei kankei purinto* (全日本無産青年同盟関係プリント). Osaka. 1927. 1 v. Mimeographed. Marked confidential.

Various reports, policy statements, directives, etc., of the All-Japan Proletarian Youth League (Zen-Nihon Musan Seinen Dōmei) from the time of its establishment in Aug. 1926 to Nov. 1926. This league was an amalgamation of many radical leftwing youth organizations.

- VIII-288. OSAKA-FU. *Zen-Nihon Musan Seinen Dōmei tsūshin* (全日本無産青年同盟通信) n.d. Mimeographed. DLC

Mimeographed reproductions of publications by the Osaka branch of the Zen-Nihon Musan Seinen Dōmei in 1926.

CHAPTER IX

BIOGRAPHIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

This chapter is divided into only two parts: the "general" and the "individual" sections. The only common denominator in the "General" section is that each item contains biographical data on two or more persons. This information is included in many different types of publications several of which will be mentioned. The forthright and instructive personality sketches and evaluations by practicing journalists and political commentators, such as Abe Shinnosuke, Aragaki Hideo, Kada Tetsuji, Oya Sōichi and others constitute the first category. None of these writers has devoted an entire book exclusively to leftwing leaders, rather they have been included only as a segment of Japanese national leadership.

The biographical novel, such as *Fūsetsu no hi* by Mori Shōzō (IX-15) and *Dai-san no taiyō* by Yarita Kenichi (IX-32), is an attempt to portray the history of leftwing social movements as illustrated in the experiences of individual participants.

There are a number of books by persons who were and still are active in leftwing movements which deal, in the main, with the activities of their contemporaries and themselves. This category includes mostly books by communists on such subjects as the confessions of Japanese converts to communism (IX-8), or about the leaders of the revolutionary (communist) movement (IX-23).

The other principal category is the biographical dictionary compiled by a governmental agency or under private auspices. The most useful objective collection of biographical data is found in this group. Though limited in scope, the *Shūgiin yōran* (IX-25) is an excellent source for personal histories of members of the Diet but there is no corresponding concentration of biographical data for prefectural and other local assemblies unless one attempts to collect similar directories (where they exist) for the 46 prefectures. *Musan undō sō-tōshi-den* by Noguchi Yoshiaki (IX-17) is a useful handbook for a study of the leftwing leaders in the 1920's. It is the most comprehensive single collection compiled by one researcher. There are also several similar compilations for the proletarian literary movements, such as IX-16 and IX-20.

The outstanding characteristic of the "Individual" section is that almost all the items are autobiographies. This may be due to the fact that in the past the leftwing political movements have not played a sufficiently significant role in the national life of Japan to warrant the serious study of its leading personalities. The items in this section are arranged according to the individual concerned and not according to the conventional

GENERAL

listing by the author. Since these items all concern individuals, it is not practicable to select a few for special mention as each study has its own characteristics.

A. General

- IX-1. ABE, Shinnosuke. *Gendai Nihon jimbutsu-ron* (現代日本人物論). Kawade Shobō. 1952. 297 p. CSt-H

Biographical sketches of persons in the political, financial, academic, and cultural fields, the labor, farmers, women and student movement, rightwing (nationalist) movements, and others.

- IX-2. ARAGAKI, Hideo. *Gendai jimbutsu-ron* (現代人物論). Kawade Shobō. 1950. 308 p. DLC

Biographical sketches of political leaders of postwar Japan briefly noting the relationship of the leader in question to others of a similar persuasion, party, and mind. The leftwing leaders studied are: Nozaka Sanzō, Tokuda Kyūichi, Shiga Yoshio, Katayama Tetsu, Nishio Suehiro, Suzuki Mosaburō, Asanuma Inejirō, Nabeyama Sadachika, Akaiwa Sakae, labor leaders of the Mindō faction. Aragaki is a member of the editorial committee of the *Asahi shimbun*.

- IX-3. ARAGAKI, Hideo. *Sengo jimbutsu-ron* (戦後人物論). Yakumo Shoten. 1948. 264 p. CSt-H; CtY; CU; DLC; MH; MiU; MnU; NNC

Collection of comparatively short biographical sketches of various leaders, mainly political, of postwar Japanese society. The leaders of the leftwing sketched in this volume, in addition to most of those included in the previous item, are: Matsumoto Jiichirō, Kuroda Hisao, Matsuoka Komakichi, Mizutani Chōzaburō, Katō Kanjū, Hirano Rikizō, Nagae Kazuo, Yonekubo Mitsusuke, Morito Tatsuo, Tomiyoshi Eiji, Hatano Kanae, Yamakawa Kikue, Wada Hiroo, Oyama Ikuo, Dobashi Kazuyoshi, Kawakami Jōtarō, Mutō Unjūrō, Suehiro Izutarō, Ide Takashi, Arisawa Hiromi. It should be noted that many of these figures included disappeared from the political horizon within a short period after this book was published. Many attained their position and influence due to the upheaval created by the termination of the war and a temporary reorganization of the political scene.

- IX-4. ARAHATA, Kanson. *Kyōsan-tō o meguru hitobito* (共産党をめぐる人々). Kōbundō. 1950. 60 p. アテネ文庫 99 CSt-H; CtY; DLC; MH; NNC

"Men around the JCP" is a recollection by Arahata of events he participated in and persons in the JCP he associated with during the 'twenties when he was one of the founders of the party. This pamphlet is based on "his memory and one or two books," (p. 3) "A comparison of Arahata's story with that told by the present Party leaders shows considerable discrepancies, particularly where Tokuda's role and activities are concerned." (Langer and Swearingen)

BIOGRAPHIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

- IX-5. ARAHATA, Kanson. *Sa no memmen: Jimbutsu-ron* (左の面々人物論). Hayakawa Shobō. 1951. 251 p. DLC; NNC

This book is a collection of articles by the author which appeared in such magazines as *Bungei Shunjū*, *Chūō Kōron*, and *Shinchō*. Their common denominator is that they all include commentary by the author on various people in the Japanese leftwing movement whom the author knew personally. Separate chapters are devoted to Sakai Toshihiko, Suzuki Mosaburō, Katayama Tetsu, and Tokuda Kyūichi. Parts of one chapter are on Nozaka Sanzō, Nabeyama Sadachika, Morito Tatsuo, and Kuroda Hisao. Countless other people are mentioned but actually the book mostly concerns the opinion and experiences of its author, Arahata, from the time he became a socialist at 16 to the present. At the time of writing he was a strong supporter of the left SDP.

- IX-6. *Nihon no kyūjūkyū-nin* (日本の九十九人). Sōju-sha. 1954. 290 p. Compiled by Asahi Shimbun Seiji-bu. DLC

Short biographical sketches of 99 prominent Japanese in all fields of activity. About 25 figures in the labor movement and leftwing political parties are included.

- IX-7. *Tenkō-sha no shuki* (転向者の手記). Daidō-sha. 1933. 260 p. Compiled by Daidō-sha. DLC

Collection of ten essays on recantations by former communists. Whereas most important recanters made a political change of heart not based on a religious experience, the ten selected here from all walks of life: student, farmer, laborer, claimed to have based their recantations on genuine religious experiences while in prison.

- IX-8. DOBASHI, Kazuyoshi and IWAMA, Masao, ed. *Watakushi wa naze kyōsan-to ni haitta ka* (私は何故共産党に入ったか). Kaihō-sha. 1949. 202 p. 解放普及選書
CLSU; Cst-H; DLC; MH; NNC

Confessions of Japanese converts to communism. Eight essays from professors, four members of the Japanese Diet, an entertainer, an artist, and a former member of the central committee of the SDP. Both compilers were JCP members of the Diet.

- IX-9. *Gendai joryū jimbutsu jiten* (現代女流人物辞典). in *Seikō* Tokubetsu zōkan gō. 1952. 204 p. Cst-H

Includes a chapter on the biographical data about women participating in politics.

- IX-10. *Gendai Nihon no jimbutsu jiten* (現代日本の人物辞典). *Jiyū kokumin* Tokubetsu gō. 1951. 442 p. Cst-H

A useful biographical dictionary of postwar personalities in Japan in all fields of activity.

- IX-11. INOMATA, Takeru. *Shakai shugi yawa—chomei undōka no hiwa monogatari* (社会主義夜話—著名運動家の秘話物語). Rōmu Gyōsei Kenkyūjo. 1948. 179 p. MH

Short biographical sketches of more than 40 leaders of the SDP, JCP and some who have already retired from active leadership.

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- IX-12. INOUE, Nuisaburō. *Gendai sei-ka retsuden* (現代政治家列伝). Kaname Shobō. 1953. 196 p. CSt-H

Opinions of an editorial writer of the *Mainichi* newspaper in Tokyo on several Japanese political leaders of postwar Japan including Kawakami Jōtarō, Nishio Suehiro, Matsuoka Komakichi, Miwa Jusō, Suzuki Mosaburō, Wada Hiroo, Matsumoto Jiichirō, Oyama Ikuo.

- IX-13. KADA, Tetsuji. *Kindai Nihon-jin no seikaku* (近代日本人の性格). Bungei Shunjū-sha. 1952. 298 p. CSt-H

A study of "the development and molding of the political character of the modern Japanese." The last two chapters are of special interest: the appearance of the "critical character," being an evaluation of the socialist movement and its participants especially during the Meiji period and the anti-war philosophy of Kōtoku; the thought processes of the modern, being an analysis of the Taishō period, and the rise of socialism, communism and nationalism. Kada was a professor at Keio University; he is now an editorial writer for the *Yomiuri shimbun* in Tokyo.

- IX-14. KAJI, Ryūichi. *Rekishi o tsukuru hitobito* (歴史を創る人々). Oyaesu Shuppan K.K. 1948. 232 p. CSt-H; CtY

Biographical sketches of persons who made "history" in Japan among which are several leftwing leaders and Meiji liberals: Katayama Tetsu, Morito Tatsuo, Asō Hisashi, Ueki Emori, Nakae Chōmin, Yoshino Sakuzō. Kaji was editor of the *Asahi shimbun*.

- IX-15. MORI, Shōzō. *Fūsetsu no hi* (風雪の碑). Masu Shobō. 1946. 246 p. DLC

A biographical history of the political leftwing movement and the proletarian cultural movement. In general each phase of these movements is traced through the activities, publications, and statements of individual participants. A useful reference work for biographical data.

- IX-16. NIHON PURORETARIA SAKKA DŌMEI. KYŌIKU-BU. *Puroretaria bungaku kōza* (プロレタリア文学講座). Hakuyō-sha. 1929-1933. 4 v. Edited by Onchi Terutake.

At the end of volumes 1-3 there are short biographies of leftwing literary figures. Often information is difficult to obtain from regular reference books concerning these writers.

- IX-17. NOGUCHI, Yoshiaki. *Musan undō sō-tōshi-den* (無産運動総士伝). Shakai Shisō Kenkyūjo. 1931. 449 p. CSt-H; DLC

Very useful collection of short biographies of about 240 participants in the leftwing movement, a chronological table of events of the leftwing movement, a chronological table of events of the proletarian movement, and a list of leftwing organizations and their principles, officers, location and affiliates, or supporting organizations (as of April 1931) are also appended.

- IX-18. OKAWA, Saburō. *Jiyū o mamotta hitobito* (自由を護つた人々). Tokyo Shimbun-sha. 1947. 314 p. NNC

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"People who guarded freedom" includes the biographies of Katayama Sen, Kōtoku Shūsui, Osugi Sakae, and Kawakami Hajime.

- IX-19. OYA, Sōichi. *Kamen to sugao—Nihon o ugokasu hitobito* (仮面と素顔—日本を動かす人々). Tōzai Bummei-sha. 1952. 320 p. CSt-H

Appraisal of leading personalities in various aspects of Japanese national life including labor leaders, academicians, politicians, communists (not members of the party).

- IX-20. *Puroretaria bungei jiten* (プロレタリア文芸辞典). Hakuyō-sha. 1930. 299-388 p. Compiled by Yamada Seizaburō and Kawaguchi Hiroshi. DLC; NNC

One of the few short biographies available concerning approximately 130 persons in the leftwing cultural movement during the 'twenties. Each biography generally gives place of birth, education, participating organizations, and principal works. A very useful reference book.

- IX-21. RIPPOTO-SHA. *Musan seitō enkaku gensei* (無産政党沿革現勢). 1929. 466 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

At the end of the history of each proletarian political party or organization there are a number of thumbnail biographies of the principal members of the group concerned. The biographies of persons in nonpolitical party organizations are usually rather difficult to find.

- IX-22. *Seitō-betsu musan-sha undō-ka ryakureki* (政党別無産者運動家略歴). Rōdō Tsūshin Tokyo Shikyoku. 1930. 72 p. 労仲問題研究特別資料 DLC

Short biographical sketches of more than 120 men participating in the leftwing movement divided according to political party affiliation and supporting labor unions. The book is divided into the Shakai Minshū-tō group, the Nihon Taishū-tō group, the the Rōnō-tō group and others.

- IX-23. SHIGA, Yoshio. *Nihon kakumei undō-shi no hitobito* (日本革命運動史の人々). Gyōmei-sha. 1948. 225 p. CSt-H; CU; CtY; DLC; MH; MiU; MnU

Short biographies of leaders of the Japanese communist movement known to Shiga prior to his arrest in 1928. The persons included are: Ichikawa Shōichi (there is also a round table discussion by JCP leaders reminiscing about Ichikawa at the end of the book), Kokuryō Goichirō, Iwata Yoshimichi, Kawai Yoshitora, Sakai Toshihiko, Kawakami Hajime, Kawasaki Kenjirō, Oyama Ikuo. The author also describes his participation in the radical student group, Shinjin-kai, and his relations with communist-dominated publications such as *Marukusu-shugi*. "Written for readers thoroughly familiar with the history of the JCP, Shiga often omits the surnames of party members and refers to events by giving only month and day. A tendency of the author to wander back and forth between past and present makes careful reading of each section advisable, if mistaken deductions are to be avoided." (Langer and Swearingen).

- IX-24. SHIMIZU, Ikutarō and others. *Teikō no gakusō seikatsu* (抵抗の学窓生活). Kaname Shobō. 1951. 191 p. PC

The reminiscences of Shimizu and 16 other graduates of Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial Universities of their youthful struggles as students.

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- IX-25. SHŪGI-IN. JIMU-KYOKU. *Shūgi-in yōran, otsu* (衆議院要覧一乙). 1912+.

A very useful Diet publication giving short autobiographical sketches of the members of the Houses of Representatives. DLC has copies from 1912 to 1948; CU has three postwar copies for 1947, 1949 and 1950.

- IX-26. TADOKORO, Teruaki. *Musan-tō jūjigai* (無産党十字街). Senshin-sha. 1933. 458 p. CSt-H

Journalistic appraisal of 200-odd of the great and less great in the proletarian political movement.

- IX-27. TEIKOKU GIKAI. SHŪGI-IN. JIMU-KYOKU. *Shūgi-in giin ryakureki* (衆議院議員略歴). 1940. 504, 162 p. DLC

Short biographies of all members of the House of Representatives elected between the first and twentieth elections in Japan (1890 to 1937). It is useful in that all the members of the leftwing political parties should be included.

- IX-28. TŌDAI YUIBUTSU-RON KENKYŪ-KAI. *Gakusei no koro* (学生の頃). Gakusei Shobō Henshū-bu. 1949. 256 p. PC

The reminiscences of such well-known leftwing political leaders, philosophers and economists as Ide Takashi, Kazahaya Yasoji, Suzuki Tōmin, Miyamoto Yuriko, Shiga Yoshio, Nakanishi Kō, Itō Ritsu, of their college days and the student movement.

- IX-29. TOKUDA, KYŪICHI and others. *Watakushi no seishun jidai* (私の青春時代). Fukuoka. Kyūshū Hyōron-sha. 1948. 113 p. CSt-H

Autobiographical sketches of earlier years of Tokuda, Dobashi Kazuyoshi, Konno Yojirō, Matsumoto Masao, Koike Fumio, Watanabe Junzō, Hayashida Shigeo, Itō Ritsu.

- IX-30. *Wakaki hi no kiseki—Watakushi no gakusei no koro* (若き日の軌跡—私の学生の頃). Gakusei Shobō. 1948. v. 2. 221 p. PC

Reminiscences of leftwing artists, theorists, economists, doctors, and writers of their student days and struggles. Some of the persons included are: Nakano Shige-haru, Ozawa Masamoto, Hani Setsuko, Murayama Tomoharu.

- IX-31. YAMAKOSHI, Akira. *Gokuchū gokugai nijūgo-nen* (獄中獄外二十五年). Nauka-sha. 1948. 200 p. MH

A communist interpretation of the labor and proletarian political party movements from about 1900 to 1945. "Contains little not found elsewhere but recommends itself for a number of biographical sketches of former JCP leaders (Katayama Sen, Kokuryō, Watanabe Masanosuke, Ichikawa Shōichi, Noro Eitarō, Kobayashi Takiji, and Kawakami Hajime)." (Langer and Swearingen)

- IX-32. YARITA, Ken'ichi. *Dai-san no taiyō* (才三の太陽). Shakai Shichō Henshū-kyoku. 1948. 336 p. CSt-H

An historical novel of the development of the Japanese leftwing social movements involving about 100 persons from the rightwing socialists to the communists.

BIOGRAPHIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

- IX-33. YOKOMIZO, Mitsuteru. *Shin-tokkō jiten* (新特高辞典). Shōkadō. 1931. 368 p. JJ

A small dictionary on terms related to the social movements in Japan and short biographical sketches of early participants in the leftwing social movements.

- IX-34. YOSHIMORI, Goichi. *Seinen wa naze sekka-suru ka?* (青年は何故赤化するか). Keirinkai Shuppan-bu. 1934. 81 p. DLC

A pamphlet on why the younger generation adopted communism, and other politically radical ideas. This is presented in a biographical manner in the first part, since the author claims to have participated in the illegal communist movement and to have held a "comparatively important position." The second part is on the processes through which youth pass when they adopt communism from the standpoint of the social standing of the person concerned: youths from farm and worker families, the petit bourgeoisie, the young woman from the upper classes, and others.

B. Individuals

ABE, Isoo

- IX-35. ABE, ISOO. *Shakai-shugi-sha to naru made* (社会主義者となるまで). Kaizō-sha. 1932. 246 p. Reprinted in 1947 (240 p.) by Meizen-sha.

CSt-H; DLC; IEN; NNC

According to Abe, a pioneer socialist in Japan, the narrative of his life is primarily an exposition of his socialist beliefs, and secondarily an autobiography. He aims to explain why for two reasons he became a socialist: as a result of the Meiji Restoration he and his family suffered considerable adversity; and the influence of the ideal of fraternity based on Christianity, to which he was exposed while attending Dōshisha University.

- IX-36. SHAKAI SHISŌ KENKYŪ-KAI. *Waga shi o kataru—kindai Nihon bunka no ichi sokumen* (我が師を語る—近代日本文化の一側面). 1951. 331 p.

CSt-H; DLC

The two articles of interest deal with recollections and evaluations of Yoshino Sakuzō and Abe Isoo by Rōyama Masamichi and Katayama Tetsu, respectively.

AKITA, Ujaku

- IX-37. AKITA, Ujaku. *Gojū-nen seikatsu nempu* (五十年生活年譜). Nauka-sha. 1936. 225 p. CSt-H

The autobiography of a prominent leftwing literary figure up to 1933. It was based on the life history statement he was requested to write in 1933 by "officials," presumably the police.

ARAHATA, Kanson

- IX-38. ARAHATA, Kanson. *Kanson jiden* (寒村自伝). Itagaki Shoten. 1948. 186 p. NDL

INDIVIDUALS

The first twenty years—from boyhood to participation in the Heiminsha—of a veteran socialist who looked back upon his early years as those of an idealist, an emotional youth, one with little introspection, and one who had to carry out what he had decided upon even though he well knew that he would fail.

ASO, Hisashi

IX-39. ASO, Hisashi. *Rōdō undō-sha no hitorigotō* (労働運動者のひとり言). Daitōkaku. 1921. 326 p. CSt-H; DLC

IX-40. ASO, Hisashi. *Sei wa tatakai no ue ni ari* (生は斗いの上にあり). Daitōkaku. 1930. 526 p. CLSU; DLC

“The soliloquy of a participant in the labor movement” (IX-39), and “Life through struggle” are two partial autobiographies.

EGUCHI, Kan

IX-41. EGUCHI, Kan. *Waga bungaku hanseiki* (我が文学半生記). Aoki Shoten. 1953. 299 p. 青木文庫 127 NDL

Essays on Japanese authors, essayists, and novelists and two short autobiographical essays on the writer's childhood and youth especially in relation to his literary experience.

FUKUMOTO, Kazuo

IX-42. FUKUMOTO, Kazuo. *Gokuchū jūyonen* (獄中十四年). Sōken-sha. 1946. 2 v. (v. 2 is entitled *zoku Gōkuchū jūyonen*). CSt-H; MH

The thoughts, ideas and experiences of Fukumoto while he was in prison for 14 years.

IX-43. FUKUMOTO, Kazuo. *Kakumei wa tanoshikarazuya* (革命は楽しからずや). Kyōiku Shorin. 1952. 430 p. CSt-H

Autobiography of one aspect of the life history of a prominent figure in the radical leftwing movement who played an important role in the early years of the JCP. It was written as the “reminiscences of a social scientist,” and not as a member of the illegal JCP during the 'twenties. Of the 154 chapters, 62 were written during his fourteen-year prison term. According to the author he has stressed the two most important events in his life outside of the 1950 elections: the criticism he received through the 1927 JCP Thesis and the March 15, 1928 arrests. In due time, the author promises a second volume on his political activities in the illegal JCP.

HAYASHI, Fusao.

IX-44. HAYASHI, Fusao. *Tenkō ni tsuite* (転向に就いて). Yokohama. Shō-fūkai. 1941. 67 p. DLC

On recantations by a former leftist. In 1936 a special law for “protecting” and observing thought offenders was established. The chief of the bureau responsible for enforcing this law writes in the introduction that Hayashi was one who made a “real” recantation. Hayashi says it took him about ten years thoroughly to recant; the first three to five years being only a pseudo-recantation.

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HOSHINO, Yoshiki

- IX-45. HOSHINO, Yoshiki. *Kyōsan-shūgi sotsugyō no ki: Shisō no henreki to waga hansei* (共産主義卒業の記—思想の遍歴とわが半生). Tosa Shobō. 1948. 219 p. 土佐書房 CSt-H; CtY; DLC; IEN; MH; MiU

An autobiography of 18 years opposing the government with his radical activities starting in high school when he was first arrested in 1925. According to the author, it is a record of his acceptance of humanism, graduation from communism after attaining a high position in the JCP, and then his return to humanism. Because of his radicalism he served seven years in prison. His humanism led him to believe in the eternal disarmament and neutrality of Japan. The author, at the time he wrote this book, was "actively engaged in speeding up the repatriation of Japanese prisoners of war from Russian occupied areas." (Langer and Swearingen).

ICHIKAWA, Shōichi

- IX-46. ICHIKAWA, Shōichi. *Gokuchū kara* (獄中から). Shōkō Shoin. 1947. 146 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

Also published by Gyōmei-sha in 1949 (146 p.) as part of Gyōmei bunko no. 5. CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

Collection of letters sent by Ichikawa from his prison cell to his parents from 1930 to 1944. Other letters were burned when bombs destroyed his parents' home during the war.

ISHIKAWA, Sanshirō

- IX-47. ISHIKAWA, Sanshirō. *Jijoden*. See no. III-198.

- IX-48. ISHIKAWA, Sanshirō. *Nami*. See no. III-199

KAGAWA, Toyohiko

- IX-49. YOKOHAMA, Shun'ichi. *Kagawa Toyohiko-den* (賀川豊彦伝). Shinyaku Shobō. 1950. 482 p. NDL

Biography of Kagawa Toyohiko, a leading Christian socialist in Japan. In the postwar years, he was for many years an adviser to the SDP. He was criticized for his work as a nationalist during the war but has been acclaimed nationally and internationally for his relief work in Japanese slums and proselytization in Japan.

KAJI, Wataru

- IX-50. KAJI, Wataru. *Dasshutsu* (脱出—The escape: record of 1937). Kaizōsha. 1949. 336 p. CU; DLC; MiU

KAMIYAMA, Shigeo

- IX-51. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Ai to shinjitsu ni ikiyo* (愛と真実に生きよ). Aki Shobō. 1950. 330 p. Compiled by Isobe Shizuko. DLC; NNC

"Live in love and truth" is a collection of 84 letters written to his sister between Aug. 1943 and Sept. 1945 while the JCP leader, Kamiyama, was in prison. Appended is a list of Kamiyama's postwar writings, 1946-49.

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- IX-52. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Ai to tataikai to* (愛と闘いと). Shichō Shorin. 1948. 217 p. DLC; MH

Collection of letters and postcards written by Kamiyama to his close relatives while he was in prison during the war. The correspondence contains his ideas concerning the Pacific War (as much as the police censor would allow) and on dialectics.

- IX-53. KAMIYAMA, Shigeo. *Shi mo mata suzushi* (死もまた涼し). Asama Shobō. 1948. 200 p. DLC

Miscellaneous essays written from 1946 to 1948.

KATAYAMA, Sen

- IX-54. ARAKAWA, Jitsuzō. *Sen Katayama—Sekai ni okeru kare ga chii to taiken* (セン片山—世界に於ける彼が地位と体験). Taishū Kōron-sha. 1930. 246 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

Biography of Katayama Sen, evaluating his experience and position in the world labor movement. The book was banned by the Japanese government.

- IX-55. KATAYAMA, Sen. *Jiden* (自伝). Kaizō-sha. 1922. 324 p. CLSU; CSt-H (1923 ed.); DLC; IEN; MH (1931 ed.)
Reprinted in 1949 (200 p.) by Shinri-sha and edited by the JCP. CSt-H; DLC

Autobiography of one of the early leaders of Japanese socialist labor movement who later joined the communist movement and became a member of the Presidium of the Comintern until his death in 1934. This autobiography ends in 1899, however.

KATAYAMA, Tetsu

- IX-56. KATAYAMA, Tetsu. *Waga shi waga tomo* (我が師我が友). Sōzen-sha. 1948. 180 p. MH

"My teachers, my friends" is in reality an autobiography of the first Socialist premier in Japan from his childhood to his leadership of the first Cabinet under the postwar Constitution. Although the autobiography is centered around "his teachers and his friends" he is careful to avoid a final evaluation of his socialist contemporaries. This autobiography was written shortly after his premiership ended in 1948.

KATO, Kanjū

- IX-57. KATō, Kanjū. *Kaikyū-sen no sentō o yuku* (階級戦の先頭を往く). Zen'ei Shobō. 1928. 342 p. CLSU; CSt-H; DLC

A partial autobiography from 1918, when he was drafted into the Japanese Army and sent on the Siberian expedition, to 1927 and his participation in the Nihon Rōnō-tō. Katō has been a prominent leader of the socialist party in the postwar era.

KATO, Shizue

- IX-58. KATō, Shizue. *Nanji ga na wa haha—waga hanshō no ki* (汝が名は母—我が半生の記). Kokumin-sha. 1948. 179 p. NDL

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Autobiography of one of the SDP's principal women leaders who in the national electoral district in the House of Councillors election in July 1956 was given the largest number of votes. This autobiography was not written but narrated by Mrs. Katō. She is well known as an ardent advocate of birth control from many years before the war. Her second husband, Katō Kanjū, is also a leading member of the rightwing of the SDP.

KAWAI, Eijirō

IX-58.1. *Kawai Eijirō denki to tsuisō* (河合栄次郎伝記と追想). Shakai Shisō Kenkyūkai Shuppan-bu. 1952. 285 p. Compiled by Shakai Shisō Kenkyūkai. 現代教養文庫 69 河合栄次郎全集別巻 DLC; MH; NNC

"The biography and reminiscences of Kawai Eijirō" is about one of the outstanding non-Marxist socialists in Japan. The biography was written by Kimura Takeyasu, a professor at the University of Tokyo; the reminiscences were written by Kawai's close friends and disciples in the academic world, in journalism, and in the political parties. Kawai was an admirer of British socialism and envisioned an idealistic social democracy. He is included here not as an activist in the prewar proletarian movement (he died in 1944) but as one of the most systematic theoreticians of the conservative rightwing in the proletarian political movement. This book was originally published by the same publisher in 1947. Appended is a chronology of his life and a list of his writings.

KAWAKAMI, Hajime

IX-59. HORIE, Muraichi, comp. *Kaisō no Kawakami Hajime* (回想の河上肇). Sekai Hyōron-sha. 1948. 342 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

Reminiscences of Kawakami Hajime by many writers of various political hues on his scholarship, his political relations with the JCP, Kawakami as a personality and other aspects.

IX-60. JUGAKU, Bunshō. *Kawakami Hajime hakushi no koto* (河上肇博士のこと). Kōbun-dō. 1948. 61 p. アテネ文庫 V. Z CSt-H; NNC

A short biographical sketch of Kawakami by one who personally was acquainted with him, based on the author's article in *Tembō*, Dec. 1936, with certain revisions.

IX-61. KAWAKAMI, Hajime. *Gokuchū-nikki* (獄中日記). Sekai Hyōron-sha. 1949. 294 p. CSt-H; MH; NNC

A three-year diary, 1935-1937, by Kawakami written under the watchful eyes of the police censor while he was in prison. This diary constitutes in general the contents of volumes 3 and 4 of Kawakami's autobiography, *Jijoden*.

IX-62. KAWAKAMI, Hajime. *Gokuchū zeigo* (獄中贅語). Kyoto. Kawara Shobō. 1949. 168 p. NNC

Philosophical notes written from Jan. 31 to May 21, 1937, the last part of his prison term. Kawakami states he is recording his thoughts as he intends to retire from active life as a Marxist when he is released from prison. This book is divided into 4 parts: his joy upon his anticipated release, Marxism, religious truth and religion, and a conclusion.

IX-63. KAWAKAMI, Hajime. *Jijoden* (自叙伝). Sekai Hyōron-sha. 1949. 5v. CSt-H; CU; DLC; MH; MiU (v. 1-4); NNC

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Also published by Iwanami Shoten. 1952. 5 v.

DLC

An autobiography of Kawakami, outstanding radical leftwing economist, who gradually switched from theory to active participation in the then (1932) illegal JCP. His memoirs contain a "good deal of information on the communist underground in prewar Japan and the leading personalities of the proletarian movement, as well as a very detailed description of the life of communist political prisoners." (Langer and Swearingen)

- IX-64. KAWAKAMI, Hajime. *Kawakami Hajime yori Kushida Tamizō e no tegami* (河上肇より櫛田民蔵への手紙). Kamakura Bunko. 1947. 189 p. Compiled by Ouchi Hyōe. DLC; MH; NNC

46 letters to Kushida Tamizō selected from a total of 264, covering the years 1910-28, with explanatory notes by Kawakami Hajime. The letters were originally published in *Sekai bunka* in 1946.

- IX-65. KAWAKAMI, Hajime. *Omoide* (思い出). Nihon Minshu-shugi Bunka Remmei. 1946. 317 p. DLC; MH

"Recollections" contains miscellaneous essays and complements Kawakami's autobiography in five volumes and the two volumes on his prison experiences.

- IX-66. MATSUMOTO, Jin. *Kawakami Hajime no uta ta shōgai* (河上肇の歌と生涯). Nara. Taira Shobō. 1949. 322 p. CSt-H; MH; NNC

A study of the 300-odd poetical compositions by Kawakami Hajime from his childhood, youth, his college days at Kyoto Imperial University, his participation in the Shin-Rōnō-tō, his JCP period, his life in prison, his retirement in Tokyo and Kyoto, and the postwar years (1945-46).

- IX-67. SAKUDA, Sōichi. *Jidai no hito—Kawakami Hajime* (時代の人—河上肇—Man of the age—Kawakami Hajime). Nishinomiya. Kaiken-sha. 1949. 262 p. NDL

- IX-68. YARITA, Ken'ichi. *Shōsetsu Kawakami Hajime* (小説河上肇). Shoshi Issai. 1949. 2 v. CSt-H; CU; DLC (v. 1)

Biographical novel based upon the life of Kawakami Hajime.

KINOSHITA, Naoe

- IX-69. YAMAGIWA, Keiji. *Kinoshita Naoe* (木下尚江). Riron-sha. 1956. 320 p. NDL

One of the very few biographies of an outstanding Meiji socialist. The author was a high school teacher who came into contact with the leftwing movement after the end of the war and concentrated on Kinoshita for many years. His principal critic while he was revising his manuscript was Ienaga Saburō. This biography has several informative appendices: a bibliography of Kinoshita's works, studies about Kinoshita, and a chronology of his life. The bibliography is much more thorough than the one appended to the author's *Kinoshita Naoe genron-shū*. It is divided into writings in periodical literature and books written or compiled by Kinoshita, those written for private distribution. According to the list of various studies about Kinoshita there is no full length biography. All studies are either periodical articles or part of several studies.

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- IX-70. YAMAGIWA, Keiji. *Kinoshita Naoe genron-shū--kakumei no jomaku* (木下尚江言論集—革命の序幕). Sōzō-sha. 1955. 206 p. NDLM

Selected writings by Kinoshita which appeared in periodical literature and newspapers from 1899 to 1905. Most of the originals of these essays, and poems can be found in the Meiji Shimbun Zasshi Bunko of the University of Tokyo. Reportorial type essays, speeches and poetry constitute the first part, while critical editorial type essays comprise part II. A 14-page commentary on each item, a brief biography, and a list of Kinoshita's books and contributions to the *Mainichi shimbun* (where he was once a reporter). *Heimin shimbun*, *Chokugen*, *Shin-kigen* and other smaller periodicals are listed in the appendices. Kinoshita was well known for his political novels during the Meiji period many of which were banned by the government. He was an active participant in the Shakai Minshū-tō in 1901. But from 1910 till he died in 1937 he completely retired from active life.

KOBAYASHI, Takiji

- IX-71. KURAHARA, Korehito and NAKANO, Shigeharu, ed. *Kobayashi Takiji kenkyū* (小林多喜二研究). Kaihō-sha. 1948. 265 p. CSt-H; DLC

A symposium of essays on Kobayashi Takiji, his life and works, by fellow leftwing writers. Appended is a chronology of his life and writings and a short bibliography of essays on Kobayashi written between 1928 and 1947.

- IX-72. KURAHARA, Korehito. *Kobayashi Takiji to Miyamoto Yuriko* (小林多喜二と宮本百合子). Kawade Shobō. 1953. 227 p. DLC

Collection of essays published in newspapers and magazines on Kobayashi and Miyamoto by a postwar communist leader in literary affairs. Most of the articles were written in the postwar years and, according to the author, were most representative of his studies of these two communist writers.

KONDO, Eizō

- IX-73. KONDŌ, Eizō. *Kominterun no misshi: Nihon Kyōsan-tō sōsei hiwa* (コミンテルンの密使—日本共産党創生秘話). Bunka Hyōron-sha. 1949. 290 p. CSLU; CSt-H; CU; DLC; MH; NNC

Divided into three parts 1) New York, 2) the establishment of the JCP, and 3) exile in the U. S. S. R., Kondō's memoirs present one of the "best sources for a study of the embryonic stage of the Japanese communist movement in the United States and Japan." (Langer and Swearingen). According to the same source Kondō's presentation is "at times somewhat sensational and his data are not in every case accurate." Kondō was the founder of the Dawn People's Communist Party, the forerunner of the JCP.

KOTOKU, Shūsui

- IX-74. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT files. *Kōtoku Shūsui no gokuchū yori bengoshi ni okuru-sho* (幸徳秋水の獄中より弁護士に贈る書). 1910. 30 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

Statement by Kōtoku to his attorney, written while in his Tokyo prison cell.

- IX-75. ITOYA, Hisao. *Kōtoku Shūsui-den* (幸徳秋水伝—Biography of Kōtoku Shūsui). San'ichi Shobō. 303 p. NDL

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- IX-76. SHIODA, Shōbei, *comp.* *Kōtoku Shūsui no nikki to shokan* (幸徳秋水の日記と書簡). Mirai-sha. 1954. 476 p. NDL

Collection of letters and diaries of Kōtoku. According to the compiler, he has included all materials he has collected and which were not included in *Kōtoku Shūsui senshū* (See no. I-14). Other than the letters and diaries, there are also a geneological chart of the Kōtoku family, a chronology of his life, a bibliography of Kōtoku works and a commentary by the compiler on the letters and diaries included in this volume.

- IX-77. TANAKA, Sōtarō. *Kōtoku Shūsui* (幸徳秋水). Riron-sha. 1955. 500 p. NDL

A lengthy biography of Kōtoku emphasizing five points: 1) his growth as a revolutionary from a study of his origins, social class, upbringing, livelihood; 2) a quick review of Japanese capitalism on an international scale up to the time of the Daigyakū Incident; 3) Kōtoku's friends, acquaintances, family, and co-workers in the leftwing social movements, especially in relation to other groups such as the Katayama Sen group; 4) the introduction of western socialist philosophy and how it was changed after it reached Japan; and lastly, a review of the Daigyakū Incident itself, the strategy and tactics of the Kōtoku group, with a final evaluation of the death penalty given Kōtoku.

- IX-78. MOROOKA, Chiyoko. *Kōtoku Shūsui no omoide* (幸徳秋水の思い出—Reminiscences of Kōtoku Shūsui). Tōyōdō. 1946. 87 p. CSt-H

- IX-79. SHAKAI KEIZAI RŌDŌ KENKYŪ-JŌ. *Kōtoku Shūsui hyōden* (幸徳秋水評伝). Itō Shoten. 1948. 181 p. CSt-H; CU; MiU; NNC

A biography of Kōtoku in three parts. Part I by the sponsoring organization, concerns Kōtoku's role in the socialist movement of the Meiji era; part II, his biography; part III, reminiscences by his cousin, Okazaki Teru. Appended is a chronology of Kōtoku's life and a bibliography of books, articles and translations by and about Kōtoku.

- IX-80. WATANABE, Junzō. *Kōtoku Jiken no zembō* (幸徳事件の全貌). Shakai. Shobō. 1947. 192 p. MH; NNC

An analysis of the Kōtoku Incident and the now famous trial utilizing, according to the author, hitherto undisclosed materials. Watanabe states that, to preserve the secrecy of the trial, the government ordered the defense lawyers to surrender all related documents. But one Hiraide Osamu, a defense lawyer, had many volumes of documents copied and wrote three novels based on this incident. These copied documents, though incomplete,¹ became the basis of this book. Watanabe explains the social milieu in which the incident occurred, the incident itself, Kōtoku's philosophy and notes on other related persons.

MIYAMOTO, Yuriko

- IX-80.1. KURAHARU, Korehito. *Kobayashi Takiji to Miyamoto Yuriko*. See no. IX-70

- IX-81. MIYAMOTO, Kenji *and* MIYAMOTO, Yuriko. *Jūni-nen no tegami* (十二年の手紙). Chikuma Shobō. 1950. 3 v. CSt-H (v. 1)

Selection of letters exchanged between Miyamoto Kenji and his wife, Yuriko, while he served a 12-year prison term from 1933 (Dec.) to 1945 (Oct.). During the period,

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she wrote more than one thousand letters, while he wrote 400. Volume 1 contains letters written from 1934-1938.

- IX-82. MIYAMOTO, Kenji. *Yuriko tsuisō* (百合子追想). Daisan Shobō. 1951. 252 p. CLSU; DLC

Recollections of his wife, Yuriko.

- IX-83. *Miyamoto Yuriko kenkyū* (宮本百合子研究). Shunchō-sha. 1952. 340 p. Edited and compiled by Todai Shun'ichi. DLC

Symposium of essays, mostly by outstanding leftwing writers on Miyamoto Yuriko and her achievements. Appended is a chronology of her life and works.

- IX-84. MIYAMOTO YURIKO TSUISOROKU HENSANKAI. *Miyamoto Yuriko* (宮本百合子). Iwasaki Shoten. 1951. 366 p. DLC

Symposium of short essays on Miyamoto Yuriko by many writers arranged to form a biography.

NABEYAMA, Sadachika

- IX-85. NABEYAMA, Sadachika. *Watakushi wa kyōsan-tō o suteta—jiyū to sokoku o motomete* (私は共産党をすてた—自由と祖国を求めて). Daitō Shuppan-sha. 1949. 233 p. CLSU; CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

"I discarded the communist party" is principally an autobiography of one of the JCP leaders of the 'twenties and 'thirties who recanted his communist philosophy and defected from the party in 1933 becoming one of its most articulate and severe critics. "An interesting and carefully written book. One of the two or three best postwar accounts of the Japanese communist movement up to 1933. Particularly strong on factionalism in the prewar labor unions." (Langer and Swearingen)

NAKANE, Chōmin

- IX-86. KOJIMA, Yūma. *Nakae Chōmin* (中江兆民). Kōbundō. 1949. 63 p. アテネ文庫 50 CSt-H; NNC

A biography of Nakae Chōmin.

- IX-87. KōTOKU, Shūsui. *Chōmin sensei* (兆民先生). Hakubunkan. 1902. 102, 21 p. DLC

Biography of Nakae Chōmin by the anarchist Kōtoku.

NISHIO, Suehiro

- IX-88. NISHIO, Suehiro. *Taishū to tomo ni—watakushi no hansei no kiroku* (大衆と共に——私の半生の記録). Sekai-sha. 1951. 390 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

An autobiography of Nishio, vice-premier during the Katayama Cabinet in 1947. Nishio rose through the rough and tumble of union politics through the vicissitudes of prewar leftwing political parties to vice-premier. He was from a small village in Shikoku and started out as a lowly and poorly paid factory hand.

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IX-89. NISHIO, Suehiro. *Watakushi no seiji techō*. See no. III-85.

NORO, Eitarō

IX-90. *Noro Eitarō no kaisō* (野呂栄太郎の回想). Daigaku Shimbun Remmei. 1948. 176 p. CLSU; CSt-H; MH

A series of lectures at Keio University by communist and other leftwing thinkers eulogizing the Communist theoretician, Noro Eitarō, who was killed in 1933. His leadership in the writing and compilation of the well known series on capitalism in Japan, the *Nihon Shihon-shugi hattatsu-shi kōza*, the present significance of his economic theories, his student days, are some of the principal topics of the lectures.

Noro graduated from Keiō University and later became a leader in the underground communist movement in Japan in the early thirties when government suppression of the movement was severe.

NOZAKA, Sanzō

IX-91. NOZAKA, Sanzō. *Bōmei 16-nen* (亡命十六年). Nihon Kyōsan-tō Shuppan-bu. 1948. 86 p. CLSU; CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

Autobiography of a ranking member of the JCP. "Uneven and often omitting the most interesting aspects of his activities almost entirely (such as the real nature of his work at Comintern headquarters)." (Langer and Swearingen).

OMORI, Yoshitarō

IX-92. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT FILES. *Omori Yoshitarō—Rōnō-ha riron-ka, Tōdai jo-kyōju* (大森義太郎——労農派理論家東大助教授). [1938?] Approx. 1000 p. Mimeographed. CSt-H

The last exposition by Omori Yoshitarō, an assistant professor at Tokyo Imperial University, in defense of the Rōnō faction and the leftwing social movement in general. The statement is a record of 58 meetings with a police official. According to a handwritten statement by Yano, the official, on the inside of the front cover, Omori, then 41 years old, believed this statement to be his last but could pass on with peace of mind, for Takahashi Masao, and Sakisaki Itsurō would continue the propagation of "proper" Marxism. The original manuscript amounted to 12,000 sheets and was completed against the desires of the higher police officials. This statement by Omori was indeed his last; he died soon after of tuberculosis. It appears that the police official, Yano, had a certain respect for Omori.

OMURA, Kōsaburō

IX-93. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT FILES. *Nihon Museifu Kyōsan-tō Omura Kōsaburō shuki* (日本無政府共産党尾村幸三郎手記). 1936. Approx. 150 p. CSt-H

The personal history of Omura, member of the Museifu Kyōsan-tō of Japan written in 1936 at his home presumably for the Japanese Government.

ONO, Yōichi

IX-94. ONO, Yōichi. *Kyōsan-tō o dassuru made* (共産党を脱するまで). Daidōsha. 1933. 258 p. CSt-H; NNC

An autobiography of a reformed Communist who had served four years in prison for his involvement in the Japanese communist movement.

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OSUGI, Sakae

IX-95. OSUGI, Sakae. *Jijoden*. See no. III-208.

OUCHI, Hyōe

IX-96. OUCHI, Hyōe. *Watakushi no rirekisho* (私の履歴書). Kōdo-sha. 1952. 330 p.

"My personal history statement" is a question and answer type autobiography. Ouchi was connected with the leftwing and the student movement and was arrested in connection with the "Morito Incident." Ouchi also describes the study of Marxism at Tokyo Imperial University, the Rōnō and Kōza factions and other facets of the student movement.

OYAMA, Ikuo

IX-97. OYAMA, Ikuo. *Arashi ni tatsu* (嵐に立つ). Tettō Shoin. 1929. 559 p. CSt-H; DLC; NNC

"Facing the storm" is an autobiography up to 1929 of the leader of the most radical "legal" leftwing political movement in the late 'twenties. Oyama later fled to the United States and only returned to Japan after the termination of the Pacific War.

IX-98. TABEL, Kenji. *Oyama Ikuo* (大山郁夫). Shinro-sha. 1947. 179 p. CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

. Biography of one of the leaders of the labor-farmer faction and an analysis of his political theories.

SAKAI, Toshihiko

IX-99. SAKAI, Toshihiko. *Sakai Toshihiko-den* (堺利彦伝). Kaizō-sha. 1926. 333 p. CLSU; CtY; CU; DLC

Autobiography of the first thirty years of one of the founders of the JCP.

SANO, Manabu

IX-100. NABAYAMA, Sadachika and SANO, Manabu. *Tenkō jūgonen* (転向十五年). Rōdō Shuppan-bu. 1949. 153 p. 労竹シリーズ 7. CSt-H

Reflections on their recantations made 15 years ago. They describe their early socialist activities, entrance into the illegal JCP, training and debate in Moscow, and their motives and justification for recantation.

IX-101. SHIHŌ-SHŌ, KEISEI-KYOKU. *Waga gokuchū no shisō henreki* (我が獄中の思想遍歴). Aug. 1944. 101 p. Marked confidential. 刑政資料 1. DLC

Written by Sano Manabu in 1943 when he was released from prison, tracing his gradual change of attitude from 1933 to 1943. It is divided into six chapters: Introduction, 1932-33, 1935-37, 1937-39, after 1940, and the Pacific War.

SHIGA, Yoshio

IX-102. SHIGA, Yoshio. *Gokuchū 18-nen*. See no. IX-110.

INDIVIDUALS

SUZUKI, Bunji

- IX-103. SUZUKI, Bunji. *Rōdō undō nijū-nen* (労働運動二十年). Ichigen-sha. 1931. 404 p. CSt-H; DLC

Autobiography of one of the moderate leaders of the labor movement. Suzuki was intimately connected with the founding of one of the first labor organizations, the Yūaikai, which was the forerunner of the Sōdōmei. He was also closely involved in the establishment of the proletarian political parties in the 'twenties. The autobiography ends in that decade.

SUZUKI, Mosaburō

- IX-104. SUZUKI, Mosaburō. *Ai to tōsō* (愛と斗争). Rōdō Bunka-sha. 1949. 224 p. PC

"Love and struggle" is the partial autobiography of the present chairman of the SDP from a geneological description of his family, his education, married life, his experiences as a newspaper reporter, his travels in Europe and America, and his political experiences from the early 'twenties to about 1948. From prewar years he has always been a leader of the more radical faction in the leftwing movement. In the postwar period he was the chairman of the budget committee of the House of Representatives which rejected the budget proposal of the first socialist-led Cabinet in 1948. When the SDP split in 1951 over the Peace Treaty, he became the chairman of the left SDP and chairman of the SDP when it was unified four years later.

- IX-104.1. SUZUKI, Mosaburō. *Aru shakai-shugisha no hansei* (ある社会主義者の半生). Bungei Shunjū Shinsha. 1958. 262 p. PC

Book edition of a series of articles in the popular magazine *Bungei shunjū* in 1957. Suzuki received a literary award for this autobiography. According to Masamichi Rōyama who reviewed this book in the *Yomiuri shimbun* on May 7, 1958, it is not a mere life record of a socialist written in an autobiographical style—as Suzuki chooses to describe his work—but a lucid and realistic account of Japan's socio-economic history for the past sixty years. Except for the last 15 pages, the autobiography is devoted entirely to the prewar period, but this does not detract from its usefulness in throwing light on Suzuki's actions and attitudes in the postwar period.

TAGUCHI, Unzō

- IX-105. TAGUCHI, Unzō. *Akai hiroba o yokogiru* (赤い広場を横ぎる). Taishū Kōron-sha. 1930. 390 p. CSt-H; DLC

- IX-106. TAGUCHI, Unzō. *Sekki no nabiku tokoro* (赤旗のなびくところ). Bungei Sensen-sha. 1929. 242 p. CSt-H; DLC

These two books are the memoirs of an international agent of the communist movement. In the prefaces to these books, Maedagō Kōichirō refers to Taguchi as a "professional revolutionary," a forerunner of communist international couriers, a Japanese representative to the Comintern, a participant in the organization of the Irkutsk area, one of Joffe's mediators in his political negotiations with the Japanese. There was "hardly an event between 1920 and 1925 with which Taguchi was not connected." The books are written in a readable style and give interesting anecdotes of communists and sympathizers in his travels from Japan to the United States and to the U.S.S.R.

BIOGRAPHIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

TAKABATAKE, Motoyuki

- IX-107. MOGI, Saneomi. *Takabatake Motoyuki sensei no shisō to jimbutsu* (高島素之先生の思想と人物). Tsukui Shoten. 1930. 169 p. DLC

Biography of Takabatake Motoyuki, a prominent advocate of nationalism, who had once studied and advocated Marxism in his earlier years. The book is divided into two parts: one on his thoughts, and the other: short compositions by those who had known Takabatake in his childhood, youth and adulthood and those who were acquainted with his works and contributions. Takabatake died in 1928.

TAKAYA, Kakuzō

- IX-108. TAKAYA, Kakuzō. *Kominterun wa chōsen-suru* (コミンテルンは挑戦する). Daitō Shuppan-sha. 1937. 323 p. DLC

Takaya was a former communist who had opportunities to study at the University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow and to visit Kamchatka. "The main value of the book lies in the brief sections which deal with the relationship between certain communist leaders, such as Katayama Sen and Yamamoto Kenzō or Tokuda Kyūichi and Watanabe Masanosuke." (Langer and Swearingen) The latter part of the book is devoted to the Far Eastern foreign policy of the U.S.S.R.

TOKUDA, Kyūichi

- IX-109. *Tokuda Kyūichi-den* (徳田球一伝). Riron-sha. 1955. 224 p. Compiled by Riron-sha Henshū-bu. CLSU; CSt-H; DLC

A friendly biography of Tokuda Kyūichi, the famous fiery agitator of the JCP. His death was announced by the JCP in July 1955 as having occurred in Oct. 1953 in Peking where he went to receive medical treatment. Tokuda was connected with the founding of the JCP in the 1920's but was later imprisoned for 18 years by the Japanese Government for infringement of the Peace Preservation Law. Chapter I is a review of Tokuda in the post World War II years; chapter II is a reproduction of two autobiographies, *Waga oitachi no ki* and *Gokuchū 18-nen*; Tokuda's world outlook; and lastly his vision of the fatherland.

- IX-110. TOKUDA, Kyūichi and SHIGA, Yoshio. *Gokuchū 18-nen* (獄中十八年). Jiji Tsūshin-sha. 1947. 161 p. 2nd ed. DLC; MH; NNC

"Eighteen years in prison" contains the autobiographies of two leaders, Tokuda and Shiga, of the JCP, not with such limitations as the title would suggest but including their whole lives from childhood to the end of the Pacific War and their release from prison. Tokuda's autobiography also includes a party history "from memory."

- IX-111. TOKUDA, Kyūichi. *Waga omoide* (我が思い出). Tokyo Shoin. 1949. 237 p. Part I. CSt-H; DLC; MH; NNC

"Reminiscences" of his travels in Mongolia, China, and parts of Siberia and interpretation of events from 1921 to 1927. Also describes his liaison with the Korean and Chinese communist movements, consequently useful in the study of the JCP's international relations. It should be noted that the memoirs were written after World War II and therefore should be used after cross-checking.

INDIVIDUALS

YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi

- IX-112. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi. *Aru bonjin no kiroku—shakai-shugi-sha no nanajū-nen* (ある凡人の記録——社会主義者の七十年). Asahi Shimbun-sha. 1951. 424 p. CST-H; CtY; DLC; NNC

A partial autobiography of the author up to the "Akahata Incident" in 1909.

- IX-113. YAMAKAWA, Hitoshi. ...*shuki* (...手記). Tokyo Metropolitan Police. 1948. 1505 manuscript sheets. CST-H

An autobiographical statement on official police stationery by Yamakawa concerning the development of his philosophy and of Marxism in Japan, his understanding of socialism, and a record of his activities from his boyhood. An important source for the embryonic period of the JCP.

YAMAMOTO, Nobuharu

- IX-114. ICHIKAWA, Yoshio, ed. *Yamamoto Nobuharu wa Gikai de ikani tatakattaka* (山本宣治は議会で如何に闘ったか). Kyoto. San'ichi Shobō. 1949. 197 p. CST-H

A eulogy of Yamamoto Nobuharu and an account of his activities in the Diet (56th session) and his opposition to police oppression, suppression of the student movement, the Peace Preservation Law and others.

YASHIMA, Tarō

- IX-115. YASHIMA, Tarō. *Atarashiki taiyō* (新しき太陽). Chūō-sha. 1949. 349 p. English title: The new sun. DLC

- IX-116. YASHIMA, Tarō. *Suiheisen wa maneku* (水平線はまねく). New York. Henry Holt and Company. 1947. 276 p. English title: Horizon is calling. DLC

A bi-lingual pictorial autobiography. Each page has one rough drawing graphically illustrating one experience. The atmosphere created in perusing the two volumes is moving and the brutal experiences of the author and his wife (who was then pregnant) in a Japanese jail as political prisoners leave a lasting impression. The last chapter of drawings and simple sentences is on the aspirations of a new day, where a new sun may shine; and that "there was no barrier in the ocean, the horizon is calling," a reference to his decision to escape to the United States and of his great expectations. The former book was also published by Henry Holt and Co. (1943, 310 p.)

YOSHINO, Sakuzō

- IX-117. AKAMATSU, Katsumaro, ed. *Ko Yoshino Hakushi o kataru* (故吉野博士を語る). Chūō Kōron-sha. 1934. 266 p. PC

Reminiscences by 35 persons about Yoshino Sakuzō, his life, accomplishments and philosophy.

CHAPTER X

SECURITY

When many tens of thousands of persons were arrested and convicted under the prewar Peace Preservation Law (PPL), the problem of internal security, the government's attitude toward political crimes, the interpretations of the security laws, the control of social movements, and the "protective surveillance" of the convicted and possible recanters, became closely related to the socialist and communist movements. While the PPL was principally applied to the communist in the beginning, the government gradually broadened its interpretation so that finally even certain religious groups, including Christianity, were persecuted for subversive activities.

An understanding of the government's thinking in the control of social movements would tend to further our appreciation of the thinking and methods adopted by participants in the various social movements covered in this bibliography. History of the application of the PPL might shed light on the postwar sensitivity of the Social Democratic Party and the labor movement when the government drafted the Subversive Activities Prevention Law (SAPL) and forcibly pushed it through the Diet.

Although many government documents are listed, the authoritative interpretations of the PPL and the SAPL were published by government officials as ordinary books. Such books by Miyake Shōtarō, Ikeda Katsu, Otake Takeshichirō, are regarded as reliable interpretations. Government documents are excellent sources for crime statistics, studies of "protective surveillance," court psychology, certain specialized studies, and a record of court decisions.

In the postwar period, the internal security laws, since 1952, have centered around the SAPL. As in the prewar years, the government official, Seki Itaru, principally responsible for the SAPL has also written several books setting forth his interpretation of the controversial law.

As a case study of the drafting, Diet debate, and grand controversy surrounding the SAPL, the compiler has collected many documents, newspaper clippings, magazine articles, Diet proceedings and included them under *Hakai katsudō bōshi-hō*, vols. I-XX (X-129).

A. Bibliography

- X-1. SHIBATA, Yoshihiko. *Shisō torishimari kankei bunken-shū* (思想取締関係文献集) in *Shisō torishimari kankei hōrei sōran* (思想取締関係法令総攬). p. 533-546.

DLC

PREWAR SECURITY

Includes books and periodical articles on "thought control" published between July 1, 1926 and July 15, 1932. Shibata was a judge of the Tokyo District Court and former official of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

B. Prewar Security

1. Books

- X-2. AKETA, Takumi. *Tokkō hikkei* (特高必携). Shinkōkaku. 1935. 409 p.
CSt-H

Handbook for the Special Higher Police, covering a wide scope of subjects from the definition of over 20 social philosophies in less than a page each to a historical review of social movements in Japan, the international communist movement, interpretation of thought control laws and Japan-Russian-American relations in Manchuria. Aketa was a member of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

- X-3. AOKI, Sada. *Tokkō kyōtei* (特高教程). Shinkōkaku. 1937. 479 p.
CSt-H

Handbook for the Special Higher Police by the head of the Fukuoka Prefecture branch of the Special Higher Police. After explaining the significance of the Special Higher Police and the causes for social movements, the book is devoted entirely to a history of the communist, anarchist, national socialist, social democratic, the people's front, and other movements, and their control and regulation.

- X-4. AYAKAWA, Takeji. *Fuon shisō no shinsō to sono taisaku* (不穩思想の真相と其の対策). Heisho Shuppan-sha. 1933. 194 p.
CSt-H

"The truth about dangerous thoughts and counter measures" examines the principles, destructive activities, and the "five evils" of communism, the causes for the rise of Marxism in Japan and the counter measures to combat it. The book is endorsed with an introduction by the outstanding nationalist, Baron Hiranuma Kiichirō.

- X-5. CHIBA, Meikichi. *Kiken shisō to sono hihan* (危険思想と其の批判). Ikubun Shoin. 1929. 321 p.
DLC

"Dangerous thoughts and a criticism thereof" consists of two parts and eight chapters. The conception of a "dangerous thought" is first explained. This is followed by a history of dangerous thoughts, their manifestation in writing, class struggles and the proletarian revolution. The latter part of the book pertains to a criticism of dangerous thoughts and a rational revolution. The book is a philosophical and theoretical discourse without particular application to any area. There is, however, one section which deals with the Meiji Restoration and modern Japan.

- X-6. DOJIN-SHA. HENSAN-BU. *Musansha hōritsu hikkei* (無産者法律必携). Dōjin-sha. 1932. 600 p.
DLC

Legal handbook for the proletariat. The introduction states a distinction should be drawn between this book and one by Nara, Masamichi in that it purports not to

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interpret the laws according to a proletarian standpoint but to only serve as one interpretation of these laws. The principal controversial laws such as the Peace Preservation Law, Newspaper Law, Publication Laws, etc. are presented in the first section; other sections pertain to criminal procedure laws, labor laws, election laws, agricultural laws, and civil procedure laws.

- X-7. *Fuon bunsho rinji torishimari-hō shakugi* (不穩文書臨時取締法釈義). Jiji Kenkyū-sha. 1936. 132 p. DLC

Interpretation of the provisional law for the regulation of seditious documents (letters and literature). The interpretation of the law is according to verbatim quotations from statements made in a special committee of the prewar Diet by Ministers of State, and other high ranking government officials concerned with security. Part I concerns the objective of the law, its characteristics, relation with other laws, and application of the law. Part II concerns the interpretation of certain crucial phases in the law and the overall interpretation of each article in the law.

- X-8. HIGUCHI, Ichirō. *Shūdan sagyō-jō ni okeru sayoku undō-sha no tanchihō* (集団作業場に於ける左翼運動者の探知法). Fukuoka. Sen'yō-sha. 1934. 64 p. DLC

On the method to detect "leftists" in places where large groups are at work.

- X-9. HIRAIDE, Hiizu. *Senjika no genron tōsei* (戦時下の言論統制). Nakagawa Shobō. 1942. 188 p. DLC

A general study of various laws for the control of speech and expression during war by a government official, one time prosecuting attorney for thought problems in the Tokyo District Court, and later chief of the research department in the Ministry of Justice.

- X-10. HOSEI-KAI. *Shisō hannin o chūshin toshite* (思想犯人を中心として). Hosei-kai. 1935. 64 p. 輔成会叢書 4 DLC

The pamphlet consists of four articles by the Minister of Justice, a member of the House of Peers, head of the section for protection of thought offenders in the Ministry of Justice, and another civilian. The latter two wrote the most meaningful essays. The former discussing the present status of the protection of thought offenders, the cause for the decline of the JCP, the Sano and Nabeyama recantations, and the future of the right and leftwings. The latter describes the provisions adopted for the rejuvenation of thought offenders.

- X-11. HOSONO, Nagamori. *Shisō akka no moto* (思想悪化の因). Ganshōdō. 1930. 644 p. CSt-H; DLC

Study of the causes of the deterioration of social thought. The book is divided into three large sections—education, religion and social environment. Of the three sections, the last seems to be of most significance in the study of the social movements. Chapters 8-9 pertain to political and financial immorality; chapter 11, labor disputes; chapter 13, leftwing tendencies which include various student disturbances; chapter 14, various problems of the JCP, the trials, organization, etc.; chapter 15, rightwing tendencies. The book is well documented and the sources starting in 1926 are claimed to be from 35 newspapers.

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- X-12. IKEDA, Katsu. *Chian Iji-hō* (治安維持法). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1939. 91 p. 新法学全集 19 卷 刑事法 II PC

An authoritative interpretation of the Peace Preservation Law. The author was a prosecutor in the prewar Japanese Supreme Court and a judge of the postwar Supreme Court. The first 22 pages are devoted to an analysis of the political background of the enactment of the Law. The remaining chapters deal with various crimes such as organization, consultation for execution, incitement, and others prohibited by the Law. A useful appendix of the texts of security laws from 1922 including various drafts which did not become law.

- X-13. IROKAWA, Kōtarō. *Musansha undō torishimari hōki suchi* (無産者運動取締法規須知). Kyōto. Kyōseikaku. 1931. 296 p. CSt-H; DLC

Treatise on various laws and regulations governing the control of leftwing movements. Part I concerns criminal laws used to control speech and expression, assembly, demonstrations, association, publications, acts affecting the existence of the state, acts obstructing the actions of state organs, acts affecting the public peace, and acts affecting personal injury and interest, and procedural regulations governing the police (i.e. arrest, detention, house search), the abuse of official authority and legal counter-measures. The appendix includes the broad laws governing the actions of leftwing movements, and police disciplinary laws (*shobatsu-rei*) of the various prefectures. (These laws are not readily available in book form).

- X-14. ISHIHARA, Tsunejirō. *Shisō keisatsu gairon* (思想警察概論). Shōkadō. 1930. 288 p. DLC

Treatise on the "Thought Police." Only the first part is of immediate interest concerning the thought and political offense, thought police, the thought offense and society, and other aspects of the police.

- X-15. KAWAMURA, Teishirō and ARIMATSU, Kimbei. *Chian keisatsuhō ron* (治安警察法論). Ryōsho Fukyūkai. 1924. 287 p. CSt-H

An interpretation of the Police Peace Law (*Chian keisatsuhō*) by an official of the Ministry of Home Affairs and a police officer.

- X-16. KEISATSU KENKYŪ-KAI. *Shakai undō ni chokumen-shite* (社会運動に直面して). Shōkadō. 1932. 225 p. DLC

Analysis of the social movements, their form, theory, history, and methodology for the use of those who have occasion to control such movements. It was compiled by an organization known as the Police Research Institute. The first chapter is a description of the form and methodology of the struggles in the social movements. This is sub-divided into the various types of struggles, economic, political and cultural, propaganda, political exposé, slogans, organization of workers, etc. Chapter two concerns the control of social movements. This is sub-divided into the concept of control, the methodology of control, and the function of the Special Higher Police (*Tokkō*). The third chapter has to do with meetings and demonstrations and their control. Chapters four and five describe the causes, methodology, and control of labor and tenant farmer disputes.

- X-17. KIKUCHI, Jin'ichi. *Shisō hanzai no sho-mondai* (思想犯罪の諸問題).

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Nihon Hanzai Gakkai Shuppan-bu. 1934. 229 p.

CSt-H; DLC

Analysis of thought offenses and their various problems. The study is centered around the trials of the leaders of the JCP and the sources for the book are drawn from the records of the trials. Such topics as class consciousness and class struggle, the "new" JCP, reasons for recantations, study of recantations, study of recantations through petitions submitted by the thought offenders, and a psychiatric observation of the problem of thought offenses.

X-18. KOBAYASHI, Tojin. *Tenkōsha no shisō to seikatsu* (転向者の思想と生活). Taidō-sha. 1935. 416 p.

CSt-H; CU; DLC

From the March 15, 1928 incident until 1935, 57,000 persons were arrested, of which 4,700 persons were indicted. With the announcement of the recantations of Sano Manabu, and Nabeyama Sadachika many leftists followed suit and "changed their lives." The editor claims a variety of persons, students, farmers, laborers, wage earners, related their "rebirth" into society after their recantation. It seems that those chosen have become rather nationalistic.

X-19. MATSUMURA, Katsutoshi and ISHIBASHI, Shōgo. *Chian keisatsu-hō, Chian iji-hō, Taiwan ahen-rei, Taiwan ikeirei, Tōhan tō bōshi oyobi shobun ni kansuru hōritsu, bōryoku kōi tō shobatsu ni kansuru hōritsu* (治安警察法, 治安維持法, 台湾阿片令, 台湾違警令, 盜犯等防止及処分に関する法律, 暴力行為等処罰に関する法律). Taipei (Taihoku). Kōbunkan. 1931. 374 p.

CSt-H

Interpretations of various laws governing the freedoms of speech and assembly, the preservation of the peace, and the use of violence. Compiled for use by police officers.

X-20. MATSUTANI, Yōjirō. *Shisō hanzai-hen* (思想犯罪篇). Tenjin-sha. 1931. 441 p.

DLC; MH

Five well known leftwing thought offense cases: the Namba Daisuke Incident, the Takamatsu tenant farmer dispute, the anarchist movement, the JCP, and the Kōtoku incident, are related by a fiery leftwing lawyer, an adviser to the prewar centrist leftwing party, the Zenkoku Taishūtō. Matsutani was one of the lawyers chosen by the government to defend Namba who attempted to assassinate the Emperor in 1923.

X-21. *Meiji Taishō-shi: Genron hen* (明治大正史・言論篇). Compiled by the Asahi Shimbun-sha. 1930. 480 p.

DLC

History of the suppression of the freedom of thought during the Meiji and Taishō periods, 1868-1926.

X-22. MIYAKE, Shōtarō. *Chian iji-hō* (治始維持法). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1931. 2 parts. p. 497-542, 185-222. 現代法学全集 37

PC

A concise but authoritative interpretation of the prewar Peace Preservation Law including a historical review leading up to the establishment of the Law and the various crimes punishable under this law. It is reported this book was used to a large extent in drafting the major postwar security law, the Subversive Activities Prevention Law.

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- X-23. MORIYAMA, Takeichirō. *Shisō-han hogo kansatsu-hō kaisetsu* (思想犯保護観察法解説). Shōkadō. 1937. 182 p. DLC

The author, chief of the section concerned with the rejuvenation of thought offenders in the former Ministry of Justice, explains the law which has as its objective to instill into thought offenders the "national spirit which has prevailed among the people for the last three thousand years." The author attributes to this law an historic mission, an objective somewhat peculiar to Japan. The development of this law is traced, and the various legal conditions under which it can be applied, examined. The law itself, and other regulations concerning its enforcement are given at the end of the book.

- X-24. NAGAI, Tetsuji. *Tenkō shuki* (転向手記). Kyōto. Kenshin Gakuen Shuppan-bu. 1935. 116 p. DLC

Memoirs of a Marxist and his reconversion to orthodoxy.

- X-25. NAKAGAWA, Norikata. *Shisō hanzai sōsa teiyō* (思想犯罪捜査提要). Shinkō-sha. 1935. 516 p. CST-H

On the apprehension, control and regulation of "thought movements" and "thought offenses." Part I is on the techniques of searching for thought violations, the questioning, and arrest of violators, and a description of the tactics and strategy of those persons and organizations involved in "thought violations." Part II is a study of the social movements, especially the communist, in Japan, China, Manchuria and Korea. The author was formerly with the Special Higher Police.

- X-26. NIHON JANARISUTO REMMEI. *Genron dan'atsu-shi* (言論弾圧史). Ichō Shobō. 1949. 160 p. ジャナリズム叢書 2 CST-H

History of the suppressions of speech from the early Meiji era to the Second World War by four liberal and leftwing writers. The Meiji period is described by Suzuki Yasuzō; the Taishō period by Hirano Yoshitarō; the Shōwa period by Hatanaka Shigeo; and the two World Wars by Suzuki Tōmin. This is one of the few books on this subject. The Remmei is a member of the leftwing Nihon Minshu-shugi Bunka Remmei.

- X-27. OKADA, Inosaburō. *Shakai undō torishimari kankei hōki benran* (社会運動取締関係法規便覧). Rikkō-sha. 1931. 386 p. PC

Interpretation of the various laws controlling social movements, speech, assembly, newspapers, etc., through the quotation of Supreme Court decisions (from 1912 to March 1931), Ministry of Justice interpretations, and other sources of judicial decisions. The compiler was a member of the Criminal Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Justice.

- X-28. Otake, Takeshichirō. *Shisō hanzai torishimari-hō yōron* (思想犯罪取締法要論). Shinkō-sha. 1934? 240, 33 p. PC

Although written for the active law enforcement officer, it is regarded as one of the more authoritative books on the interpretation of the prewar Peace Preservation Law. The author at one time was a chief prosecutor in one of the District Public Procurator's Offices in Japan. The first chapter defines the "thought offense," the change in the emphases in the control of "thought offenses" and the stipulations and interpretations of the laws for the control of thought offenses. The remainder of the

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book is divided into 15 parts on the national polity, rejection of private property, mass movements and assembly, actions taken for the purpose of carrying out the "objective," propaganda, incitement, riots, explosives, etc. Interpretations on each subject are based on decisions of the Japanese Supreme Court. Appended are very brief notes on a selected group of Supreme Court decisions.

- X-29. SASAKI, Yoshizō. *Tokkō zensho* (特高全集). Shōkadō. 1934. 305 p. 11th ed. CST-H; DLC

An explanation of the functions, significance, responsibilities, and organs of the Special Higher Police in their surveillance of the variegated left and rightwing movements. Then an explanation of the several groups of philosophies both left and right follows with a greater part of the book devoted to a description of the many aspects of the social movements in Japan. The last chapter pertains to the enforcement of the Peace Preservation Law and others, the methods used in the search for and in the arrest of thought offenders, and a glossary of special terms. The author was a member of the Police Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

- X-30. SASE, Shōzō. *Seiji hanzai-ron* (政治犯罪論). Kyōto. Seikei Shoin. 1936. 407 p. CST-H; CU

A theoretical and historical study of the "political crime" on the national and international level. It is an interesting book drawing considerably on foreign sources and most probably contributed to Japanese thinking on the matter. It is most interesting that Sase headed the Judiciary Committee of the House of the Representatives when it considered the Subversive Activities Prevention Law in 1952.

- X-31. SHIBATA, Yoshihiko. *Shisō torishimari kankei hōrei hanrei gakusetsu sōran* (思想取締関係法令判例学説総攬). Ganshōdō. 1932. 552 p. DLC

Compilation of legal precedents and academic theories by a judge of the Tokyo District Court and former official of the Social Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs concerning the interpretation of the various laws and regulations on "thought control." He claims his collection includes all important laws (to 1932) with decisions of administrative litigation, resolutions of the bar associations, memoranda, etc. A 14 page bibliography is appended including books and periodical articles on "thought control" published between July 1, 1926 and July 15, 1932.

- X-32. SHIMAMURA, Hajime. *Kōtō keisatsu gaiyō* (高等警察概要). Osaka. Osaka-fu Keisatsu Renshūjo. 1944. 300 p. DLC

Textbook on the Special Higher Police, its functions, control measures of various social movements, the control of associations, mass movements, assemblies, publications, surveillance over foreigners, and the control of elections. The book was published by the Osaka Police Training School. One of the few books published on this subject during the war.

- X-33. *Chian keisatsu kyōhon* (治安警察教本). n.d. 324 p. (incomplete). Compiled by Shōkadō. DLC

Textbook for government and police officials responsible for the enforcement of security measures. First part pertains to the meaning, content and beliefs of the "Peace Police" (Chian keisatsu); part two describes the "political police" (seiji kei-

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satsu), the various political movements and control policy adopted toward them, the "foreign police" (gaiji keisatsu) which is to protect the secrets of the nation, and watch over foreigners including public and government officials of a foreign government, the "police for surveilling religions," the interpretation of the several security and anti-subversion laws, and the control of publications.

The meaning, objective, mission, and relevant laws are given under the description of each type of "police." A separate section is devoted to the interpretation of the law for the regulation of seditious documents. Appended are the texts of 11 laws concerning security and subversion.

- X-34. SONE, Chūichi. *Shakai undō torishimari kōwa* (社会運動取締講話). Yamagata. Yamagata-ken Keisatsu-bu Tokubetsu Kōtō-ka. 1930. 157 p. DLC

Explanation of various leftwing organizations and movements and interpretation of the several laws for the control of these activities for the exclusive use of the Special Higher Police.

- X-35. SONE, Chūichi. *Tokkō keisatsu to shakai undō no gaisetsu* (特高警察と社会運動の概説). Yamagata. Yamagata-ken Keisatsu-bu Tokubetsu Kōtō-ka. 1930. 136, 30 p. DLC

Explanatory statement on the social movements for the indoctrination of police officers who will control such movements. The mission, function, etc., of the Special Higher Police, and the object of control by the Police, is explained. Economic organizations such as labor unions and farmers unions, proletarian political parties, their nature and types are described. A special chapter is devoted to the JCP. The various subsidiary organizations in the leftwing movement such as student organizations, renters associations, etc., "legality and illegality," socialism, and its various schools, the proletarian cultural movement, and state socialism are briefly explained.

- X-36. TACHIBANA, Taketo. *Rōdō oyobi nōmin undō to sono torishimari* (労働及び農民運動と其取締). Shōkadō Shoten. 1931. 153 p. DLC

- X-36.1. TACHIBANA, Taketo. *Shakai undō gaisetsu hihan torishimari* (社会運動概説批判取締). Shōkadō. 1931. 497. CSt-H

Theoretical treatise on the farmers and labor movements and their control. The latter book includes an analysis of the birth of the two movements, labor disputes, their origins, types and control, and conciliation, tenant farmers movement. The former book gives only the methodology of control and regulation of these movements by law. The author was concerned officially with the regulation of these movements.

2. Documents

- X-37. *Dai Tōa Sensō boppatsu ni tomonau gaiji keisatsu hijō sochi jōkyō* (大東亜戦争勃発に伴ふ非常措置情況). From Japanese Government files. n.d. but about 1941. Mimeographed. DLC

Collection of emergency measures taken by the police responsible for surveilling the activities of foreigners (gaiji keisatsu) the outbreak of the Pacific War.

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X-38. CHŌSEN SŌTOKU-FU. KŌSOIN. KENJI-KYOKU. SHISŌ-KA. (?) *Shisō geppō* and *Shisō ihō*. See no. II-4.

The *Shisō geppō*, especially, has a useful serial of court decisions on the JCP and its leadership for violation of the Peace Preservation Law.

X-39. GAIMU-SHŌ. S 9.4.5.1-14 *Documents relating to liaison conferences regarding security measures against communist infiltration and espionage, including a memorandum recording the agreement among Japanese Government offices regarding the prevention of communist infiltration and espionage* (*Bōkyō bōchō jimu renraku kaigi ikken; Kaku-Chō bōkyō narabi ni bōchō kyōtei ni kansuru oboegaki o fukumu*). Apr. 1937-Jan. 1938. 197 p. Reel S 368.

Record of conferences and agreements on intra-government arrangements on the control of communism. This document is part of a microfilm collection of documents of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs now in the Library of Congress.

X-40. HYŌGO-KEN. TOKKŌ-KA. *Tokkō keisatsu reiki-shū* (特高警察例規集). Dec. 1, 1935. Variousy paged. Mimeographed. Marked confidential.

DLC

A collection of regulations divided into several parts: 1) The new regulations to be enforced after Dec. 1935 in the supervision of "dangerous" individuals and organizations. It defines the person(s) and organizations to be watched, regulates assemblies, demonstrations, Koreans, and Formosans, and prescribes the methods of supervision, and forms to be used in making reports on the activities of these persons. 2) Concerns police notifications on the regulation of specific activities, such as the "Pioneer" movement, investigation of the nature of organizations, the illegal entry of Koreans, etc.

X-40.1. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT FILES. *Kageki shakai undō torishimari gai-kyō* (過激社会運動取締概況). About 1921 or 1922. Various pagings. DLC

Principally a collection of items on the law for the control of radical social movements proposed by the government in the early post World War I years.

X-40.2. JAPANESE GOVERNMENT FILES. *Kageki shakai undō torishimari hōan setsumeishiiryō* (過激社会運動取締法案説明資料). About 1921 or 1922. Various pagings. Marked secret. DLC

Collection of papers presumably prepared by the Naimu-shō on the justification of the law for the control of radical social movements. This volume was presumably owned by a Kobayashi, a Vice-Minister of Home Affairs. This volume contains a draft of the law, an interpretation of the law, academic theories on the subversion of the State, the relations between the Russian radical element and the Japanese socialists, various propaganda techniques used by the Japanese leftwing, the movement against the proposed law, and the control laws in foreign countries.

X-41. KEISHICHŌ. For collection of various police regulations see Naimu-shō. Keiho-kyoku. *Tokkō keisatsu reiki-shū*. See no. X-61.

X-42. KŌCHI-KEN. [KEISATSU-BU]. TOKUBETSU KŌTŌ-KA. *Tokubetsu kōtō keisatsu kankei hōki kaigi shūroku* (特別高等警察関係法規解義集録). Mar. 1929.

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292 p. Marked confidential. 特高教養資料 9.

DLC

A legal interpretation of seven laws pertaining to thought problems. They are:

1. Chian iji-hō
2. Chian keisatsu-hō
3. Gyōsei shikkō-hō
4. Shuppan keisatsu no gainen
5. Bōryoku kōi tō shobatsu ni kansuru ken
6. Gaiji keisatsu no ippan
7. Rōdō sōgi chōtei-hō

X-43. NAIKAKU. JŌHŌ-BU. *Shisō-sen kōshūkai kōgi sokki* (思想戦講習会講義速記). 1938. 4 v. Marked confidential and secret. CSt-H

The record of a series of lectures sponsored by the Cabinet Information Bureau on various aspects of the "thought war"—shisō-sen. Only volume 4 has pertinent items: the thought war and the police, the people's front, the present state of thought offenses, and the problem of student thought tendencies. Lectures were made by ranking officials of the government.

X-44. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Chian Iji-hō seitei ni kansuru shimbun kiji kirinuki* (治安維持法制定に関する新聞記事切抜). 1925. n.p. Newspaper clippings. DLC

Collection of newspaper clippings of the principal Tokyo newspapers on the enactment of the Peace Preservation Law.

X-45. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Chian keisatsu-hō kaisei sankō shiryō* (治安警察法改正参考資料). July 1924. Variously paged. Mimeographed. DLC

Collection of reference materials on the revision of the Chian keisatsuhō (the police peace law): a short history of the revision, reference materials on the revision supplied by the Kakushin Kurabu, summary of the Diet committee proceedings (from the 41st to 45th session) on the abolition of Art. 17 of the above law.

X-46. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Chian keisatsu-hō kōgi* (治安警察法講義). n.d. 146. Mimeographed. DLC

Notes of lectures by Arimatsu Hideyoshi on the Chian keisatsu-hō (Police Peace Law).

X-47. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Chian keisatsu-hō sankō shiryō* (治安警察法参考資料). n.p. n.d. Part 2. Mimeographed. DLC

Collection of reference materials concerning the Chian keisatsu-hō (The Police Peace Law), including various orders by the Minister of Home Affairs on the enforcement of this law.

X-48. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Dai...-kai Gikai tōben shiryō* (才...回議会答弁資料). Mimeographed. DLC

Special materials prepared by the Library Section of the Police Bureau for use in the Diet concerning the control of the media of mass communication.

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The 52nd session (1926-27). 50 leaves. Marked confidential. Concerns specific events which do not relate to the leftwing social movement in Japan.

The Special Session. Variously paged. Marked secret. Concerns three items of which the one on the control of reporting on Boku (Park) Retsu Incident is of interest.

The 56th session (1928-29). Variously paged. Marked confidential. Concerns the control and regulation of inflammatory publications including newspapers and magazines; imported publications; and banned books; and a revision of the law on publications.

The 58th session (1930). 12 leaves. Concerns the control of newspapers during elections; publications tending to incite financial disruptions; statistics showing newspapers and magazines of all political color banned during the 1928 elections.

The 59th session (1930-31). Variously paged. Concerns regulations and control of publications inciting social unrest and furthering obscenity; number of banned newspaper articles; regulation and control of the reporting of the banking problem, and the assassination of the premier; various statistics on these regulatory measures.

X-49. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHŌ-KYOKU. *Dai 50-kai oyobi dai 56-kai Teikoku Gikai chian iji-hō ni kansuru sokki-roku* (才五十回及才五十六回帝国議会治安維持法に關する速記録). 1929. 541, 58 p. DLC; IEN; NNC

Stenographic record of the proceedings of the House of Representatives and of the House of Peers when the Houses and their committees considered the Peace Preservation Law in the 50th (1925) and the 56th (1929) sessions of the Diet.

X-50. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHŌ-KYOKU. *Dai 65-kai Teikoku Gikai chian iji-hō kaisei hōritsu-an* (才六十五回帝国議会治安維持法改正法律案). 1934. 116 p. Mimeographed. DLC

The revised version of the Peace Preservation Law with explanatory statement on revision. Included also are excerpts from the plenary session and committee meetings of the Houses of Peers and Representatives according to topics such as recantations of left wingers, the rightwing movement, criminal offenses regarding change in national polity, repudiation of private property, and other problems.

X-51. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHŌ-KYOKU. *Dai 69-kai Teikoku Gikai setsumei shiryō* (才六十九回帝国議会説明資料). n.d. Variously paged. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. DLC

Explanation of the control of newspapers in general to the 69th (1936) session of the Diet.

X-52. [NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHŌ-KYOKU]. *Gaiji keisatsu kankei reiki-shū* (外事警察関係例規集). 1931. 1 v. Various pagings. Marked top secret. DLC

Collection of laws, regulations, instructions, notifications, and other administrative matters relating to the control and surveillance of the activities of foreigners and foreign nations vis-à-vis Japan. The period covered is from Sept. 1874 to Dec. 1931. An extremely useful document in learning some of the techniques of Japanese counter-intelligence. The document is divided into four principal parts: the entrance of foreigners into Japan and their deportation from Japan, observation and control which includes political thought, military intelligence, residence and labor, foreign vessels and warships, and the importation of firearms, other miscellaneous items. The fourth section is an appendix of approximately two hundred pages on various attempts by foreigners and foreign nations to gather intelligence from Japanese organizations.

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These reports show the close relationship between the Police Bureau and other government and civilian organizations when foreign nations through diplomatic channels try to gather military (motion pictures, military resources, munitions industries, harbors, communications, water supply) intelligence and non-military intelligence (government agencies, industry and trade, and hygiene). These reports show the attitude and action taken by the Police Bureau and the degree of their sensitivity.

- X-53. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHŌ-KYOKU. *Kageki shakai undō torishimari-hō* (過激社会運動取締法). 1922. Variousy paged. Mimeographed. DLC

Materials concerning the enactment of the law for the regulation and control of radical social movements. Included are: exposition of the reason for the necessity for such a law, explanation of socialism, anarchism, and communism, a reproduction of *Shakai mondai sōron* by Takabatake Motoyuki, legal theories and precedents concerning sedition, copies of similar laws existent in Western countries including the U.S.

- X-54. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHŌ-KYOKU. *Keisatsu hōrei-shū* (警察法例集). Dec. 1927. 393 p. 警察研究資料 16. PC

Interpretation of police laws and regulations. Of special interest would be chapter 5 on "special higher matters" meaning publications, newspapers, assembly and speech. (p. 161-358).

- X-55. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHŌ-KYOKU. *Kyōsan-shugisha no tenkō hōsaku—miteikō* (共產主義者の転向方策——未定稿). n.d. 31 leaves. Typewritten. DLC

Thirty points for agents of the Special Higher Police to watch in their attempts to bring about conversion of radical left wingers and communists. It is a useful list in that it shows roughly the approach of the authorities in their efforts to persuade thought offenders to recant and disavow their communist beliefs.

- X-56. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHŌ-KYOKU. *Shimbun kinshi yōkō* (新聞禁止要項). n.d. Variousy paged. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. DLC

Collection of excerpts from censored and banned publications during 1925, 1926, 1927 (Apr.-Aug.) Also included are reports prepared for the Diet, marked Secret, on the control of newspapers when reporting on the Korean, Boku Retsu (Park).

- X-57. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHŌ-KYOKU. *Shimbun-shi oyobi shuppan-butsu torishimari hōki enkaku-shū* (新聞紙及出版物取締法規沿革集). Mar. 1925 rev. ed. 98 p; Feb. 1927 rev. ed. 98 p. Marked confidential. DLC

Collection of laws, regulations, and rules issued by the government since 1867 on the restriction of the freedom of speech concerning the press and publications.

- X-58. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHŌ-KYOKU. *Shimbun-shi tō keisai seigen jikō shirabe* (新聞紙等掲載制限事項調). Published jointly with Fourth Section, Board of Information. Variousy paged. n.d. Marked secret.

Collection of rules, regulations and Ministry directives (Home, War, Navy and Foreign Affairs) on the regulation and control of articles to be published in newspapers and other publications. Appended is a collection of laws pertaining to the control of publications and other laws on national security and mobilization as they relate to censorship.

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- X-59. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shimbun-shi torishimari ni kansuru reiki* (新聞紙取締に関する例規). n.d. Variousy paged. Mimeographed. Marked confidential. DLC

Collection of regulations from 1905 governing the control of newspapers, in regard to obscene reporting, security funds deposited with the government, the Imperial Family and others.

- X-60. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHO-KYOKU. *Shuppan keisatsu reiki-shū* (出版警察例規集). 1929. 278 p. DLC

Collection of laws, and regulations concerning the control and regulation of the press, publications, use of photographs, etc., of the Imperial Family and the Emperor. Includes the many notifications issued by the government interpreting these regulatory laws.

The 1927 edition is entitled: *Shuppan kankei hōrei-shū*, 242 p., containing only the laws without the interpretive statements.

- X-61. NAIMU-SHŌ. KEIHŌKYOKU. *Tokkō keisatsu reiki-shū* (特高警察例規集). 1939. [336] p. Marked secret. DLC

Consists of three parts. Part I concerns the supervision and observation of "dangerous individuals" in accordance with regulations to be enforced after May 2, 1939; part II is a guide to the execution of the above duties in controlling the press, radical social movements, communist, nationalist, and religious movements. Detailed instructions are also given on the numerous monthly, semi-annual reports to be made by the Special Higher Police on these individuals and organizations; some 62 different sample forms are given for making these reports. Part III is a collection of police notifications, regulations on the control of these "dangerous individuals," radical social movements, and the participating organizations. Useful in studying the functions and operations of the Special Higher Police.

- X-62. RIKUGUN KEMPEI GAKKŌ. *Kempei yōmu kōtō keisatsu jitsumu kōgian* (憲兵要務高等警察実務講義案). 1939. 263 p. DLC

Lecture text to be used in the Japanese Military Police School for instructing on the regulation and control of social movements. The first part on the tactics employed by the leftwing movements is principally an analysis of communist tactics with a special section (p. 42-57) on the tactics used by the JCP against and within the army. This is one of the very few statements on the problem of communist infiltration into the Japanese Army. The latter part of the text is devoted to techniques of surveillance, apprehension, and other counter-intelligence methods.

- X-63. RIKUGUN-SHŌ. *Shisō taisaku sankō-sho* (思想対策参考書). 1934. 129 p. Marked restricted. DLC

An Army reference book on counter measures for thought problems. According to the preface it is aimed at countering communism. The first chapter is devoted to an analysis of the JCP's policy vis-à-vis the Japanese Army. The remaining five chapters pertain to various measures for preventive action.

- X-64. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. *Dai 69-kai Teikoku Gikai shisō-han hogo kansatsu-hōan giji sokkiroku* (才六十九回帝国議会思想犯保護観察法案議事速記録). July 1936. 508 p. Marked confidential. 司法保護資料 7. CSt-H

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Proceedings of both houses concerning the "Shisō-han hogo kansatsu hōan," law for the protective surveillance of thought offenders, in the 69th session (1936) of the Diet.

X-65. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. DAIJIN KAMBŌ. HOGO-KA. *Shihō hogo geppō* (司法保護月報). May 1938—June 1943. Marked confidential or secret. DLC (1-62)

In their attempts to convert persons with radical ideas, the Japanese government set up a special section in the Ministry of Justice for protective surveillance and established "institutes of protective surveillance." In May 1938 the Ministry began publishing a monthly report on protective surveillance activities. The greater part of this report is devoted to "protective surveillance of thought offenders." In this part the activities of the institute, the progress of group and individual surveillance and statistics are given. A useful collection of reports on the efforts of a government to counteract radical ideas and movements, principally communism, through less coercive methods than legal sanction and jail sentences.

X-66. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. HOGO-KYOKU. *Shisō-han hogo taishōsha ni kansuru sho-chōsa* (思想犯保護対象者に関する諸調査). 1943. 331 p. Marked confidential. 司法保護資料 33. DLC

A statistical study of 2,888 Japanese and Koreans under protective surveillance for thought offenses as of Oct. 1942. The study is divided into men and women and covers a wide variety of topics: type of offense, ideological condition (shisō jōtai), criminal disposition of the case (keiji shobun), previous offenses, motive for recantation, age, education, living conditions, family conditions, health, occupation, character, hobbies, and registered domicile. Appended are 39 charts giving graphic description of the results of protective surveillance.

X-67. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Hōtei shinrigaku no kenkyū* (法廷心理学の研究). March 1932. 232 p. Marked confidential. 司法研究 15 輯 報告書集 5. PC

The only study of court-room psychology of the famous JCP trials in the late twenties. The treatise, well documented and detailed, centers around the psychology of the witness and the communist defendants. The third chapter on reference books in English, German, French, Italian and Japanese indicate the scope of research. In analysing the communist defendants, the writer, a judge at that time of the Nagoya District Court, attempts to discover the special psychological phenomena peculiar to these defendants as against the ordinary criminal. The relationship between internal revolution and the communist party, the substance of the Peace Preservation Law, and the delicate position of the judge handling thought offenders, the problem of the open and closed court procedure, the propriety of the theoretical struggle are the principal topics.

X-68. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Iwayuru jinken jūrin mondai ni tsuite* (所謂人權蹂躪問題について). February 1938. 151 p. Marked confidential. 司法研究 24 輯 報告書集 14. PC

An unusual study by the Japanese judiciary on "the problem of the infringement of human rights." The six chapters are on human rights in general, criminal investigation of human rights, history of interrogation by torture in Japan, the so-called crime on the infringement of human rights, causes of the infringement of human rights, and the counter-measures to prevent these infringements. It is somewhat ironical

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that this study by a prosecutor of the Nagasaki District Court "proposes to reconcile state authority and human rights to prevent a resurgence of interrogation by torture used in days gone by."

- X-69. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Museifu kyōsan-shugisha ni taisuru keiji-jō no shobun* (無政府共產主義者に対する刑事上の処分). *Shakai shinka ni tomonoute hassei-suru hanzai ni tsuite* (社会進化に伴ふて発生する犯罪に就て). *Dantai-teki hanzai ni tsuite* (団体的犯罪に就て). Dec. 1926. 372 p. 司法研究才 2 輯 報告書集 1. CSt-H

Four analytical studies by two judges and two prosecutors on the relationship between various aspects of the social movements and criminal offenses. The first study is on measures taken vis-à-vis the anarchist communist movement in various European countries and Japan. The second study is on the criminal offense which occurs as a result of the progress of society. "The criminal offense referred to is the political offense which includes a survey of its occurrence during the Meiji-Taishō periods. The third is on the labor movement and criminal offenses. The fourth is on "organizational offenses" (dantai-teki hanzai).

- X-70. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Naichi ni okeru Chōsen-jin to sono hanzai ni tsuite* (内地に於ける朝鮮人とその犯罪に就て). March 1933. 526 p. 司法研究才 17 輯 報告書集 2 PC

Part III (p. 437-526) of this study, entitled "Thought movements of Koreans" concerns their political movements, both nationalistic and communistic, against Japan since the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905. The first two chapters deal with activities in Korea, while the last three are on Korean activities as political movements and on individual organizations and their actions in Japan. This was written by a prosecutor of the Osaka District Court.

- X-71. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Seiji hanzai narabi ni hanzai-nin hikiwatashi seido ni kansuru kenkyū* (政治犯罪並に犯罪人引渡制度に関する研究). March 1935. 407 p. 司法研究才 19 輯 報告書集 4 PC

A legal treatise on the "political crime" by a judge of the Yokohama District Court. Although only small sections are devoted to the situation in Japan, it is a useful study reflecting the attitudes of the Japanese judiciary toward the "political crime." Part I is a historical analysis on the political crime from ancient society to a short section on modern Japan; the definition of the "political crime"; and the ethics and types of such crimes. Part II is on the handling of political offenders. Part III treats the international aspects of extradition and political offenders. Throughout the treatise the author liberally quotes European, principally French and German, studies.

- X-72. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Shakai-shisō no hensen to hanzai* (社会思想の変遷と犯罪). Dec. 1935. 373 p. Marked confidential. 司法研究才 20 輯 報告書集 13 JJ

A broad review of the development of social thought in modern Japan and its relation to crime, principally "thought offenses," by a prosecutor of the Tokyo District Court. It is an interesting report on the interpretation placed principally on communism, but including liberalism, socialism and ultra-nationalism and the numerous incidents connected with these movements that have occurred during the past 90 years.

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X-73. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Shakai undō no jiyū* (社会運動の自由). *Musan kaikyū kyōiku undō ni tsuite* (無産階級教育運動に就て). *Gakusei no shisō undō ni tsuite* (学生の思想運動に就て). March 1932. Various pagings. 司法研究才 15 輯 報告書集 4 CSt-H

Three studies on the freedom of social movements, a theoretical study on their growth, objectives, propaganda, strikes, force, revolution, etc. (185 p.), the proletarian educational movement, part I being theoretical, part II concerning the Japanese situation (443 p.), and the leftwing student movement, an analytical study (376 p.).

X-74. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Shimbun to sono torishimari ni kansuru kenkyū* (新聞と其の取締に関する研究). Feb. 1936. 83 p. 司法研究才 20 輯 報告書集 5 CSt-H

Study of the control and regulation of newspapers by a prosecutor of the Osaka District Court. The bulk of the study is concerned with the theory of the control and regulation of newspapers. Considerable space is devoted to the present (1936) state of this control and the various means used to enforce this control.

X-75. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Shisō-han no hogo ni tsuite* (思想犯の保護に就て). Mar. 1937. 448 p. Marked confidential. 司法研究才 21 輯 報告書集 10 JJ

A voluminous study on the "protection" of thought offenders by a "thought prosecutor" of the Nagoya District Court. Twenty-three charts are appended. Although there are various types of political thought offenders this study emphasizes the problem of the protective surveillance of communists. The first and second parts concern the domestic situation surrounding the enactment of the law for the protective surveillance of thought offenders in 1935. Other chapters are on the causes and recantation of leftwing offenders, especially the various aspects of the latter, the protective surveillance law and the Japanese spirit; the characteristics of the leftwing thought offenders and the guiding principles, content and methodology of protective surveillance. The final chapter is on the present and future of the various government and private organizations involved in protective surveillance.

X-76. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Shisō-teki hanzai ni taisuru kenkyū* (思想的犯罪に対する研究). Dec. 1928. 709 p. 司法研究才 8 輯 報告書集 6 CSt-H

A very thorough and detailed study of the "thought offense," well documented and including numerous charts, tables and diagrams. The last chapter is an analysis of the control laws in the U. S. and Europe.

X-77. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Shūdan-teki bōryoku hanzai no gen'in* (集团的暴力犯罪の原因). Mar. 1935. 237, 102 p. Marked confidential. 司法研究才 19 輯 報告書集 5 CSt-H

Causes of offenses involving "organizational violence" (*Shūdan-teki bōryoku*) especially concerning those that occurred in Kanagawa prefecture. The introduction explains the research motive, and geographical distribution of such offenses, scope and method of research. Chapter I is on these offenses and special characteristics of the people of Kanagawa; chapter II, the main body of the study, concerns an analysis of these offenses relating them to political conditions in the prefecture, political strife in general, lax official morale, labor troubles, and deficiencies in police control. An extra chapter describes tenant farmer disputes and their tendency to violence.

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- X-78. SHISŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Shuppan-hō to shimbunshi-hō ni tsuite* (出版法と新聞紙法に就て). Mar. 1931. 358 p. Marked secret. 司法研究才 14 輯 報告書集 4 CSt-H

On the laws governing publications and newspapers by a district attorney. A juridical analysis of the meaning of a publication, procedure whereby an item is published, the responsibility for a publication, restrictions on type of material that can be published, the types, scope, etc. of publication offenses and other punitive administrative measures (*gyōsei shobun*). This study is one of three independent studies in this volume.

- X-79. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Tokubetsu sho-hōki ni kansuru hanrei tō kenkyū* (特別諸法規に関する判例等研究). Dec. 1928. 535 p. 司法研究才 9 輯 報告書集 3 PC

Collection of various legal precedents and interpretations of special laws from 1910 to August 1928. Among these laws are the Peace Preservation Law (p. 168-177), the Police Peace Law (p. 177-185), the newspaper law, the law for the control of explosives. This collection is useful in that it gives a somewhat historical breadth to the development of the interpretation of these security laws and what the government regarded as basic interpretations.

- X-80. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. CHŌSA-KA. *Waga kuni shisō hannin no kankyō soshitsu tō yori mitaru hanzai gen'in* (我国思想犯人の環境素質等より見たる犯罪原因). Mar. 1935. 115 p. 司法研究才 19 輯 報告書集 6 CSt-H; DLC

Of the many thousands of "thought offenders" indicted by the Japanese Government, approximately 2000 persons were selected for a survey to determine why they adopted leftwing ideas from the standpoint of environment and personal characteristics. To this end, a statistical survey was made of the average age, education, occupation, property, family relations, schooling, social relations, health, etc. of each offender. The social, family, educational, and individual motivations for the "thought offense" were also analysed. Thought offenders in this study were limited to Communists.

- X-81. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Bōryoku kōi tō shobatsu hōritsu-an riyūsho* (暴力行為等処罰法律案理由書). Mar. 1926. [15 p.] Mimeographed. Marked confidential. DLC

Brief justification for the law for the punishment of violence and other acts or behavior.

- X-82. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Chian iji-hō ihan hikoku jiken hanrei-shū* (治安維持法違反被告事件判例集). Mar. 1935. 284 p. 思想研究資料 48 DLC

Collection of legal precedents established by the Japanese Supreme Court on the Peace Preservation Law since its enforcement on April 22, 1925 to the end of 1934. The precedents are arranged according to subject and then by year. Some of the subjects are: the meaning of national polity, the meaning of the rejection of the system of private property, the meaning of organization.

- X-83. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Chian-iji-hō ihan jiken no saihan ni kansuru kenkyū* (治安維持法違反事件の再犯に関する研究). Dec. 1938. 242 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 46 JJ

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A study, by a judge of the Tokyo District Criminal Court, on the causes and counter-measures to be adopted in coping with repeated infringements of the Peace Preservation Law by individuals. Prefaced by a general statement on the significance of repeated offenses, the author analyzes these offenses statistically according to age, occupation, education, and other criteria, and case histories and the problem of recantation. Case histories include repeated offenses caused through friendships, organizational relations, occupational or family causes, and hostility toward authority. The last chapter is on the authors personal opinion on the counter-measures to be adopted in handling this knotty problem.

X-84. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Dai 67-kai Teikoku Gikai chian iji-hō kaisei hōritsu-an fuhō danketsu-tō shobatsu ni kansuru hōritsu-an ni kansuru giji sokkiroku narabini iinkai giroku. Fu: Shihō kankei shitsumon kengi* (才六十七回帝国議会治安維持法改正法律案不法団結等処罰に 関する法律案に 関する 議事速記録並委員会議録 附司法関係質問建議). 1935. 1018 p. Marked confidential. 思想研究資料特輯 20 DLC

Stenographic record of proceedings in the House of Representatives and special committee (67th Diet, 1935) concerning the government sponsored amendment to the Peace Preservation Law and a new law for the punishment of illegal organization. Neither the law nor the amendment were passed by the Diet.

X-85. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Dai 70-kai, 71-kai Teikoku Gikai sokkiroku narabini iinkai giroku—Gunki hogo-hō kaisei hōritsu-an* (才七十回, 才七十一回帝国議会速記録並委員会議録—軍機保護法改正法律案). Oct. 1937. 618 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 38 JJ

Stenographic record of the deliberations in the plenary sessions and in committee of the Houses of Representatives and Peers concerning the law on the preservation of military secrets. The bill was originally submitted to the Diet in the 70th session in 1937 and was enacted without amendment in the following session of the Diet.

X-86. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Dai 76-kai Teikoku Gikai kokubō hoan-hō ni kansuru giji sokkiroku narabini iinkai giroku* (才七十六回帝国議会国防保安法に 関する 議事速記録並委員会議録). March 1941. 996 p. Marked confidential. 思想研究資料特輯 82

Stenographic record of the deliberations in plenary sessions and in committee of the Houses of Representatives and Peers concerning the National Security Law (Kokubō hoan-hō). This bill was submitted by the government to the Diet on Jan. 29, 1941. It passed both Houses on Feb. 27, 1941 without amendment.

X-87. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Dai Tōa Sensō ka ni okeru ryūgen no jitsurei-shū* (大東亜戦争下に於ける流言の実例). Apr. 1942. 73 p. Marked secret. DLC

Collection of rumors for the period, Dec. 1, 1941 to Feb. 28, 1942, infringing upon public peace and order, national security, and the provisional law to control speech, publications, assembly and organization.

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X-88. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Hikoku-nin Oiwa Makoto ni taisuru chian iji-hō jiken gaiyō narabi ni kenji chōshu-sho* (被告人大岩誠に対する治安維持法事件概要並に検事聴取書). July 1938. 112 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 43 JJ

The record of six interrogations of Prof. Oiwa Makoto of Ritsumeikan University concerning his infringement of the Peace Preservation Law in 1937. The government claimed he participated in illegal leftwing cultural activities. This record was compiled as a reference study of the numerous "cultural activities cases" infringing on the Peace Preservation Law about the time of the outbreak of the China Incident.

X-89. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Kageki shakai undō torishimari hōan giji sokkiroku narabini iinkai giji sokkiroku* (過激社会運動取締法案議事速記録並に委員会議事速記録). Dec. 1933. 360 p. Marked confidential. 思想研究資料特 10 JJ

Stenographic record of the debates in early 1922 in the plenary sessions of the House of Peers and in committee on the bill for the control of radical social movements. This was the first law the government attempted to pass through the Diet in the immediate post World War I years of political, economic and social unrest. Due to strong opposition it was not enacted by the Diet.

X-90. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Kaisei chian iji-hō shiryō* (改正治安維持法資料). 1929. 98 p. DLC

Excerpts from the records of the 56th session of the Imperial Diet which considered and approved an amendment to the Peace Preservation Law. The excerpts cover the interpretation and application of 17 aspects of the amended law.

X-91. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. 1. *Kōsoin kannai shisō jitsumu-ka kaidō gijiroku* (控訴院管内思想実務家会同議事録). Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯

- No. 47.-Jan. 1939. 377 p. Hiroshima, Miyagi, Osaka.
- No. 48.-Jan. 1939. 362 p. Sapporo, Nagasaki, Nagoya.
- No. 78.-July 1940. 337 p. Hiroshima, Nagasaki.
- No. 81.-Dec. 1940. 416 p. Hiroshima, Miyagi.
- No. 86.-May 1941. 410 p. Osaka, Nagasaki.
- No. 91.-June 1942. 154 p. Nagasaki.

2. *Kōsoin kannai shisō jitsumu-ka kaidō gijiroku* No. 2 (控訴院管内思想実務家会同議事録). Marked secret.

- No. 34.-Dec. 1936. 284 p.
- No. 37.-July 1937. 315 p.
- No. 39.-Oct. 1937. 223 p.
- No. 45.-Aug. 1938. 291 p.
- No. 62.-July 1939. 214 p.
- No. 64.-Sept. 1939. 340 p.
- No. 79.-Aug. 1940. 570 p.
- No. 90.-Jan. 1942. 255 p.

3. *Rinji shisō jitsumu-ka kaidō gijiroku* (臨時思想実務家会同議事録). Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯

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No. 88.-Oct. 1941. 230 p.
 No. 88.-Oct. 1941. supplement 97 p.

4. *Shisō jitsumu-ka kaidō kōen-shū* (思想実務家会同講演集). 思想研究資料特輯

No. 57.-Feb. 1939. 178 p.
 No. 59.-Mar. 1939. 144 p.
 No. 73.-Jan. 1940. 191 p.

All the above documents are housed in the Law Library, Ministry of Justice (JJ), Tokyo, except No. 48 which is in CSt-H.

Records of meetings held each year by the law enforcement officers of the government concerning thought problems. A very useful series in studying the interpretation of prewar security laws and the methods by which they were applied, and the problems the government faced in enforcing these laws.

The first series concerns such meetings held each year for about two days in each of the Court of Appeals Districts. The object of the meeting was to exchange reports and intelligence on "thought problems," the control of thought offenses and the proper enforcement of related laws. Such persons as the chiefs of the prefectural Special Higher Police, labor section, censorship, the military police and "thought prosecutors" attended.

The second and third series are the record of similar meetings but sponsored by the Ministry of Justice itself.

The fourth series is the record of a number of speeches given at these meetings on various aspects of the leftwing social movements, such as socialism in the Meiji era, the public trial of the JCP, history of the Japanese communist movement, etc.

X-92. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Nihon Kyōsan-to chūō-bu kankei hikokunin ni taisuru Tokyo Chihō Saibansho hanketsu* (日本共産党中央部関係被告人に対する東京地方裁判所判決). Dec. 1932. 377 p. Marked confidential. 思想研究資料特輯 2 CSt-H

The complete text of the decision of the Tokyo District Court against the 181 defendants connected with the JCP and the Japan Communist Youth League. The decision was handed down Oct. 29, 1932.

X-93. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Nihon Musan-tō, Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Hyōgikai kankei chian iji hō ihan jiken yoshin shūketsu kettei* (日本無産党, 日本労組組合全国評議会関係治安維持法違反事件予審終結決定). Apr. 1940. 48 p. Marked confidential. 思想資料パンフレット特輯 JJ

Preliminary court decision against Katō Kanjū, Takano Minoru, Yamahana Hideo, Shimagami Zengorō, Yasuhira Shikaichi, Takatsu Masamichi and others for their activities in relation to the Nihon Musan-tō, and the Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Zenkoku Hyōgikai. The government accused them of communistic activities and infringement of the Peace Preservation Law.

X-94. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Rōnō-ha gurūpu, rōnō-ha kyōju gurūpu*

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kankei chian iji-hō ihan jiken yoshin shūketsu kettei (労農派グループ, 労農派教授グループ関係治安維持法違反事件予審終結決定). Jan. 1940. 99 p. Marked confidential. 思想資料パンフレット特輯 JJ

Preliminary court decisions in Dec. 1939 against many of the Rōnō faction for infringement of the Peace Preservation Law. A majority of the 21 are well known figures either in the prewar or postwar political scene or professors of economics. Some of them are Omori Yoshitarō, Sakisaka Itsurō, Inomata Tsunao, Aono Suekichi, Inamura Junzō, Itō Yoshimichi, Ouchi Hyōe, Takahashi Masao and others.

X-95. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Sayoku zenreki-sha no tenkō mondai ni tsuite* (左翼前歴者の転向問題に就て). 1943. 234 p. 思想研究資料特輯 95 DLC

"On the conversion of individuals with leftist records" was written by a Higuchi Masaru, a Japanese court judge. It presents much material on the methods used to induce persons with radical ideas to abandon them for more orthodox views. Out of the tens of thousands arrested under the peace preservation law by 1941, about 20 individual case histories are cited. The nature of conversion, and the various types of conversion true or false, are well analyzed. Various statistics on arrests, indictments, judgments, and suspended indictments are also given.

X-96. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Senji keiji tokubetsu-hō chū kaisei hōritsu ni kansuru giji sokkiroku narabini iinkai giroku* (戦時刑事特別法中改正法律に関する議事速記録並委員会議録). 1943. 886 p. Marked confidential. 思想研究資料特輯 94 CSt-H; DLC

Verbatim record of the proceedings of the House of Representatives and House of Peers and their committees in deliberating a change in the Special Wartime Criminal Law to increase the scope of responsibility of the Special Higher Police. Despite heated debate the amended law was passed by the 81st Diet in 1943. At various times throughout these hearings the government outlined its policies in the control of the communist and other social movements.

X-97. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shisō chōsa* (思想調査). No. 6 Feb. 1928. 614 p. Marked confidential. CSt-H

Collection of data on the different "thought offenses" believed to be exemplary of the period, Jan. 1922 to Dec. 1926. They are divided into offenses concerning the labor movement and labor disputes, tenant farmer disputes, the Suihei movement, thought movement and organization (e.g. JCP), reactionary movements and organizations. Each section is divided according to year, then by the principal persons involved. The synopsis of the verdict, and preliminary examination are given in each of the 261 cases reviewed.

X-98. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shisō geppō* (思想月報). See no. II-3 for details.

Very often issues of the *Shisō geppō* carried court decisions against persons violating the various security laws, especially the Peace Preservation Law. Occasionally there were other related studies such as on women who had been convicted under the Peace Preservation Law (*Shisō geppō* no. 5).

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X-99. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shisō geppō* (思想月報). *Chian iji hō ihan shokei-sha ni kansnrn chōsa* (法違反処刑者に関する調査)

A useful collection of biographical data on persons convicted for illegal activities under the Peace Preservation Law. Each item is about two pages long noting the person's occupation, education, age, property status, immediate relatives, health, previous criminal record, work experience, political activities, outline of criminal activities. There is also one section on the route by which the person is believed to have become a communist.

The following issues of *Shisō geppō* are available and contain this series. Each issue contains about 30 case histories.

No. 5 (Nov. 1934) DLC	No. 61 (July 1939) DLC
No. 6 (Dec. 1934) DLC	No. 62 (Aug. 1939) DLC
No. 7 (Jan. 1935) DLC	No. 63 (Sept. 1939) DLC
No. 8 (Feb. 1935) DLC	No. 64 (Oct. 1939) DLC
No. 9 (Mar. 1935) DLC	No. 65 (Nov. 1939) DLC
No. 10 (Apr. 1935) DLC	No. 66 (Dec. 1939) DLC
No. 17 (Nov. 1935) DLC	No. 67 (Jan. 1940) CSt-H; DLC
No. 23 (May 1936) DLC	No. 68 (Feb. 1940) CSt-H; DLC
No. 32 (Feb. 1937) JJ	No. 69 (Mar. 1940) CSt-H; DLC
No. 33 (Mar. 1937) DLC	No. 70 (Apr. 1940) CSt-H; DLC
No. 34 (Apr. 1937) JJ	No. 71 (May 1940) CSt-H; DLC
No. 35 (May 1937) DLC	No. 72 (June 1940) CSt-H; DLC
No. 38 (Aug. 1937) JJ	No. 73 (July 1940) CSt-H; DLC
No. 39 (Sept. 1937) JJ	No. 74 (Aug. 1940) CSt-H; DLC
No. 40 (Oct. 1937) JJ	No. 75 (Sept. 1940) CSt-H
No. 41 (Nov. 1937) JJ	No. 76 (Oct. 1940) CSt-H
No. 42 (Dec. 1937) JJ	No. 77 (Nov. 1940) CSt-H; DLC
No. 43 (Jan. 1938) DLC	No. 78 (Dec. 1940) CSt-H; DLC
No. 44 (Feb. 1938) DLC	No. 79 (Jan. 1941) DLC
No. 45 (Mar. 1938) DLC	No. 80 (Feb. 1941) DLC
No. 46 (Apr. 1938) DLC	No. 81 (Mar. 1941) DLC
No. 47 (May 1938) DLC	No. 82 (Apr. 1941) JJ
No. 49 (July 1938) DLC	No. 83 (May 1941) JJ
No. 50 (Aug. 1938) DLC	No. 85 (July 1941) JJ
No. 51 (Sept. 1938) DLC	No. 86 (Aug. 1941) DLC
No. 52 (Oct. 1938) DLC	No. 88 (Oct. 1941) JJ
No. 53 (Nov. 1938) JJ	No. 90 (Dec. 1941) JJ
No. 55 (Jan. 1939) DLC	No. 92 (Mar. 1942) JJ
No. 57 (Mar. 1939) DLC	No. 95 (June 1942) JJ
No. 58 (Apr. 1939) DLC	No. 105 (Aug. 1943) CSt-H
No. 59 (May 1939) DLC	No. 109 (Apr. June 1944) DLC
No. 60 (June 1939) DLC	

X-100. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shisō jitsumu-ka kaidō ni okeru kōen-shū* (思想実務家会同に於ける講演集). May 1934. 287 p. Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 12 PC

Collection of speeches given by responsible government officials on the JCP and the Japan Communist Youth League, front organizations, student thought problems, the anti-military movement, the apprehension of "thought offenders," and the court trial of JCP members.

X-101. SHIHŌ-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shōwa 14-nen 10-gatsn shisō jitsumu-ka*

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kaidō kōen-shū (昭和十四年十月思想実務家会同講演集). Jan. 1940. 191 p.
 Marked secret. 思想研究資料特輯 73 CSt-H

A collection of speeches by several officials and judges given to a group of officials handling "thought problems" in 1939. The relevant topics are a history of thought movements by a Supreme Court judge, the embryonic social movement by Osatake Takeru, a Supreme Court judge, and the recent leftwing movement by a Justice Ministry official.

X-102. SHIHO-SHŌ. KEIJI-KYOKU. *Shōwa 16-nendo Kōso-in kannai shisō kensatsu kaidō giji-roku* (昭和十六年度控訴院管内思想検察会同議事録). 1942. 154 p.
 思想研究資料特輯 91 DLC

Conference record of a meeting of judges, prosecutors, and members of the Special Higher Police during the latter part of Nov. 1941. The meeting was sponsored by the Nagasaki Court of Appeals to exchange information on thought problems and bring about a smoother operation of laws concerned with public security.

X-103. TOKYO CHIHŌ SAIBANSHO. KENJI-KYOKU. SHISŌ-BU. *Shōwa 17-nendo shisō kensatsu-kan kiadō giji sokkirokun* (昭和十七年度思想警察官会同議事速記録). 1943. 117 p. Marked restricted. DLC

Stenographic record of a meeting of government officials, police officers connected with thought problems, public prosecutors, and military police officers to exchange information on thought problems in the Tokyo area and debate control measures against undesirable speech and expression. The meeting was held in March 1943 to review events of the previous year.

C. Postwar Security

1. General

a. Books

X-104. ASAHI SHIMBUN KEISHICHŌ TANTŌ KISHA-DAN. *Keishichō* (警視庁). 1954. 242 p. DLC

A journalistic appraisal of the "armed" Metropolitan Police in Tokyo. It covers all the activities of the reformed Tokyo police, and a short appraisal of the leadership of the police. Of immediate interest is a chapter called "the complete picture of the 'revived' Tokkō secret police" (p. 133-168). It contains a fair amount of factual material, traces the background of the leadership to the notorious prewar Tokkō, their attitude toward "dangerous thoughts" which is to include labor unions, student organizations, cultural associations, and the blacklisting of those who advocate neutrality or are against rearmament. The book was jointly written by the Asahi newspaper reporters assigned to the Metropolitan Police.

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- X-105. KAZAHAYA, Yasoji. *Seiji hanzai no sho-mondai* (政治犯罪の諸問題). Kenshin-sha. 1948. 305 p. CSt-H; DLC; MiU

Study of criminal law from the communist point of view. Of special interest is the analysis and criticism of the prewar Peace Preservation Law (1925), its promulgation, conditions causing its enactment, and contents of the law itself. Also utilizes Ministry of Justice statistics on the social background, education, age, profession, etc., of the communists arrested in 1928 and 1929.

The treatise on the criticism of the prewar Peace Preservation Law was originally published in volume 30 of *Gendai Hōgaku Zenshū* (Modern Legal Series) but was banned by the government. The original was mimeographed by the government under the following entry: Chian iji-hō (治安維持法). Naimu-shō. Keiho-kyoku. n. d. 92 p. Mimeographed (DLC).

- X-106. KOBAYASHI, Gorō. *Tokkō keisatsu hiroku* (特高警察秘録). Seikatsu Shinsha. 1952. 379 p. CSt-H; DLC

Historical account of the activities of the Special Higher Police in Japan in controlling the JCP, the unearthing of the Sorge spy ring, and the ultra-nationalists. According to the introduction it was based on materials obtained from many members of the Special Higher Police and those who were hunted by the Police. It is a justification of the actions of the Special Higher Police in their ruthless suppression of all types of leftwing movements and the ultra-nationalists. The author was a journalist and founder of the Kokumin Hyōronsha, a publishing house, and was purged during the occupation.

- X-107. KURODA, Hidetoshi. *Chinurareta genron—senji genron danatsu-shi* (血ぬられた言論—戦時言論弾圧史). Gakufū Shoin. 1951. 298 p. CSt-H; MiU; NNC

Historical statement on the severe suppression of the freedom of speech during the war years by the chief of the editorial department of the *Chūō Koron*. The *Chūō Koron*, together with the *Kaizō*, were the objects of this repression during 1944, when they were eventually forced to disband. These periodicals have tended to adopt a liberal approach to the interpretation of social phenomena and were sometimes the media for the leftwing controversy concerning the interpretation of Japanese capitalism.

- X-108. MAYABARA, Shigeo. *Nihon bungei hakkin-shi* (日本文芸発禁史). Sōgen-sha. 1952. 343 p. CSt-H; DLC

History of the suppression of literary works. The theme of the book concerns obscenity, but the first part is of some interest as it is a theoretical discussion of the principle and history of freedom of expression under the prewar Japanese constitution. The author was connected with the Tokyo District Prosecutor's office and particularly handled this problem.

- X-109. SAKISAKA, Itsurō, comp. *Arashi no naka no hyakunen* (嵐の中の百年). Keisō Shobō. 1952. 214 p. NNC

History of the suppression of academic freedom and freedom of expression from early Meiji period to the present.

- X-110. SEKI, Itaru. *Shisō, genron no jiyū to sono genkai* (思想, 言論の自由とその限界). Hakua Shobō. 1952. 194 p. CSt-H; DLC

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"Freedom of speech and thought, and its limits" is a postwar review of freedom of thought in the U.S., Europe, the U.S.S.R., Communist China and Japan. The last chapter comprising almost half the book is devoted to regulatory laws in Japan concerning freedom of speech and thought. This is one of the few postwar statements on this subject by an active government official. The author was vice-chief of the Special Examining Bureau (equivalent to the FBI) of the Attorney-General's Office, and later chief of the General Affairs Section of the Public Security Investigation Agency.

- X-111. SUZUKI, Yasuzō and ASADA, Mitsuteru, eds. *Fashizumu to gunji kokka* (ファシズムと軍事国家). Keisō Shobō. 1954. 309 p. 政治学研究叢書 2
DLC

The last four parts (p. 137-309) on the militarization of the state and the process of collapse of this constitution, postwar security legislation and regressive revisions of the labor laws in postwar Japan are of immediate interest. The chapter on security legislation is a review of the relationship between the policy of the Allied Occupation and the various security laws enacted by the Dief or unilaterally promulgated by the government. It is one of the few books which reviews the entire postwar period from 1945 to 1953.

- X-112. YOSHIHASHI, Toshio. *Dantai-tō kisei-rei kaisetsu* (団体等規正令解説). Minori Shobō. 1951. 200 p. NDLM

One of the few books on the predecessor of the SAPL, the organizations control ordinance. This ordinance was a revision of the 101 Imperial ordinance issued in 1946. The revision was issued in April 1949. It is noteworthy that this book was published just a couple of months before the first of 23 drafts of the SAPL were begun.

b. Documents

- X-113. HÔMUFU. *Kantō Daishinsai no chian kaiko* (関東大震災の治安回顧). 1949. 246 p. 特別審査局資料 1
PC

A retrospective study on the "preservation of peace" during and after the Great Earthquake of 1923, including reports on the control and suppression of "thought" activities.

- X-114. HÔMUFU. KEMMU-KYOKU. *Mitaka jiken kōhan sokki-rokū* (三鷹事件公判速記録—Court records of the Mitaka Incident trial). n.d. Total volumes unknown
CSt-H (v. 5-6)

2. Subversive Activities Prevention Law

a. Books

- X-115. *Hakai katsudō bōshi-hō* (破壊活動防止法). Nihon Hyōron-sha. 1952. 238 p. 法律時報別冊
PC

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A collection of articles, long and short, by 36 persons on the enactment of the SAPL. The general tone of the entire book is critical of the SAPL. A large part of it is devoted to an article by article interpretation of the SAPL followed by essays on the relation between the SAPL and the labor union movement and the teaching profession, the Peace Preservation Law from the point of view of legal precedents, a panel discussion on abetment and incitement, a list of Diet members for and against the SAPL, a description of the movement against the SAPL, and the government's justification of the SAPL in both Houses of the Diet.

- X-116. HANI, Gorō. *Habō-hō to ikani tatakau ka* (破防法といかに闘うか). Mikasa Shobō. 1952. 288 p. 三笠新書 6 CSt-H; DLC

"How to combat the law for the prevention of destructive activities," is subtitled the logic of non-submission (fufukujū). It is a collection of speeches and interpellations by Hani on the floor of the House of Councillors and in committee when the law was being considered. He opposed the law as against public opinion, as unconstitutional, as contrary to freedom of speech and assembly. One of the few books on the record of the consideration of this law which is criticized as being the substitute for the pre-war Peace Preservation Law.

- X-117. KOYAMA, Kinji. *Chikujō hakai katsudō bōshi-hō kaisetsu* (逐条破壊活動防止法解説). Tachibana Shōbō. 1952. 230 p. NDLM

Most of this book is devoted to a legal interpretation of the SAPL. Only the first 27 pages are on the reasons for the enactment of the SAPL, circumstances of the drafting, Diet deliberations, and general construction of the law. The author was a prosecutor and chief of the public security section of the Public Prosecutor's Bureau of the Attorney-General's Office.

- X-118. [MISAWA, Shigeo]. *Habō-hō no seiritsu katei* (破防法の成立過程). [1956]. 32 p. Mimeographed. PC

A short chronological statement of the drafting, Diet debate, labor offensive against the SAPL, political maneuvering and final enactment of the SAPL. The author is an official of the legislative reference bureau of the National Diet Library in Tokyo.

- X-119. MORIKI, Shōichi. *Kōan keibi keisatsn genron* (公安警備警察言論). Tachibana Shobō. 1950. 258 p. rev. ed. NDLM

"The basic principles of security and police surveillance" is a postwar version of the numerous reference books on the control of social movements. It is designed in the main for the consumption of the local law enforcement officer. The first half of the book is a description of a wide range of social movements, the JCP, minority groups, the labor movement. The latter half deals with the theoretics of control of the freedom of expression, the organizations control law, collecting intelligence, preventing and quelling riots, the state of national emergency, mass psychology, "mass crimes," and security. Since this book was written by an instructor of the Osaka police school, it is indicative of the type of thinking and training given the postwar Japanese police in regards to the control of social movements.

- X-120. NAKAMURA, Masao. *Rōdō kumiai to Habō-hō* (労働組合と破防法). Shin-Nihon Hōki Shuppan K.K. 1952. 566 p. PC

SECURITY

"The labor unions and the Subversive Activities Prevention Law" is a compilation in principle of proceedings in both Houses of the Diet concerning the SAPL. Nakamura, at the time, was chairman of the labor committee in the House of Councillors and a member of the SDP. The preface is a short description of the enactment of the SAPL. Part I is a discussion between a professor of Tokyo University and a labor specialist attached to the labor committee. It touches upon such subjects as incitement, types of subversive activities, necessity for the SAPL, and others.

Part II, comprising the bulk of the book is a compilation of committee and plenary sessions proceedings arranged according to topics. There are no comments but the selection may bring out the bias of the compiler who sub-titles his book "How the labor unions must cope with the situation."

Part III is an explanation of the SAPL article by article. The appendices include the relevant laws, selection of the principal press editorials on the SAPL, a fairly detailed chronology, and an index. Outside of the proceedings themselves this is one of the most thorough verbatim reports.

- X-121. NIHON RŌDŌ KUMIAI SŌ-HYŌGIKAI. *Dan'atsu kōan samphō o tsuku* (弾圧公安三法を衝く). Nihon Rōdō Kumiai Sō-Hyōgikai Jōhō Shuppan-bu. 1952. 112 p. 総評シリーズ 4 PC

The interpretation of three security laws by the largest labor federation in Japan at the time. The laws are the Organizations Control law, law prohibiting the general strike, and the law for the control of demonstrations. This labor federation, generally known as Sohyo, led an intensive and elaborate fight against the passage of the successor to the organizations control law, the SAPL. Although only a pamphlet it presents the attitude of the labor leadership to post-treaty security laws in Japan.

- X-122. ONO, Yoshio. *Hakai katsudō bōshi-hō to Kokkai no shingi* (破壊活動防止法と国会の審議). Keibunkaku. 1952. 66 p. NDLM

An elementary discussion of the SAPL, a definition of subversive activities, control of organizations, guarantee against the abuse of the SAPL, the Public Security Investigation Agency, the enforcement agency, and the Public Security Examination Commission. The pamphlet begins with the report of the chairman (the author) of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Councillors.

- X-123. SANADA, Hideo. *Hakai katsudō bōshi-hō no kaisetsu* (破壊活動防止法の解説). Jiji Tsūshin-sha. 1952. 230 p. NDLM

Another book on the interpretation of the SAPL by a counsellor of the Legal Opinions Bureau of the Attorney General's Office. However, the first chapter is a brief summary of the history of security laws in Japan since the Meiji era to the end of World War II. Other than the regular listing of the SAPL and two related laws, nine related foreign laws which were used as reference material in drafting the SAPL are included. These laws are from the U.S., the U.S.S.R., the Union of South Africa, Switzerland, Australia, Red China, Germany and Portugal.

- X-124. SEKI, Itaru and SATO, Isao. *Hakai katsudō bōshi-hō no kaishaku* (破壊活動防止法の解釈). Gakuyō Shobō. 1952. 223 p. NDLM

Although compiled in the form of a one-sided question and answer debate, it is regarded as one of the best books on the SAPL. Seki, then vice chief of the Special Investigation Bureau answers while Sato, professor at Seikei University, asks the

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questions. The first part of 30 pages is on the enactment of the SAPL, differences between the SAPL and the prewar Peace Preservation Law, Diet deliberations, foreign security legislation. The remainder of the book is a detailed discussion of the SAPL article by article.

- X-125. SEKI, Itaru. *Hakai katsudō bōshi-hō no kaisetsu* (破壊活動防止法の解説). Bunka Kenkyū-sha. 1952. 296 p. NDL

Principally a collection of excerpts from the stenographic record of the 13th session of the National Diet which considered the Subversive Activities Prevention Law in 1952 and an article by article explanation of the SAFL. The SAPL and related laws are given in the last chapter.

- X-126. SEKI, Itaru. *Hakai katsudō bōshi-hō to sono un'yō* (破壊活動防止法とその運用). Shin-Nihon Keizai-sha. 1952. 257 p. NDLM

"The SAPL and its application" is partly written by Seki and partly a selected compilation by Seki of statements made in the Diet. Chapter I is a brief description of the SAPL, including a definition of subversive activities, the limits of organizational activities, and the differences between the SAPL and the prewar Peace Preservation Law. Chapter II is the statement of justification for the SAPL by the Attorney General in the Diet. Chapter III is on the "objective conditions" which necessitated the enactment of the SAPL relating subversive activities in Japan with foreign countries, and the activities of Koreans in Japan. Chapter IV is a collection of statements by expert witnesses at public hearings. Chapter V consists of the Diet statements of eight Diet members from most of the parties. It is interesting that the comments of the JCP Diet members and those of the principal rightwing SDP opponent in the House of Councillors were omitted.

- X-127. SHAKAI TAIMUSU-SHA. *Habō-hō wa kō tsukawareru* (破防法はこう使はれる). 1952. 94 p. CSt-H

Opinions of professors and writers on the way the law to prevent destructive activities will most probably be applied. The tone of approach is unfriendly and unsympathetic toward the law.

- X-128. TOKUNAGA, Seiji. *Nihon Kyōsan-tō to Habō-hō* (日本共産党と破防法). Hakurin Shobō. 1952. 266 p. CLSU; CSt-H; DLC; MiU

"The JCP and the Subversive Activities Prevention Law" is subtitled: the limits of the law. The author is the head of the Kinki Kōan Chōsa-kyoku (Bureau of Public Safety for the Kinki District). The first part is a general discussion of the law, its objectives, relations with fundamental human rights, the old Peace Preservation Law, the labor union movement, and others. Part II consists of an interpretation of the law article by article. The texts of the SAPL, the law for the establishment of the Kōan Chōsachō (Public Security Investigation Agency) and the Kōan Shinsa Iinkai (Public Security Examination Commission), and three documents of the JCP setting forth their strategy of armed revolution: the report of the fifth National Council (Go-Zen-Kyō) on the necessity to commence armed preparations and activities, the organization and tactics of the defense corps (chūkaku jieitai) and the present demands of the JCP, being the 1951 thesis.

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b. Documents

X-129. *Hakai katsudō bōshi-hō* (破壊活動防止法).

PC

The following volumes were assembled by the compiler by bringing together a variety of materials which would normally be scattered. Some are documents issued by the Tokubetsu Shinsa-kyoku, others are records of the Diet proceedings, magazines, articles, etc.

Vols. I and II are the complete record of the proceedings in committee and in plenary session of both Houses of the Diet after the SAPL was presented by the government for formal deliberation. No records are included of the interpellations on security matters which took place every now and again while the SAPL was being drafted by the government.

Vols. III-VIII contain the photographic reproduction of the entire microfilm mentioned in X-131.

Vols. IX, X and XI are a collection of documents compiled by the Tokubetsu Shinsa-kyoku for submission to the Diet. Vol. III concerns the military police of the JCP, Vol. IV contains four items on the subversive and destructive activities of the JCP in their attacks on government security agencies. Vol. V is a collection of directives, reports by the JCP concerning the realization of their platform on armed activities, and on the party organ, inflammatory printed matter, and attacks on labor exchanges.

Vols. XII and XIII. Vol. XII is a motley collection of materials: the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court against the leaders of the American CP, study of recent terroristic activities in Japan, examples of incitement according to the prewar Peace Preservation Law and censorship. Vol. XIII reflects to some extent the scope of foreign security legislation referred to in drafting the SAPL, and also includes brief studies on incitement, criticisms of the SAPL, quotations on the social conditions at the time of the enactment of the Peace Preservation Law and legal precedents from this law.

Vols. XIV and XV contain over one hundred magazine articles on the SAPL and related matters.

Vols. XVI and XVII are an incomplete collection of newspaper clippings on the drafting, and Diet debate of the SAPL. The National Diet Library in Tokyo has compiled a more thorough collection of newspaper clippings, but still incomplete, on the SAPL. The five volume NDL collection is also available on microfilm.

Vols. XVIII, XIX and XX are also newspaper clippings but of the labor press, *Sōhyō*, and of the big business federation, *Nikkeiren Taimusu*. As may be imagined these two organizations respectively opposed and supported the SAPL.

X-130. HÔMU-FU. TOKUBETSU SHINSA-KYOKU. *Hakai katsudō bōshi-hō* (破壊活動防止法). 1952. 95 p. CSt-H

An official interpretation of the law to prevent subversive activities including the structure of the law, reason for enactment, and comparison with the famous Peace Preservation Law.

X-131. HÔMU-FU. TOKUBETSU SHINSA-KYOKU. *Hakai katsudō bōshi-hōan* (破壊活動防止法案). 1952. 3 v. Mimeographed. JJ

Three volumes containing the numerous drafts of the SAPL from May 25, 1951 to the revisions made by the House of Councillors in mid-1952. This is an important

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collection in that the newspaper reports of the various drafts were mostly scoops and cannot necessarily be relied upon. Except for about 50 pages at the end of volume three, the entire three volumes have been microfilmed. The contents of the three volumes are as follows:

No. of draft	Name of law	No. of articles	Date
Volume 1			
1	Kōan hōshō-hō	101	5/25/51
2	same	173	No date
3	Dantai-hō kisei-hō (Kari-an)	56	10/5/51
3	same	90	10/10/51
5	same	107	10/20/51
6	same	108	10/27/51
Volume 2			
7	same	98	1/10/52
9A	Tokubetsu Hoan-hō	68	2/2/52
9B	same	63	2/3/52
10B	same	51	2/6/52
10C	same	49	2/6/52
11B	same	42	2/12/52
12	same	51	2/19/52
13	same	48	2/22/52
14	same	46	3/3/52
Volume 3			
15	Hakai Katsudō Bōshi-hō	46	3/6/52
—	Tokubetsu Hoan-hō	46	3/15/52
—	Tokubetsu Hoan-hō	45	3/16/52
18	...Hōan	44	3/19/52
—	Hakai Katsudō Bōshi-hō	44	3/24/52
—	same (seian)	44	No date
—	same (Seifu gen'an)		
—	revision of House of Rep.		5/15/52
—	" " " " Coun.		No date

X-132. HÔMU-FU. TOKUBETSU SHINSA-KYOKU. *Hakai katsudō bōshi-hōan naigai sankō shiryō* (破壊活動防止法案内外参考資料). 1952. 2 v. Mimeographed. JJ

Collection of reference materials used in drafting the SAPL. Volume I contains various laws, reports, court decisions of Korea, Hungary, Australia and the United States that relate to security and the position of the Communist Party. Volume 2 contains the review of certain related domestic laws, foreign relations of subversive activities in Japan, report on subversive activities in Japan, the constitutionality of the SAPL according to the United States constitution, foreign security laws and others.

X-133. HÔMU-FU. TOKUBETSU SHINSA-KYOKU. *Hakai katsudō bōshi-hōan shiryō* (破壊活動防止法案資料). 1952. 2 v. Mimeographed. JJ

Reference materials on the SAPL :

Volume 1: Various technical legal papers on the SAPL, review of prewar security laws, and others.

Volume 2: Foreign security laws and their application, constitutionality of the SAPL, article by article explanation of the SAPL, and precedents concerning the dissolution of organizations, and others.

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X-134. HÖMU-FU. TOKUBETSU SHINSA-KYOKU. *Hakai katsudō bōshi-hō seiritsu katei* (破壞活動防止法成立過程). 1952. 164 p. Mimeographed. JJ

Drafts of the SAPL, and related laws, government explanations of the laws in the Diet, statement by the Attorney General, graphic description of the disposition of crimes under the SAPL, and a brief statement in English by the Attorney General on the nature of the SAPL.

Appendix 1

LIST OF PUBLISHERS' NAMES WITH
CHARACTERS

APPENDIX 1

Akatsuki Shobō 暁書房

Aki Shobō 安芸書房

Aoki Shoten 青木書店

Aoyama Shoin 青山書院

Ars アルス

Asahi Shimbun-sha 朝日新聞社

Asahi Shobō 朝日書房

Asama Shobō 浅間書房

Asano Shoten 浅野書店

Atorie-sha アトリエ社

Baibundō 売文堂

Baibun-sha 売文社

Bakunin-sha 麦人社

Banrikaku 万里閣

Bukki-sha 仏旗社

Bukyō-sha 武俠社

Bumbōdō 文武堂

Bummei Kyōkai 文明協会

Bummei Shoin 文明書院

Bun'en-sha 文苑社

Bungaku Annai-sha 文学案内社

Bungei Sensen Shuppan-sha 文芸戦線出版社

Bungei Shunjū-sha 文芸春秋社

Bungei Shunjū Shinsha 文芸春秋新社

Bunka Gakkai Shuppan-bu 文化学会出版部

Bunka Hyōron-sha 文化評論社

Bunka Kenkyū-sha 文化研究社

Bunka Seikatsu Kenkyūkai 文化生活研究会

Bunka Shūdan-sha 文化集団社

Buraku Mondai Kenkyūjo 部落問題研究所

Chigura Shobō 千倉書房

Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房

Chokkō-sha 直行社

Chōryū-sha 潮流社

Chōsen Insatsu K. K. 朝鮮印刷株式会社

Chūgai Shobō 中外書房

Chūō Kōron-sha 中央公論社

Chūō Rōdō Gakuen 中央労働学園

Chūō-sha 中央社

Chūseidō 忠誠堂

Chūsei-sha 中正社

Daidō-sha 大同社

Daidō Shoin 大同書院

Daigaku Shimbun Remmei 大学新聞聯盟

Daiichi Shuppan K. K. 第一出版株式会社

Daiichi Shuppan-sha 第一出版社

Dai-Nihon Tosho K. K. 大日本図書株式会社

Dai-Nihon Yubenkai Kōdan-sha 大日本雄弁会講談社

Dai-ni Musansha Shimbun-sha 第二無産者新聞社

Daisan Shobō 第三書房

Daitōkaku 大東閣

Daitō Shuppan-sha 大東出版社

Daiyamondo-sha ダイヤモンド社

Daiyūkaku 大雄閣

Dōbunkan 同文館

Doi Shoten 土井書店

Dōjin-sha 同人社

Dōri-sha 道理社

Dōyū-sha 同友社

Fuji Shobō 富士書房

Fujiya Shobō 不二屋書房

Fukyū-sha 普及舎

Fusambō 富山房

Gaikoku Bunka-sha 外国文化社

Gaikoku Rōdōsha Shuppanjo 外国労働者出版社

Gakufū Shoin 学風書院

Gakugei Hakkōsho 学芸発行所

Gakugei-sha 学芸社

Gakusei Shobō 学生書房

Gakuyō Shobō 学陽書房

Ganshōdō Shoten 巖松堂書店

Gendai Tsūshin-sha 現代通信社

Gengen-sha 元々社

Getsuyō Shobō 月曜書房

Gumbu Kakusei Kenkyūkai 軍部覚醒研究会

Gyōmei-sha 暁明社

Hachigatsu Shobō 八月書房

Hakua Shobō 白亜書房

Hakubundō 博文堂

Hakubunkan 博文館

Hakuō-sha 白鳳社

Hakurin-sha 白林社

Hakurin Shobō 柏林書房

Hakuto Shobō 白都書房

Hakuyō-sha 白楊社

Hayakawa Shobō 早川書房

Heibon-sha 平凡社

Heigo Shuppan-sha 丙午出版社

Heimin Daigaku 平民大学

Heimin-sha 平民社

Heisho Shuppan-sha 兵書出版社

Hidaka Yūindō 日高有倫堂

Hikari Zasshi-sha 光雜誌社

Hitotsubashi Shobō 一橋書房

Hosei-kai 輔成会

Hiroshima-ken Suiheisha Rengō-kai 広島県水平社聯合会

APPENDIX 1

Hitosugi Shoten 一杉書店
Hōbunkan 宝文館
Hōritsu Jumpō-sha 法律旬報社

Ichigen-sha 一元社
Ichiyō-sha 一洋社
Ichō Shobō 銀杏書房
Iizuka Shoten 飯塚書店
Ikubun Shoin 郁文書院
Ikusei-sha 育生社
Ishin Seido Kenkyū-kai 維新制度研究会
Itagaki Shoten 板垣書店
Itō Shoten 伊藤書店
Ittō Shobō 一灯書房
Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店
Iwasaki Shoten 岩崎書店

Jichō-sha 時潮社
Jiji Kenkyū-sha 時事研究社
Jiji Tsūshin-sha 時事通信社
Jikyoku Geppō-sha 時局月報社
Jikyoku Kenkyū-kai 時局研究会
Jikyoku Mondai Chōsa-kai 時局問題調査会
Jikyoku Shimbun-sha 時局新聞社
Jimbun-sha 人文社
Jimmin Kagaku-sha 人民科学社
Jimmin-sha 人民社
Jitsugyō no Nihon-sha 実業之日本社
Jiyū Hyōron-sha 自由評論社
Jiyōjin-sha 自由人社
Jiyū Kōron-sha 自由公論社
Jiyūnin Kyōkai 自由人協会
Jiyū-sha 自由社

Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店
Kagaku Shisō Fukyūkai 科学思想普及会
Kagetsu-sha 花月社
Kaigai Shokumin Gakkō 海外植民学校
Kaihō-sha 解放社
Kaihō Undō Giseisha Kyūenkai 解放運動
犠牲者救援会
Kaiken-sha 開眼社
Kaizō-sha 改造社
Kamakura Bunko 鎌倉文庫
Kamei-sha 鹿鳴社
Kamkai Shimpō-sha 官界新報社
Kantō-sha 酣灯社
Kasumigaseki Shobō 霞ヶ関書房
Kawade Shobō 河出書房
Kawaguchi Shoten 川口書店
Kawara Shobō 河原書房
Kazama Shoten 風間書店
Keiaikai 敬愛会
Keibunkaku 啓文閣

Keibun-sha 奎文社
Keiji-sha 啓示社
Keirinkai Shuppan-bu 経倫会出版部
Keiseidō 鷄声堂
Keisei-sha 警醒社
Keisō Shobō 勁草書房
Keiyū-sha 警友社
Kenshin Gakuen Shuppan-bu 顕真学苑出
版部
Kenshin-sha 研進社
Kibōkaku 希望閣
Kimishima Shobō 君島書房
Kindai Shisō-sha 近代思想社
Kingsurei-kan (Kingsley) キングスレイ 館
Kinrō Jihō-sha 勤勞時報社
Kinseidō 金星堂
Kishū Suisan Shimbun-sha 紀州水産新聞社
Kitahara Shoten 北原書店
Kōbundō 弘文堂
Kōbunkan 晃文館
Kōbun-sha 光文社
Kōdo-sha 黄土社
Kōgyokudō Shoten 紅玉堂書店
Kōgyō Shimbun-sha 工業新聞社
Kōhōdō 広報堂
Kokumin Keizai Kenkyū Kyōkai 国民経
済研究協会
Kokumin Kyōiku-sha 国民教育社
Kokumin-sha 国民社
Kokumin Tsūshin-sha 国民通信社
Kokuritsu Shoin 国立書院
Kokusai Hankyō Remmei 国際反共連盟
Kokusai Shoin 国際書院
Kokusai Shuppan K.K. 国際出版株式会社
Kokushoku Sensen-sha 黒色戦線社
Kōnin Shobō 公人書房
Kōseikaku 更生閣
Kōtsū Keizai-sha 交通経済社
Koyama Shoten 小山書店
Kōyō Shoin 高陽書院
Kumiai Shoten 組合書店
Kurara-sha クララ社
Kurewa Shoten くれわ書店
Kyōbunkan 教文館
Kyōchōkai 協調会
Kyōdō-sha 共同社
Kyōdō-sha 共叻社
Kyōdō Shuppan-sha 協同出版社
Kyōdō Toshō Shuppan-sha 共同図書出版社
Kyōiku Fukyū-sha 教育普及社
Kyōiku Shorin 教育書林
Kyōseikaku 共生閣
Kyōyū-sha 協友社
Kyūshū Hyōron-sha 九州評論社

APPENDIX 1

Kyūshū Rōdō Gakkō 九州労働学校
Kyūshū Sangyō Rōdō Chōsajo 九州産業
学仿調査所

Mainichi Shimbun-sha 毎日新聞社
Maki Shobō 牧書房
Maki Shoten 牧書店
Marukusu Kyōkai マルクス協会
Marukusu Shobō マルクス書房
Marukusu-shugi no hata no motoni-sha
マルクス主義の旗の下に社
Masu Shobō 鱒書房
Meibundō 明文堂
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